



# **The Medieval Library**

BY

**JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON**

**SIDNEY HELLMAN EHRMAN PROFESSOR OF EUROPEAN HISTORY  
THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA**

**FORMERLY PROFESSOR OF MEDIEVAL HISTORY  
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
AND LECTURER ON THE HISTORY OF LIBRARIES  
IN THE GRADUATE LIBRARY SCHOOL**

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## Preface

**A** JUST story of learning" wrote Bacon in 1605, "I may truly affirm to be wanting." He would have less complaint upon this score if he were living today; and yet, in its most general sense, his indictment still is valid. A huge literature has been written concerning the history of scholarship and science, but for the most part this is monographic in character—uneven, discontinuous, and unintegrated. The history of learning as a single social force through the ages has not yet been told; indeed, it cannot be formulated until there have been adequate studies of all the forms in which that interest has manifested itself. And one of these forms, surely, is the library. There is always an intimate connection between what men read and what they can know, think, write, and do. Library history is therefore an essential chapter in the history of the intellectual development of civilization.

For those who know the literature upon the history of books and libraries before the invention of printing no apology will be needed for this attempt to summarize our knowledge as a continuous story. How voluminous that literature is will be apparent from the footnote references in the following —

## Preface

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## PREFACE

of my private studies as a course on the history of libraries. From this—at long last—the following pages are the product. Five years' experience as instructor in this field enabled me not only to formulate my own information, but also to awaken in a number of students an interest in the subject. Accordingly, when a serious illness interrupted the progress of the writing and I began to fear lest the task I had undertaken was beyond completion by myself alone, I enlisted the assistance of some of these students. Several of the chapters have been written by them. The whole manuscript has been read by my friend and former colleague, Professor Pierce Butler, of the Graduate Library School, to whose learning and criticism I am deeply indebted. I must here also express my gratitude for the encouragement and substantial support of Dean Louis R. Wilson, without which the completion and publication of the work would not have been possible. Finally, it is a pleasure to acknowledge the part which Mr. Gordon J. Laing, Mr. Donald P. Bean, and Miss Mary D. Alexander, of the University of Chicago Press, have had in the preparation of the manuscript for publication.

No one who commits to the public a work of erudition, abounding in references, often to texts in foreign languages, obscure brochures, and technical periodicals, can do so without misgiving. Such work cannot be entirely free from errors, and absolute accuracy in all particulars is the expectation of perfection. It is hoped, however, that the deviations here from absolute consistency will be of a trivial nature.

It has been impossible to provide a chapter on the libraries of Spain in the Middle Ages. Modern scholarship in the history of medieval Spain has lagged a century behind that of other European countries. Few old library catalogues have been printed, and few critically edited chronicles and collections of documents are available. The day seems remote when it will be possible—if ever—to write a history of medieval Spanish libraries.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA  
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# PART I

## The Early Middle Ages

Si quem sancta tenet meditandi in lege voluntas,  
Hic poterit residens sacris intendere libris.

PAULINUS OF NOLA

Semper aut discere aut docere aut scribere dulce habui.

BEDE *Historia ecclesiastica* v. 24

O quam dulcis vita fuit, dum sedebamus quieti inter  
sapientis scrinias, inter librorum copias, inter venerandos  
patrum sensus.

ALCUIN *Ep.* xxii

Mihi satis apparet propter se ipsam appetenda sapientia.

SERVATUS LUPUS *Ep.* i





## Introduction

ANY discussion of medieval civilization must make frequent reference to its "classical heritage" from the older civilizations of Greece and Rome. Yet all these references must reiterate interminably that this heritage was only an inchoate mass of scattered fragments utterly disrupted from their organic relationships with each other. Just as, when a great temple has been brought down in ruin by violent earthquakes, certain of the shaped building-stones will survive in their original forms, but so dislocated from the others to which they had been fitted as to be useless, so the early Middle Ages possessed isolated units from the classical cultures, but not the functional organizations into which they had once been integrated. This certainly is true in library history. The Roman Empire had possessed libraries which disintegrated so completely as institutions in the general collapse of civilization that even the memory of them had been forgotten. Yet many of Rome's Greek and Latin books survived to be utilized anew as building-material in the formation of the first medieval libraries.

For this reason any adequate history of the library during the Middle Ages must begin with a survey of the earlier Graeco-Latin institution<sup>1</sup> not as the origin, nor even as the prototype of the medieval development, but simply as the sources of its semifabricated material.

To all foreign literature, except that of Greece, Roman culture was always singularly unreceptive. Though its art, its technology, and even its religion preserved much from the earlier Etruscan civilization, it allowed the Etruscan language and its literature to perish. Similarly, when the Romans captured Carthage they left to the

<sup>1</sup> The literature is extensive. The more important references will be found in C. E. Boyd, *Public Libraries and Literary Culture in Ancient Rome* (Chicago, 1915); R. Cagnat, *Les Bibliothèques municipales dans l'Empire Romain* (Paris, 1906); F. G. Kenyon, *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Oxford, 1932); F. Reichmann, "The Book Trade at the Time of the Roman Empire," *Library Quarterly*, VIII (1938), 40-76; and in the larger classical dictionaries.

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native princes the books which they found there. This was not because they themselves were unable to read the Punic language; that was well-enough known in Rome for Plautus in his *Poenulus* (ca. 190 B.C.) to insert several long speeches in Phoenician for public recitation. The Carthaginian books were discarded from the booty through sheer indifference.\* Exactly the same indifference was displayed to all other foreign books, except those in Greek, during the later Roman conquests to the eastward. Here, as we shall see, Greek libraries were included in the plunder; but in all the spoil which flowed to Rome from Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, native books are never mentioned.

While in the earlier period the Greek models and Greek masters of Roman writers had come from Magna Graecia, the long-established Greek colonies of southern Italy, Rome first made direct literary contacts, on a large scale, with Hellas itself during the second century before Christ. At that time she invaded and crushed Macedonia, which was an ally of Hannibal, and her armies overran much of Greece, as far south as the Gulf of Corinth. Thus, many Roman soldiers and administrative officials saw with their own eyes the achievements of Greek culture and learned something of its history and literature. Their new knowledge and admiring attitude were quickly adopted at home with results somewhat comparable to the cultural revival in western Europe after the Crusades, some fifteen centuries later.

This effect was heightened by the appearance at Rome of Greek scholars on diplomatic missions. In particular, the embassy of Eumenes II of Pergamum was led by the grammarian, Crates of Mallos, the head of the great library at Pergamum which Eumenes had founded. Indeed, some modern writers date the beginning of the "invasion of Hellenism into Italy" by Crates' arrival at Rome in 159 B.C. Certainly from this time on, the Romans were sedulous students and imitators of Greek literature; Greek grammarians became popular teachers in her schools and Greek tutors common in the homes of the wealthy.

\* The sole exception is highly significant. A treatise on agriculture by Mago was carried to Rome and there translated to become the foundation of all subsequent Latin manuals on this subject.

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Greek libraries were also transported as organized units to Rome as the conquest and plunder of Greece continued. Thus we are told that Lucius Aemilius Paulus seized for himself the library of King Perseus of Macedonia, whom he defeated at Pydna (168 B.C.). He bequeathed these books to his sons, the second of whom was the Younger Scipio, conqueror of Carthage. A century later Lucullus, in his conquest of Asia Minor (74-64 B.C.), obtained a rich library which he took home and opened to scholars, though it was said to be the Greeks in Rome, and not the Romans, who availed themselves of the privilege. But these acquisitions were overshadowed by the feat of Sulla, who in 86 B.C. captured Athens and with it Aristotle's library. This he established in his great palace at Rome, in charge of two librarians—Andronicus of Rhodes, who undertook to establish a correct text of the Aristotelian corpus, and Tyrannion, formerly Cicero's library adviser, who became custodian of the collection. This is related by Strabo, who was personally acquainted with both of these officials. All three of these collections were privately owned, though they were apparently open to favored scholars.

This impulse to value and acquire literary property which began in foreign conquest was continued and intensified as Roman imperialism passed from the martial phase to the economic. During the ensuing centuries probably more books were purchased in Greece by Roman collectors than were ever seized through force or fraud by tyrannical Roman officials. Probably even still greater numbers were manufactured in Rome itself from Greek prototypes or models, for in the golden age of the Roman Empire to possess a library, of one sort or another, became a normal badge of personal achievement. In the case of men of genuine culture the nucleus of these books was, no doubt, a working library; but even such men, in the spirit of their age, often collected extravagantly for the mere luxury of possession. The correspondence of Cicero, for example, teems with references to this enthusiasm. In each of his villas (he had eighteen in different parts of Italy), there was a permanent library. Yet in his bookish extravagance Cicero seems to have been merely typical of his social class, whose practices, as always, were grotesquely imitated by the crude and newly wealthy. The book-collecting pretender ap-

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pears frequently in Roman satire. Petronius' immortal Trimalchio, while bragging of his Greek and Latin libraries, displays a ludicrous ignorance of these literatures. Martial, Seneca, Juvenal, Lucian, and even Ausonius ridicule the folly of the mere collector.

Inevitably the basic impulse to organize book collections which thus manifested itself so strongly in private life, led also to parallel civic activities. The first public library in ancient Rome was founded by Asinius Pollio (76 B.C.—A.D. 5), who, at an early age, abandoned politics to become a patron of arts and letters and himself a minor author. Pollio, as a young man, had been a friend of Catullus and had studied at Athens. Entering public life, he was a consul in 40 B.C., when Vergil dedicated his Fourth Eclogue to him. The next year, after a victorious campaign in Dalmatia, he was granted a public triumph, and, thus enriched, he retired. In 37 B.C. he established a library of Greek and Latin literature in the Atrium Libertatis on the Aventine. This institution was at once a public library and a public art gallery with its interior adorned by busts of famous writers. Of living men, only that of Varro was included. Perhaps this honor was paid to Varro not as an author but as the instigator of the foundation. Though the records are fragmentary and scanty, Varro's name occurs three times in connection with a library movement: he wrote a treatise, which does not survive, *De bibliothecis*; Julius Caesar, before his death, contemplated the establishment of a public library and commissioned Varro to make the necessary arrangements; and finally, the nucleus of the books in Pollio's library is said to have included the collection of Varro as well as that of Sulla. This evidence is not decisive, but it all suggests that Varro may have been a Roman prototype of Edward Edwards.

If this is so, his influence may also have been behind the two library foundations of Augustus which quickly followed. The first of these was the Octavian Library, established in the Porticus Octaviae in 33 B.C. on the site of the older Porticus Metelli, whose colonnades inclosed the Temple of Jupiter. Augustus added a Temple of Juno and a library between the two sacred buildings. He also founded, in 28 B.C., the Bibliotheca Palatina, of which we know almost nothing beyond the name.

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The emperors who followed Augustus continued or neglected his library policies according to their personal characters and political fortunes. Tiberius, though so parsimonious as to dwell in his family home instead of in the more expensive Palatine Palace, added the writings and portrait busts of his own favorite Greek poets to the two Augustan libraries. In the great fire of Nero's reign the loss of public and private libraries was severe, but the Octaviana escaped destruction. Vespasian founded a new library in the Temple of Peace, which he had erected. In A.D. 80, during the reign of Titus, the Octavian Library was lost in a second great fire which swept the city. Domitian restored it, but in the *Templum Augusti* and at the expense of the *Aerarium Saturni*, a religious fund, since this library was not carried in the imperial budget. To secure books he sent to Alexandria for transcripts of her manuscripts. The emperor Trajan (A.D. 98-117) restored the Octaviana to its original location and founded the *Bibliotheca Ulpiana*, which, next to the Alexandrian and Pergamene, was the most famous library of antiquity. This was essentially a scholar's collection, as is witnessed by its citation no less than seven times in the *Historiae Augustae*. It was situated behind the great basilica, or law courts, and consisted of two structures, the one for Greek, the other for Latin writings. These flanked, on east and west, the Forum Trajanum, in the center of which towered Trajan's Column.

The grand series of reliefs on this column was intended to be seen, not only from the ground, but from the two-storied porticoes of the basilica and the two libraries. . . . The form of the column, resembling a papyrus scroll, and its position between the two libraries, suggests that it was intended as a monumental edition de luxe of Trajan's own history of his wars.<sup>1</sup>

Under the enlightened Antonine emperors of the second century the public libraries of Rome were numerous and well furnished, each one probably specializing in a particular kind of literature. They were supervised in the emperor's name by a *procurator bibliothecarum*, an administrative official to whom the *bibliothecarius* of each separate library was responsible. The procuratorship was generally conferred upon some recognized scholar. In inscriptions the names

<sup>1</sup> F. S. Burnell, *Rome* (New York, 1930), p. 78.

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of certain incumbents of the office have been preserved to us: Scirtus, under Claudian, Vestinus under Hadrian, Larges and Juncinus somewhat later.

Modern librarians may find it significant that the salary of the latter, 60,000 sesterces, is the lowest recorded for anyone of procuratorial rank. Another fragment of information in a library connection from this time is the evidence that Marcus Aurelius took the Palatine copy of the *Discourses* of Cato the Younger with him on his campaigns in Pannonia. From this it has been inferred that the public could borrow books from these Roman libraries. Actually, the record implies just the opposite, for the emperor playfully suggests that his correspondent, Fronto, should himself try to borrow a book from the Tiberian Library.

In A.D. 192, during the reign of the dissolute Commodus, the Temple of Peace, with the library established by Vespasian, was consumed by fire. Even worse, the imperial palace itself was destroyed and in it the great Palatine Library, into which at this time the Tiberian collection had been incorporated. Orosius, writing in the fifth century and enlarging upon Eusebius, says that the library was in the Capitol. There is no authority for this statement. Likewise the tale that it was destroyed by Gregory the Great is a malicious fiction of the twelfth century.<sup>4</sup>

For the library history of the third century we have little information. Serenus Sammonicus the Elder, a great bibliophile, bequeathed his books to the emperor Gordian III, who in this sense has been said to have re-established the Palatine Library.

In the fourth century, at some time during the reign of Constantine (313-37), a topographical survey of the fourteen regions of Rome was made which enumerated twenty-eight libraries among the notable buildings of the city. Likewise the historian Vopiscus, one of the authors of the *Historiae Augustae*, writing late in the fourth century, makes several interesting allusions to his research in the Bibliotheca Ulpiana. For example, in his *Life of Aurelian* he relates that the city prefect loaned him certain books from this collection.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. F. H. Dudden, *Gregory the Great* (London, 1905), I, 290-91.

<sup>5</sup> Formerly dated third century.

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Again, in the *Life of Tacitus* he mentions an ivory-backed volume in the sixth armarium. If Vopiscus was really the scholar he pretends to be, these allusions are significant. But, unfortunately, in many passages he gives the impression of exaggerating his erudition, and so his references to the Ulpiana may have been taken from earlier writers.

This ambiguity is characteristic of the period; in the decline of culture, scholarship had not merely dwindled, it had become dishonest. The prevailing civilization felt no need of libraries, and Clio is henceforth silent concerning them. Indeed, Ammianus Marcellinus, about A.D. 378, had already written their epitaph: "Bibliothecis sepulcrorum ritu in perpetuum clausis [the libraries, like tombs, were closed forever]."

What happened in Rome always happened also on a smaller scale in the provinces. The Roman Empire was a vast agglomeration of formerly independent states whose organic life was focused in local metropolitan centers. It is therefore not surprising that traces of municipal libraries are found throughout the length and breadth of the Empire. Excavations at Ephesus in 1904 brought to light the remains of a library founded in A.D. 92 by Titus Julius Aquila in honor of his father. At about the same time, Pliny the Younger established a public library at Como, his birthplace, and endowed it with a million sesterces. Hadrian, who was partial to things Greek and oriental, established a library at Athens, of which the remains have been excavated. The ruins of the municipal library at Timgad in Africa are remarkably well preserved. Strabo mentions a library at Smyrna, and Aulus Gellius one at Patras. For Armenia, also, we have some information. Here Greek, Syrian, and Persian literary influences met in rivalry. In the second century Maribas of Catina, a great Syriac scholar, was sent to Nineveh to secure manuscripts for the library at Nisibis. There is also mention of a Greek and Syriac library at Edessa, in which the temple libraries of Nisibis and Sinope were consolidated after the proscription of paganism. Moreover, with so many details surviving by mere chance we must suppose there were many other provincial libraries concerning which no record remains.



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What was the fate of all these great book collections during the following centuries? We do not know. For Rome itself there is occasional reference to a "library" in the later records, but we can never be certain whether a collection of books or a mere empty and ruined building is indicated. For example, the notice that Sidonius' statue was erected in the Forum of Trajan "between the Greek and Latin libraries" is no evidence that the Ulpiana collection survived the Vandal sack of Rome. Far more significant is Cassiodorus' mention of the Forum of Trajan: "However often we see it, it is always wonderful." Since we know that he was an enthusiastic bookman, his silence concerning the libraries implies that the books, at least, were no longer there. In the silence of history we are left to conjecture. Did any of the public libraries survive until the middle of the sixth century, when Rome suffered three terrible sieges—sieges so destructive that they enormously altered the appearance of the Eternal City? Were any of the collections then preserved by faithful custodians who secreted them for safety? Were any finally removed to Constantinople by the emperor Constans, who visited Rome in 663 and dwelt for twelve days in the ruined palace of the Caesars to direct the final plunder?

The probability is that most of the great book collections of Rome, both public and private, had long since perished of neglect and damp rather than from the ravages of war. They could not survive when the world was so changed about them that they were no longer cherished. Indeed, since that world had become Christian it developed a positive hostility to the older pagan literature.

The effect of early Christianity upon Roman literary culture is a highly controversial subject concerning which there has been much bitter and foolish writing upon both sides. For the history of libraries, however, one thing is certain: many, probably most of the public libraries throughout the Empire, were located in the public temples. When, in A.D. 392, the pagan cults were finally forbidden and their temples closed, these libraries were necessarily included in the proscription. Even though they were not at once destroyed, their fate was sealed. The books within them were doomed to dissolution through sheer neglect, or to be scattered and wasted by

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continuous pilfering. When Christianity became the state religion, the organization of the public library, for the most part, was automatically wiped out of existence.

Beyond this, certain other established facts are highly significant. In its earlier expansion the new religion was essentially a movement in the lower classes, and it only gradually worked upward to the better educated and more cultured levels. Inevitably, its first adherents were fanatical in their rejection of pagan—or, for that matter, of any—literature. So long as such an attitude was dominant, the position of the more cultured classes was tragic. On the one hand, a convert of literary training was, like Jerome, torn between his love for the great pagan classics and his loyalty to the new religion. On the other, many noble spirits clung desperately to their paganism as a symbol of their fidelity to the older cultural values and were forced to stand aside, a wistful, impotent, and dwindling minority to watch their world degrade itself in religious obscurantism. We know some of the personalities and something of the interests of their quiet and sequestered circles through the books of Athenaeus, Macrobius, and Symmachus. All such writings are saturated with classicism and pagan tradition, and there is no trace of Christianity in them. It is true that they are heavy, totally wanting in creative imagination and bristling with erudition on every page; yet their veneration of classical culture redeems them from pedantry. High honor must be accorded to “the efforts of the pagan nobles of the Theodosian epoch—the ‘anti-Christian Fronde,’ as they have been called. These men kept alive the ancient learning long enough for the Christian Church to recover its senses.”<sup>6</sup>

Fortunately, the new religion contained in itself vital elements which were to work ultimately a return to literary sanity. Christianity was a bookish religion. To translations of the Hebrew Scriptures it quickly added an extensive supplementary canon of literary documents which were widely read in devotional exercise. For propaganda purposes Christian apologists soon found that citation of secular classics gave the strongest force to their arguments against paganism. And finally, as the simple convictions of the early dis-

<sup>6</sup> F. W. Hall, *Classical Review*, XXXVI (1932), 42.

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ciples were formulated, discussed, defended, and developed into a complete theoretical system, such extensive use was made of classical grammar, literature, history, and philosophy that the church, almost unconsciously, was forced to undertake secular academic education as a preparatory school to its own teaching. Ultimately this involved a reconstruction of institutional libraries.

Centuries, of course, were to elapse before these trends should work themselves out to this institutional culmination, and the remainder of this book is little more than a description of the process. The chief point to be noted here is that Christianity deserves little censure for hastening or credit for retarding the decline of Roman literary culture. Social forces more fundamental than the religious innovations were at work in that process. The church was born in a world of collapsing civilization, and itself was carried down to cultural degradation by the secular forces of the period. Perhaps no other phase of this general movement is more significant for library history than the relationship of the Roman culture at large, and that of the church in particular, to the Greek language. Both were exclusively Greek in their origins; both were completely bilingual through their highest periods of creative development; both sank into a long paralysis of degenerate Latin; and both were finally revived in the Renaissance, a period marked by the recovery of Greek and a restoration of Latinity. Paul addressed the Romans in Greek, just as, centuries earlier, Fabius Pictor had written their first history in that language. Jerome, like Cicero before him, was bilingual in his reading, while he wrote exclusively in Latin. Pope Gregory the Great (590-604) was as wholly ignorant of Greek as was, apparently, Isidore of Seville (d. 636).

Parallel with this gradual loss of Greek, which in itself meant that the better half of the books in the older libraries were becoming valueless, there was also a steady dwindling of the use made of the older books in the Latin language. As Roman culture declined, men compiled and studied abridgments, epitomes, and anthologies of elegant extracts rather than the complete original authorities. Learning degenerated into pedantic quotation. Most of the modern studies

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of the extent to which classical scholarship survived the collapse of Roman civilization have been invalidated by their failure to take into account the widespread use of secondary citations. Only recently has the place and importance of florilegia been recognized.<sup>7</sup> Consequently, the disappearance of the Roman libraries is now more clearly seen as due not to adventitious catastrophes but to a spontaneous degeneration of culture.

<sup>7</sup> B. L. Ullman, *Classical Authors in Mediaeval Florilegia* (Chicago, 1932).

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## CHAPTER I

### Early Church Libraries

**I**N ONE sense the public libraries of Rome have only an antiquarian interest to the modern librarian. Not one of them survived as an institution into the high Middle Ages. For centuries even the memory of them had perished. The later medieval library system was neither a survival nor a revival, but a spontaneous generation of the new Western civilization. Yet it may not be forgotten that Christianity also had an imperial Roman period in which its culture reached the higher levels of the secular world about it. Of this achievement the early church libraries offer a significant testimony.

Though the earliest Christians belonged to the submerged and less literate classes of society, and though their first chiliastic delusions made them fanatically antihistorical, they soon found need of written records and literary studies. Within a few generations an extensive mass of Christian literature of all sorts sprang up, from which the New Testament is merely a limited selection. Both in this canon and in the noncanonical writings of the subapostolic period are found occasional references not only to single books but to groups of books which may be regarded as rudimentary libraries. Paul asks Timothy (II Tim. 4:13) to "bring . . . the books, especially the parchments," which he had left at Troas. Luke (1:1) not only speaks of "many who have taken in hand to draw up a narrative of these things," but he himself weaves together the material from a group of such histories. In Acts the citation of the letters of Claudius Lysias to Felix appears to indicate a file of documents.

In each of these instances it seems to be an individual who possesses the literary collection as a working library. Early in the post-

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apostolic age, however, we find evidence of a church endeavoring to build up a collection of Christian writings. The Epistle of Polycarp, written shortly after A.D. 117 is in part a reply to the request of the church at Philippi that he send copies of all letters written by the recently martyred Ignatius). A simple impulse to collect and preserve literary material concerning their faith must have been felt by other ecclesiastical organizations also. In other words, the formation of church libraries was normal and inevitable. Here, as always in the early history of Christianity, the direct evidence is scanty; but certain inferences may be drawn from facts which are established. In the second century began a war of pamphlets between pagans who argued down the claims of the new religion and Christian apologists who attempted both to refute these arguments and to attack in turn the follies of paganism. Celsus, the first anti-Christian polemist, who died in A.D. 177, evidently had access to a considerable body and variety of Christian literature. On the other hand, Christian advocates like Irenaeus of Lyons, Tertullian of Carthage, and Hippolytus of Rome manifest an encyclopedic knowledge of gnostic and pagan writings, which implies either that as scholars they had made large collections of such material or else that the church in each of these places possessed systematic libraries of books on religion. In the light of later developments the latter supposition seems the more probable.

There is strong evidence that such a library had been formed by the church at Alexandria in connection with its catechetical school as early as the reign of Commodus (180-92).<sup>1</sup> Tertullian (*ca.* A.D. 200) refers to its possessing the Hebrew text as well as the Greek version of the Old Testament.\* Clement of Alexandria (d. 217) made this school the capital of Christian scholarship even though Antioch still remained the spiritual center. Clement was a native of Athens, where he had studied pagan philosophy; but upon becoming a Christian, he removed to Alexandria, at that time the metropolis of Greek scholarship. Here, as his writings plainly show, he had access to

<sup>1</sup> A. Harnack, "Die älteste Inschrift über einer öffentlichen Kirchenbibliothek," *Beiträge zum Bibliotheks- und Buchwesen, Paul Schwenke zum 20. März 1913 gewidmet*, p. 112.

\* *Apologisticus* 18.

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extensive literary collections. These included, beyond the church library, that of the Serapeum, which was still extant even if the Museum had already perished, and also to various Egyptian temple libraries. From the catalogue of one of the latter he quotes a list of forty-two works of a ritualistic or liturgical nature.<sup>3</sup> He frequently cites the Greek dramatists, historians, and philosophers. In all he quotes from 348 authors, though it may be that he knew part of them only through florilegia. But even so, he displays a deep and sincere love for the ancient classical literature. Perhaps this noble characteristic was to blame for the failure of his own writings to attain a wide circulation among churchmen.<sup>4</sup> Clement's influence upon Christian thought was exerted almost entirely through the teachings of his disciple, Origen (*ca.* 185—*ca.* 254), a cruder but a stronger personality than his master. Origen had emasculated his culture by selling his secular books, just as he is said to have mutilated his body in the cause of religion. After Clement's death he quarreled with his ecclesiastical superiors and was banished from Alexandria. With Origen's removal to Caesarea in Palestine he transferred to that city the intellectual center of Christendom. He doubtless took with him the rich collection of biblical manuscripts on which he founded his greatest scholarly work, the *Hexapla*. In this sense he may be said to have established the Caesarean church library, but its real founder was Pamphilus (d. A.D. 310), whom Jerome describes as a Christian Peisistratus or Demetrius Phalareus.<sup>5</sup> He was an indefatigable collector and corrector of manuscripts; for centuries no higher praise could be given a biblical manuscript than to say that Pamphilus had collated and corrected it.<sup>6</sup> Though the catalogue of the library which he assembled at Caesarea has not survived, we know something of its character from the use made of it by Eusebius and Jerome.<sup>7</sup> It may safely be said that, had not Pamphilus col-

<sup>3</sup> R. B. Tollinton, *Clement of Alexandria*, I, 151.

<sup>4</sup> There is no citation of any of the works of Clement of Alexandria in the medieval catalogues published by Becker and Gottlieb.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep.* xxxiv.

<sup>6</sup> V. E. Gardthausen, *Handbuch der wissenschaftlichen Bibliothekskunde*, I, 124, and n. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Jerome *Ep. ad Marcellam* 34; *De viris illustr.* 113; Eusebius *Hist. eccles.* vi. 20. On the library and its later history see O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der abkirchlichen Literatur*, II,

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lected the material, Eusebius could not have written the history of early Christianity. That this library was still prized and protected by later bishops of the see is indicated by the facts that Acacius (340-66) and Euzoius (366-79) replaced the worn papyrus rolls by parchment codices, and that it was used by Euthalius in the fifth century.

Another famous church library in Palestine was that at Jerusalem. This, it is said, was founded by Bishop Alexander (212-50) in direct imitation of the Alexandrian Museum.<sup>8</sup> Though it may be earlier than the library at Caesarea, it seems never to have been as important as the latter. Yet, Jerome and other writers seem to have found valuable material there, and Hesychius mentions it in the fifth century.<sup>9</sup> It was probably destroyed, as was the library at Caesarea, when the Persians captured Palestine in A.D. 614.

We also get some interesting information concerning the circulation of books by the church in the period before Christianity had acquired legal status. Already as early as the second century Justin, in his *Apologia*, which was addressed to the emperor, seems to have assumed that the Old Testament was readily accessible. Jerome's description of Pamphilus' activity in promoting the circulation of the Bible is especially interesting:

He readily provided Bibles not only to read but to keep; not only for men, but for any women whom he saw addicted to reading. Hence he would prepare a large number of volumes, so that when any demand was made upon him, he might be in a position to gratify those who applied to him.<sup>10</sup>

It was considered a "good work" on the part of the wealthy to defray the cost of Bible circulation for private reading of the Scriptures was encouraged. In some places the demand seems to have exceeded the supply, for Augustine exclaims: "Where are we to

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10 ff.; A. Ehrhard, "Die griechische Patriarchalbibliothek von Jerusalem," *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte*, V (1891), 219-43; A. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, I, 543 ff.; J. A. Robinson, *Euthalius* ("Texts and Studies," Vol. III, No. 3), pp. 34-36.

<sup>8</sup> J. De Ghellinck, "Diffusion, utilisation et transmission des écrits patristiques," *Gregorianum*, XIV (1933), 365; Harnack, *op. cit.*, I, 505 ff.

<sup>9</sup> "Martyrum Sancti Longini," Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XCIII, col. 1559.

<sup>10</sup> Cited in A. Harnack, *Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, I, 285 n.



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find the books [Scriptures]? Where and how can we procure them? From whom can we get them?"<sup>11</sup>

The first reference to a Bible reading-room, open to all, comes at a later date. Paulinus of Nola (353-431), relating in some detail (*Ep.* 32) the erection of a church at Nola, refers to a "Secretum." He describes this room and the verses with which the walls were adorned, of which

Si quem sancta tenit meditandi in lege voluntas,  
Hic poterit residens sacris intendere libris

is the most informative. Harnack<sup>12</sup> reasons that the readers could hardly have been expected to bring their own books, and that we may assume that the Scriptures were available in the "Secretum."

The great persecution initiated by Diocletian in 303 is remarkable, quite aside from its being the last and greatest persecution, because in it the government made a concerted drive to destroy the whole body of Christian literature.<sup>13</sup> In many places episcopal libraries were seized and burned. Fortunately, the largest of these, that at Caesarea, escaped, though Pamphilus himself suffered a martyr's death (A.D. 310). In many places the precious books were hastily hidden. In Africa the destruction of Bibles and service books inflamed the population more than the demolition of the churches or the seizure of the vessels of the altars.<sup>14</sup> But sometimes the clergy saved their books by the ruse of surrendering heretical books instead, and even old medical books. Besides the churches, the houses of the clergy were visited by the searchers. We have a remarkable description of what happened at Cirta in the record of a trial in 314 before the local magistrate in the vicarial court at Carthage.<sup>15</sup> The Passion of the Scillitan Martyrs in A.D. 180 records the answer

<sup>11</sup> *Confessions* vi. 11.

<sup>12</sup> A. Harnack, "Die älteste Inschrift über einer öffentlichen Kirchenbibliothek," *Beiträge zum Bibliotheks- und Buchwesen, Paul Schwenke zum 20. März 1913 gewidmet*, p. 113. Harnack, *Bible Reading in the Early Church* (London, 1912), deals with the circulation of religious literature, orthodox and heretical, the market for Bibles, private reading, etc., but does not there discuss the library of Paulinus.

<sup>13</sup> Eusebius *Hist. eccles.* viii. 2, 4.

<sup>14</sup> A. J. Mason, *The Persecution of Diocletian*, p. 166.

<sup>15</sup> Translated in Mason, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-68.

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of the martyrs to the question, "What effects have you in your satchel?" in these terms: "The Books" (that is, as I suppose, the Gospels) "and the letters of one Paul, a righteous man." When this persecution had spent its fury, the libraries of the church never again suffered from the attacks of pagans. Julian made no effort to destroy the ecclesiastical libraries when he endeavored to restore the pagan cult. Henceforward, whatever losses Christian literature sustained were due to the internecine conflicts of the Christians themselves, divided, as they were, into many warring factions, each claiming to advocate the orthodox faith and branding its opponents as heretics. Indeed, after the recognition of Christianity by Constantine the tables were reversed and the libraries of those known to be pagan were imperiled, less by police suppression than by popular fury, as befell the rich collection in the Serapeum, which was destroyed by a Christian mob in the reign of Theodosius II.

Of all the patristic writers of the fourth century, Jerome was most a student, and his letters throw a vivid light upon literary and library conditions in that time. At Rome he studied the classics under Donatus and began the collection of the library which accompanied him everywhere in his travels<sup>16</sup> and grew from year to year. After studying at Trèves (366-70) and embracing the monastic ideal, Jerome went from Gaul to the desert of Colchis in Syria. Here he spent five years in study, Evagrius providing him with books and scribes.<sup>17</sup> In 381 Jerome was back in Rome again, where he became secretary to Pope Damasus I, who founded the papal library. In 383 he completed a Latin translation of Origen's *Two Homilies on the Song of Songs*, which is dedicated to the pope. Origen's treatise in Greek and this Latin version may have been among the first books in the papal library. In the Preface we get a glimpse of what was destined to be Jerome's greatest work, the Vulgate Scriptures. Jerome first made a trial experiment of the New Testament, which was completed in 383. He fully perceived the formidable nature of

<sup>16</sup> "I could not bring myself to forego the library which I had formed at Rome with so great care and toil" (*Ep.* xxii [written in 384]).

<sup>17</sup> "Have the enclosed list of books copied [unfortunately the list is lost] and send me the explanation of the Psalms of David and the copious work on synods of the revered Hilary, which I copied at Treves with my own hand" (*Ep.* v).

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his book and, in order to make himself competent for the greater task, determined to learn Hebrew. In 385 he left Rome for Bethlehem, where he dwelt for the rest of his life, aided in his work by many amanuenses and copyists, both men and women, who dwelt as monks or nuns near his abode.

Jerome's numerous and voluminous letters are a mine of information with regard to Christian literature and the making and care of books about 400. For fifteen years he had refrained from all reading of classical literature. But his library at Bethlehem apparently included both classical and patristic literature.<sup>18</sup>

It is important to observe that he encouraged the copying of manuscripts and even imposed it as a monastic duty.<sup>19</sup> Jerome, in another letter, records with pride that copyists were sent to Palestine from as far away as Spain to transcribe his works (*Ep.* lxxi, *Ad Lucinium*). The library at Caesarea was the only one in the East which Jerome could use. He made frequent trips there and had many transcripts made from its collections.

In 397 Jerome wrote a letter (*Ep.* lxx) to Magnus, an orator of Rome, from which we gather considerable information about his library at Bethlehem. Writing in defense of his frequent quotations from pagan writers, Jerome shows that the apostle Paul himself had quoted from Aratus, Epimenides, and Menander, mentions the "ten thousand lines" written by Methodius, the twenty-five works by Eusebius and Apollinaris, which he urges his correspondent to read, and gives a long list of "our own writers." Analysis of Jerome's own works further reveals the contents of his library, for it is impossible that he could have made from memory all the classical allusions which he gives in the *Treatise against Jovinianus*. To Jerome, books were instruments of use, not articles of ornament. Writing to a woman correspondent named Laeta in 403, he says (*Ep.* cviii):

Let your treasures be not gems or silks, but manuscripts of the holy scriptures; and in these think less of *gilding*, and *Babylonian parchment*, and arabesque patterns, than of correctness and accurate punctuation. . . . Let those who will keep the old

<sup>18</sup> G. Gruetzmacher, *Hieronymus*, I, 128-29.

<sup>19</sup> "Texantur et lina capiendis piscibus, scribantur libri, ut et manus operetur cibum et animus lectione saturetur" (*Ep.* cxxv, *Ad Rusticum*). W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, p. 428, points out that this injunction anticipates Cassiodorus by over a century.

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*books with their gold and silver letters on purple skins, or, to follow the ordinary phrase, in "uncial characters," loads of writing rather than manuscripts, if only they will leave for me and mine our poor pages and copies which are less remarkable for beauty than for accuracy. . . .*

In the West, Carthage was the first center of Christian scholarship and church libraries. Indeed, it was in Africa, not in Rome, that the Western church first used Latin instead of Greek as its official language, and from this province came the earliest leaders of a distinctively Western trend in Christian theology. Tertullian (d. *ca.* 200) was thoroughly grounded in pagan learning; Cyprian (d. 258) seems to have known little of books outside of the Bible; but Augustine (353-430) evidently had a large library at his command, and one filled with classical writings as well as theological literature. When he died, he left this to the church at Hippo Regius, where it was preserved even after the conquest of Africa by the Vandals in 439.<sup>20</sup>

From various sources it is also evident that Christian scholars in Gaul had assembled church libraries there very early. Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons (d. 202), wrote a long polemical treatise which displays his familiarity with an enormous range of orthodox, heretical, and pagan literature. Jerome spent four years, 366-70, in study at Trèves, presumably with access to a library. The work produced in the sixth century by the Arles school of canonists implies that the church in that city had likewise been collecting documentary materials over a long period.<sup>21</sup>

One might naturally assume that the papacy would have formed at Rome the earliest and richest collections of ecclesiastical books in the West.<sup>22</sup> But there is no evidence of a papal library until the pontificate of Damasus I (366-84), who made the church of St. Lawrence a depository of books and the seat of his chancery. From

<sup>20</sup> M. Chladenius, *De fortuna bibliothecae Augustini in excidio Hipponense* (Leipzig, 1742), cited in *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, III, 190.

<sup>21</sup> L. M. O. Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule* (2d ed.), I, 144; F. Morin, "Les Statuta ecclesiae antiqua," *Revue bénédictine*, July, 1913, pp. 334-42.

<sup>22</sup> E. Stevenson, *Codices palatini Latini Bibliothecae Vaticanae . . .* (esp. Introduction); J. B. De Rossi, *De origine, historia, indicibus scriptorum et bibliothecae sedis apostolicae*; De Rossi, *La Biblioteca della sede apostolica ed i catalogi dei suoi manoscritti*; I. Carini, *La Biblioteca Vaticana*; C. Sayle, "The Vatican Library," *Library*, VI (1894), 327-43, 371-85.

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that time until the middle of the sixth century we have no further information concerning this first papal library. Whether or not it survived the Visigothic sack of 410 or that of the Vandals in 455 is wholly uncertain. The backwardness of the Roman church in library activity was probably due to two factors. Christianity until the close of the third century was proscribed by law and frequently prosecuted. Therefore, throughout this period, the status of the church in the imperial capital would naturally be more precarious than elsewhere in the Empire. Moreover, Rome was the focus of every disruptive force in the collapsing civilization, political strife, civil tumult, economic distress, and military insurrection or invasion. Just as it was a most dangerous place for a Christian, so, likewise, was it the most difficult for the scholar and the book-collector. Indeed, there is some evidence which indicates that the earliest Christian scholarship of Rome was centered at Ostia, the seaport, instead of in the city itself.

Yet Rome was not so bereft of books and book-lovers in the sixth century as one might infer. In the reign of Theodoric the Great (489-526) and even after his death, until the protracted war of Justinian to reconquer the peninsula, there is evidence that the clergy took an active part in the intellectual life of the city. Arator, a subdeacon, wrote a poem in hexameter verse, entitled *De actibus apostolorum*, dedicated to Pope Vigilius. This he recited in the church of St. Peter *ad vincula* in 544 before an audience not exclusively composed of clerics. The recitation took four days.<sup>23</sup> Eugippius, a Roman priest, was the author of a popular florilegium of selections from the works of Augustine, the materials for which were supplied from the library of an aristocratic Roman matron named Proba.<sup>24</sup> Thus, it is clear that in Rome in the middle of the sixth century there was a mixed circle of clergy and laity, men and women, who were interested mainly in studying theological questions and,

<sup>23</sup> A. Ebert, *Allgemeine Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters im Abendlande*, I, 491.

<sup>24</sup> This lady, who was the wife of Clodius Celsinus Adelphius, praefectus urbanus, compiled a work called *Centones Virgiliani*, a poem entirely composed of lines from Vergil wrenched out of their context and rearranged to make a patchwork life of Christ.

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one may think, also in polite conversation.<sup>25</sup> It is just to remember these things when we observe how dark the shadows are in the second half of the sixth century.

Although the fifth and sixth centuries were an unfortunate period for literature, when a great many writings were lost, and there could have been little thought of multiplying books on any large scale, nevertheless there are evidences of book collections and book-lovers in this time.<sup>26</sup> The transcription and revision of classical authors did not wholly cease, as is shown by the famous Dioscorides in Paris and the Vergil in Florence, both of which were corrected by the consul Rufinus Apronianus (494); but the increasing practice of cultivated nobles themselves transcribing and correcting books is evidence of the ignorance of copyists and of the growing barbarization of the epoch.<sup>27</sup> In the sixth century secular learning and classical scholarship almost disappeared. There is clear evidence of the rapid decay of ecclesiastical Latin in that portion of the *Liber pontificalis* composed in Rome in the pontificate of Pelagius II (578-90).<sup>28</sup> Cassiodorus deplored the ignorance of the lower clergy<sup>29</sup> and endeavored to persuade Pope Agapetus (535-36) to establish a school in Rome modeled after those at Alexandria and Nisíbis. The disquieted condition of the times prevented the fulfilment of the design. But the pope nevertheless established a library in his ancestral mansion Ad clivum Scauri.<sup>30</sup> Modern archeology has unearthed here a marble slab bearing the inscription: BIBLIOTHECA AGAPETI

<sup>25</sup> G. H. Hoerle, *Frühmittelalterliche Mönchs- und Klerikerbildung in Italien*, pp. 4-5; G. Pfeilschifter, *Theoderich der Grosse*, pp. 79-82.

<sup>26</sup> In the middle of the fifth century, Rusticus, bishop of Narbonne, in correspondence with his friend Eucherius, bishop of Lyons, recalls the pleasure which he had as a boy in reading Vergil in the library of a friend. The library, he tells us, was adorned with "portraits of orators and poets worked in mosaic, or in weave of different colors, or in plaster; and under each the master of the house had placed inscriptions noting their characteristics." Cf. E. J. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, I, 229.

<sup>27</sup> A. H. L. Heeren, *Geschichte der classischen Literatur im Mittelalter*, pp. 81-83.

<sup>28</sup> L. M. Duchesne, *Lib. pontif.*, I, ccxxxi-ii.

<sup>29</sup> Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, LXX, col. 1105.

<sup>30</sup> L. Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, I, 108, and his *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti*, p. 950.

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I A DXXXV DXXXVI.<sup>32</sup> Further excavation has revealed the remains of a building which, when first discovered, was thought to be the ruins of an old church. But no Roman church ever had so many bays in its apse as this structure seems to have had. The plan shows that it must have been a library. The walls were  $6\frac{1}{2}$  meters high—over 20 feet—and adorned with portraits. Around these walls must once have been armaria filled with books, and higher up on the walls there was once a frieze, perhaps illustrating biblical history. Without doubt, the decorations were finished under the pontificate of Agapetus. But the construction points to earlier work. We know from Cassiodorus that the pope lacked funds and that his reign was short. The assumption, therefore, is that one of Agapetus' predecessors began the library and that the contribution of Agapetus and Cassiodorus was to collect books for it. What was the fate of this library? Was it destroyed in the siege and capture of Rome in 546 by Totila, when we know from Cassiodorus himself that libraries suffered.<sup>33</sup> Or was it preserved to become the nucleus of the papal library in the time of Gregory? If the latter, that pope's notorious hostility to classical literature must have developed some years after he began to reign.

The narrow limits of the papal library under Gregory the Great (590–604) may be measured from the few works which he cites. The Bible and a few of the Latin fathers (he knew no Greek and seems to have detested even the ante-Nicene Greek writers) are almost all his sources. Over and over again he rings the changes on thoughts derived from them alone. He complains once because he cannot find Irenaeus' works<sup>34</sup> in the library, or Eusebius' *Acta martyrum*;<sup>35</sup> and there is only one allusion to the copying of books<sup>36</sup> in all his writings. Although he had been papal nuncio in Con-

<sup>32</sup> H.-L. Marrou, "Autour de la bibliothèque du pape Agapit," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, XLVIII (1931), 124–69.

<sup>33</sup> Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXX, col. 1212. The problem in this passage is to know whether by the words "bibliotheca Romae" Cassiodorus meant the Bibliotheca ad clivum Scauri or one of the older great libraries, presumably the Palatine or the Ulpian.

<sup>34</sup> *Ep.* xi. 40.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, viii. 29.

<sup>36</sup> *Dial.* i. 4.

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stantinople for six years, he never learned Greek.<sup>36</sup> John the Deacon, the biographer of Pope Gregory I, relates how in his last year (604) there was famine in Rome and the people murmured against his waste of the property of St. Peter. Their fury was aroused; and, the pope himself being away, the mob rushed against the papal palace and would even have burned his books had they not been saved by the address of Peter the Deacon, the same who was interlocutor in the *Dialogues*. Peter represented that it was senseless to try to exterminate and destroy the pope's books, for there were copies of the same books all over the world.<sup>37</sup>

In 649 the "codices patrum et haereticorum" were removed from the papal library to the *scrinium*, where the papal archives were kept, so that a real library began to be formed in company with the archives.<sup>38</sup> These archives, however, must have been meager and carelessly kept, for we find Pope Martin I (649-54) petitioning the Bishop of Utrecht to send him transcripts of the canons of previous councils which were not available in Rome itself.<sup>39</sup> Not until the time of Pope Zacharias (741-52) do we come upon clear trace of growth in the papal library. This pope housed the books in the portico of the Lateran, which he rebuilt; and from this time one must distinguish between the papal archives and the papal library—the Sacrum Lateranense scrinium, or the Archivum sanctae Romanae ecclesiae, and the Bibliotheca sedis apostolicae.

The book trade in Rome in the seventh and eighth centuries flourished even if literature languished. This makes Gregory's silence about copyists strange. Augustine, whom he sent to Britain in 596, brought some volumes with him;<sup>40</sup> and Rome continued to supply the English mission with books for the next two centuries. Benedict Biscop made five journeys to Rome for books, Gertrude

<sup>36</sup> "Nos nec graeca novimus nec aliquod opus aliquando graece conscripsimus" (*Ep.* xi). He was angry when he discovered that Anastasius of Antioch had made a Greek translation of his *Regula pastoralis* (M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* [ed. 1911], I, 104-5).

<sup>37</sup> F. H. Dudden, *Gregory the Great*, II, 270.

<sup>38</sup> Stevenson and De Rossi, *op. cit.*, I, xviii.

<sup>39</sup> G. B. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum*, XV, 285.

<sup>40</sup> M. R. James, *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, p. lxiv.



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of Nivelles received manuscripts from Rome before 657; Wandrille between 657 and 672; between 766 and 780 some books were sent to York, and Gregory II sent a volume of the letters of Leo the Great to Boniface.<sup>41</sup>

As far as the production of literature and the care of books is concerned, Frankish Gaul and Visigothic Spain were in advance of Italy in the sixth and seventh centuries. That cultural superiority with which Sidonius Apollinaris and Sulpicius Severus (*ca.* 365-425) had invested humane letters in Gaul in the fifth century still continued, although with diminishing quality. The latter, indeed, has the distinction of having created the first "best seller" of the Middle Ages, the *Vita Sancti Martini*, the forerunner and prototype of an almost endless series of lives of the saints, which were read then as eagerly as novels are today. It was an instant success, and the booksellers could not keep up with the demand for it. His friend Paulinus carried a copy to Rome, where the booksellers speedily became exultant over the rapid sales.<sup>42</sup> It even was sold in Alexandria.<sup>43</sup>

By the beginning of the seventh century the last lay schools had disappeared; and all instruction was henceforward a matter of the home, under tutors—and this only in the houses of the rich—or in the schools of the church.<sup>44</sup> However, we find a Gallic noble still keeping slaves to read to him and to transcribe literary work.<sup>45</sup> In Provence, at least, Roman culture was still vigorous enough to resist the universal decay of letters.<sup>46</sup> We know, also, from Bede's

<sup>41</sup> De Ghellinck, *op. cit.*, p. 379 and note.

<sup>42</sup> "Deinde, cum tota certatim urbe raperetur, exultantes librariorum vidi, quod nihil ab his quaestuosius haberetur, si quidem nihil illo promptius, nihil carius venderetur" (Sulpicius Severus *Dialog.* i. 23).

<sup>43</sup> H. B. Workman, *Evolution of Monasticism*, p. 102. We owe to Severus, too, an illuminating and critical reflection on the perpetration and continuation of errors in manuscripts arising from repeated transcription. In trying to unravel the chronology of Solomon's reign and estimating how many years had elapsed since the Exodus, he observes: "Sed non dubito librariorum potius negligentia, praesertim tot jam saeculis intercedentibus, veritatem fuisse corruptam, quam ut propheta erraverit. Sicut in hoc ipso nostro opusculo futurum credimus, ut describentium incuria, quae non incuriose a nobis sunt digesta, vitientur" (*Chronicon* i. 40).

<sup>44</sup> A. Marignan, *Etudes sur la civilisation française: La Société mérovingienne*, pp. 312-17; O. M. Dalton, *Gregory of Tours*, I, 409-13; M. Prou, *La Gaule mérovingienne*, pp. 213-14.

<sup>45</sup> Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* iv. 31.

<sup>46</sup> This is shown by Gregory of Tours's scornful allusion to "sophisticated nobles and philosophizing officials" (*ibid.* vi. 9).

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*Life of Benedict Biscop* that the book trade in the cities of the Rhone Valley, at least at Vienne, persisted until the middle of the seventh century.<sup>47</sup> There were few monasteries as yet in Frankish Gaul except in the extreme south; and the cathedral libraries of Reims, Tours, and Vienne must have had very few books. Among these, Vergil was almost the only classical author represented.<sup>48</sup> There is not a word in all Gregory of Tours's works which specifically mentions a library, and but few allusions to books. Twice the Bible is mentioned as forming three separate volumes. A Frankish raid into Spain brought back among the booty "twenty covers for the Gospels, all of pure gold and adorned with precious stones."<sup>49</sup> Once he says *revolvit librum*<sup>50</sup> of opening a book; but it probably is an archaism preserved from the time when books were rolls. By the sixth century codices were almost universal.

The brighter and the only humanistic aspect of the Merovingian age is afforded by the writings of Venantius Fortunatus (ca. 535—ca. 600), who was educated in Ravenna but spent his life in Frankish Gaul and died bishop of Poitiers.<sup>51</sup> It remains a mystery where and how Fortunatus acquired so thorough a classical education in the depth of the sixth century. Where did he get his books? In only one of his numerous poems is there any information on this head; and then we learn that Gertrude, abbess of Nivelles, sent messengers to Rome and to Ireland for the purchase of books.<sup>52</sup>

We are in almost total ignorance with regard to the libraries of Spain during the Gothic epoch (415–711) except at one point, Seville about 600,<sup>53</sup> although Spain retained an intellectual life of

<sup>47</sup> Bede *Hist. Abbat.* iv.

<sup>48</sup> G. Kurth, "Gregoire de Tours et les études classiques," *Revue des questions historiques*, VI (1878), 386. M. Bonnet, *Le Latin de Gregoire de Tours*, pp. 48–76, attempted to reconstitute Gregory's library from the internal evidence of his writings.

<sup>49</sup> *Hist. Franc.* iii. 10.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* v. 8.

<sup>51</sup> Ebert, *op. cit.*, I, chap. xxv; Sandys, *op. cit.*, I, 448; E. K. Rand, "The Brighter Aspects of the Merovingian Age," *Proceedings of the British Classical Association*, XVIII (1921), 165–82.

<sup>52</sup> M. Roger, *L'Enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin*, p. 126 n.

<sup>53</sup> H. Leclercq, *L'Espagne chrétienne*, pp. 316–27.

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more vigor than that of Frankish Gaul well down into the seventh century. Martin (d. 580), archbishop of Bracara (or Braga), to judge from his writings, must have had a respectable library; and the same may be said of Eugenius, bishop of Toledo (646-57), and his successor, Julian (680-90).

The giant of erudition in western Europe in the early Middle Ages was Isidore of Seville (ca. 570-636), whose greatest work was the *Etymologiarum* or *Originum*, in twenty books, an encyclopedia of vast dimension and heterogeneous information. He was also the author of a *Historia Gothorum et Suevorum*, a *De viris illustribus*, and a manual of natural science entitled *De natura rerum*, besides a huge body of letters. In the composition of these works Isidor missed little of classical literature which had survived, and almost as little of Christian writings. He cites 154 pagan and Christian writers, and seems to have missed only Cassiodorus' encyclopedia among contemporary writers.<sup>54</sup> The cathedral library at Seville must have been rich and a large one. But there is also another form of evidence, and that of a very attractive sort. This is the *Versus titulis bibliothecae*, a poem apparently written by Isidore about his library. It describes the contents of a library, naming individual authors and their characteristics—at least in the case of the Christian authors. The pagan authors are either treated very briefly or only mentioned by name. Dr. M. R. James thinks that

the number of sections or *tituli* warrants us in reckoning that Isidor owned at least fourteen and perhaps sixteen presses, and we shall be safe in assuming that at this date the contents were in book-form (*codices*) and not rolls (*volumina*). Taking the number of books in each press at 30—not an unreasonable estimate—we reach the very respectable total of 420 or 480 for the whole collection. As to the contents, the *tituli* suggest that theology predominated.<sup>55</sup>

When Isidore of Seville died in 636, ecclesiastical predominance and literary ascendancy passed to Toledo.

<sup>54</sup> C. H. Beeson, *Isidorstudien*, is the most thorough study of Isidore.

<sup>55</sup> *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, III, 491. Since Beeson, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-66, no one doubts that Isidore was the author of these verses. They were very popular in medieval libraries, and are cited by Julian of Toledo, imitated by Paulus Albarus for the library of King Leovegild; Bede quotes some of the lines in a letter (*Ep. ad Plegwinum*); Theodulf, the bibliophile bishop of Orleans in the time of Charlemagne, exploited the verses liberally for his own library. Notger of St. Gall cites them late in the same century.

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At the close of the seventh century in Spain, only a few years before the Muslim invasion (711), we have from the pen of Valerius, abbot of S. Petri de Montibus (*ca.* 692–96), a *Vita S. Fructuosi* (d. *ca.* 660) and interesting autobiographical writings which have tantalizing allusions to books of which we would know more.<sup>56</sup>

The year 600 may be said to mark a turning-point in the history of medieval culture. "Fortunatus died at Poitiers in 609; Gregory the Great in 604; Isidore of Seville, leaving the Encyclopedia Britannica of the Middle Ages behind him as his monument, in 636; and for a while it seemed that they had taken Latin letters to their graves with them. It was low tide on the continent of Europe."<sup>57</sup>

The fifth century had seen the decline of the ancient Roman schools, which had once been the glory of the provinces; the sixth, witnessed their extinction.<sup>58</sup> Gregory of Tours penned the litany of letters at this time in these words: "In these times when the practice of letters declines, nay, rather perishes in the cities of Gaul, there has been found no scholar trained in the part of ordered composition to present in prose or verse a picture of the things which have befallen."<sup>59</sup>

But, as Keats magnificently wrote: "There is a budding morrow in midnight." For already there was a streak of light upon the horizon, which was destined to broaden into a new day for Europe's culture and learning. The light was in Italy, and the fire-bringer was Cassiodorus.

<sup>56</sup> N. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus*, I, 382–88; P. B. Gams, *Die Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, II, Part II, 152–58.

<sup>57</sup> H. Waddell, *The Wandering Scholars*, p. 27.

<sup>58</sup> "Au V<sup>e</sup> siècle nous avons assisté à la désorganisation de l'enseignement classique, le VI<sup>e</sup> va nous offrir le spectacle de sa ruine. ... Dès la fin du V<sup>e</sup> siècle, on avait vu les effets de la disparition des écoles" (M. Roger, *L'Enseignement des lettres d'Ausone à Alcuin*, p. 89).

<sup>59</sup> *The History of the Franks*, trans. O. M. Dalton, II, 2.

## CHAPTER II

### Early Monastic Libraries

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**I**N THE church libraries, as we have seen, Christianity unconsciously and instinctively adopted for its own uses an institutional pattern already existing in Roman society. Just as the old classical libraries had been founded in connection with pagan temples, so these Christian collections grew up in metropolitan churches. And, significantly, it was in these libraries that the new religion first reconciled itself to accepting secular culture as the necessary basis of its own theological scholarship. The church library was thus, in a sense, a compromise with paganism.

The monastic library, on the contrary, was specifically a Christian institution. Here the primitive converts' antipathy to books was a stronger and more permanent factor. Christian asceticism has always felt a distrust of learning for its own sake, and it does so even today. There is, therefore, much misunderstanding and considerable misrepresentation of the true facts in some modern eulogies of the service rendered to civilization by the monks through their preservation of literature during the Dark Ages. It is true that the only extant manuscripts of many important books have come to us through the monastic libraries, but it is equally true their preservation was as often due to neglect and mere chance as it was to conscious intention. The chief purpose of the founders of monasticism was that the daily life of the monk should be austere in its purity. For this end the rules endeavor to keep his attention fixed upon spiritual matters and to fill even his leisure hours with innocent activities. They therefore prescribe that pious books shall be read aloud during mealtime, not to make the monks learned, but to keep them from frivolous thoughts and conversation; they provide for

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the copying of manuscripts in the scriptorium not so much to produce new books as to keep the brothers from mischievous idleness. This is why so often when there was no more blank parchment the text was scraped from existing volumes and new writing inserted; not merely secular books but works of the most orthodox and the most revered Christian fathers were erased to make palimpsests, and in some cases a vellum was used, not twice, but a fifth and a sixth time for re-writing. It was the occupation of writing, and not what was written, that was valued.

There were, of course, in most periods individual monks of scholarly tastes as well as ascetic enthusiasm, and these inevitably devoted their leisure to books, not mechanically, but intellectually and aesthetically. Moreover, when a man of this type rose to authority, he would inevitably show in his supervision of the scriptorium and library of his house a real interest in literature and learning. Yet, in our gratitude for what such men did as individuals, we should not forget that, while a few were preserving books, other monks were allowing them to perish through neglect or actual destruction. Despite noble exceptions, the medieval scriptorium was more often a treadmill for meaningless labor than it was a shrine where the expiring flame of literary culture was sedulously preserved.

The earliest forms of monasticism failed to recognize the necessity of a rule and an occupation for the anchorite. Only after generations of hermits had degenerated to morbid fanaticism and even to mental and moral disaster was an ordered and disciplined communal life adopted with the use of books as a wholesome activity. One of the earliest of the rules was that of St. Pachomius (d. 346) of Egypt. This contains some curious regulations on the reading and care of books in the cloister, and even upon their classification.<sup>1</sup>

The books found in the Pachomian monasteries were wholly of a religious and ecclesiastical nature—the Scriptures, the writings of patristic authors, works of edification, tracts, and sermons.

These "saints of the desert" were assiduous, even fanatical, readers of sacred literature. Ammonius, the "Tall Brother," committed to

<sup>1</sup> C. Cahier, *Nouveaux mélanges d'archéologie*, IV, 52; A. van de Vyver, "Cassiodore et son œuvre," *Speculum*, VI (1931), 279.

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memory the Old and the New Testaments and had, it was said, read six million lines of patristic writers. Palladius, in his *Lausiac History*, chapter iv, tells of a lady of good birth

who turned night into day in reading through every accessible work of the ancient commentators, including 3,000,000 lines of Origen, and 2,500,000 of Gregory, Stephen, Pierius, Basil and other standard authors: nor did she simply read them once and have done with them, but went through each book carefully seven or eight times.

Calligraphy was more prized than constructive writing in the Egyptian monasteries. Yet, there were sometimes monks here who read the classics also. Greatest of these was Isidore of Pelusium, born about 370; nearly two thousand of his letters have been preserved,<sup>2</sup> from which the library of his monastery can be reconstructed. He seems to have been familiar with the whole body of patristic literature and to have retained a love of classical literature, both Greek and Latin. For among profane authors he cites Plato, Pindar, Herodotus, the poet Chericles, Sophocles, Hippocrates, Aristophanes, Thucydides, Isocrates, Xenophon, Demosthenes, Aeschines, Philostratus, Cicero, and Ovid.

In recent years the archeologist has unearthed interesting evidence concerning the early monastic libraries of Egypt, of which we know nothing from contemporary chronicles. One of the smaller houses was that of Epiphanius across the Nile from the Temple of Karnak. This site was explored by an expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in 1912-14. The original monastic structure was an ancient tomb inhabited by a small group of anchorites whom Epiphanius organized as a community before 600. The existing remains indicate that the monastery possessed no great library. The inmates seem to have supplied the lack of books by writing on potsherds and limestone slates. Most of those found contain scriptural verses in Coptic. Greek also must have been studied, for some of these ostraca contain lines from the first book of the *Iliad*; others,

<sup>2</sup> The *Letters of Isidore of Pelusium* were first published by Billy (Paris, 1585), again by Rittershausen (Heidelberg, 1605), and by Schott (Antwerp, 1623); Migne, *Pat. Graec.*, LXXVIII, is a reprint of this edition. The only studies of him known to me are: H. A. Niemeyer, *De Isidore Pelus vita scriptis et doctrina* (Halle, 1825), and P. B. Glueck, *Isidori Pel. summa doctrinae moralis* (Wuerzburg, 1848). He would richly repay study for the light which his letters cast upon the survival of the classical tradition. It is regrettable that he has been so much neglected.

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sentences from Menander arranged in alphabetical order. These are evidently school material. Ostraca are not books, but works written on papyrus are. Of these the most interesting example (Cairo 44689), is a volume of sixteen pages—not a roll—containing two Greek acrostic poems with Coptic translations opposite. The paucity of books found in the course of excavation indicates that the site had already been exploited by treasure-hunters. Several documents in European archives are believed to have come from this source, as the Greek papyrus Codex U of the Psalms, which has been in the British Museum since 1834 (B.M. Pap. xxxvii). The Coptic "Papyrus-codex" in the Phillips Collection, published by Crum in 1915, probably came from the same place also. In addition, there is a large collection of letters to Epiphanius.<sup>3</sup>

Another early Egyptian monastery whose ruins have thrown light upon early monastic libraries is the Hellenized Coptic monastery known as the "White House at Atripe" or "Athribis in Upper Egypt." Some Italian missionaries first found the leaves of papyrus here which later led to excavation and the uncovering of a large quantity of literary material, catalogued in part by Zoega<sup>4</sup> and Mingarelli,<sup>5</sup> now scattered throughout the libraries and museums of Europe. They extend from the sixth to the twelfth century and are rich in biblical, patristic, and liturgical remains. They give us our first information concerning an Egyptian monk almost as important as Pachomius. This was Schenoudi (d. 452), a great churchman in his day and a member of the Council of Ephesus. It is singular that his name is nowhere mentioned by the church historians, although Jerome, Palladius, and Cassian were all in Egypt while he lived, and Palladius was once within a few miles of the White House. Colophons of books presented to this monastery are dated from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, the latest being 1248.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> H. G. Evelyn-White, *The Monasteries of the Wādi 'n-Natṛān*; H. E. Winlock and W. E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius*.

<sup>4</sup> G. Zoega, *Catalogus Codicum Copticorum manuscriptorum qui in museo Borgiano velutris adservantur* (Rome, 1810).

<sup>5</sup> G. L. Mingarelli, *Aegyptiorum Codicum reliquae Venetiis in bibliotheca Naniana asservatae* (Bologna, 1785).

<sup>6</sup> J. Leipoldt, *Schenute und die Entstehung der national ägyptischen Kirche*.



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However, the monastic settlement which grew up around the cell of St. Epiphanius at Thebes and the colony established at the White House were small communities compared with the famous group of Nitrian monasteries. "The library of the Syrian monastery in the Natron valley," it has been well said, "is one of the great reservoirs from which our knowledge of the history of the Christian East is derived."<sup>7</sup> The house was established at some time between 710 and 816, for in 817 the monastery, with others in the neighborhood, was destroyed by a terrible raid of barbarian "Arabs." Refounded about 824, its library grew apace, owing to the intelligent direction of a remarkable series of abbots, the first of whom was Matthew, one of four brothers who were the effectual founders of the library. The most influential of their successors was Moses of Nisíbis (907-44), whose greatest exploit was a journey to Mesopotamia and Syria in 932, from which he returned with two hundred and fifty manuscripts, many of great age and value. It was a timely expedition, for soon afterward the Turkish conquest all but destroyed Syriac as a living language. The greater part of our knowledge of Syriac literature is due to the collection made by Moses.

The precedent established by Greek and Coptic monasticism spread to the Latin West through St. Jerome, Cassian of Massilia (*ca.* 360-435), and Caesar of Arles (*ca.* 470-542) and was later adopted by Benedictine monasticism. Cassian included the copying of books among the manual labors of his monks on the ground that "a monk who works is troubled by only one devil, while an idle monk is troubled by many." But it must be admitted that he had little use for learning. Only in exceptional houses, like Lerins, did the monks receive any literary education, for the ordinary superior was content if his monks could read the Psalter and the lives of the saints. Cassian himself only once mentions the transcription of manuscripts, and then in the case of an Italian newcomer who confessed he was fit for nothing else. In the sixth century an abbess of the convent in Arles is said<sup>8</sup> to have set an edifying example of assidu-

<sup>7</sup> F. C. Burkitt, review of Evelyn-White, *op. cit.*, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXXIV (1933), 191.

<sup>8</sup> *Vita S. Caes. Arlen.* i. 59; cf. Dom J. M. Bease, *Les Moines de l'ancienne France*, pp. 111-12.

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ous reading; and another record states, that, once when a fire broke out, the nuns ran to save the books and threw them into a dry cistern. Yet, it is clear that the earliest monasteries in the West were indifferent to books other than the Bible and service books and cared nothing for learning or the classics. Things were no better in the house of St. Martin of Tours, the first truly Latin monastic foundation. St. Martin enjoined on the monks of Marmoutier the duty of copying the Scriptures and the Fathers, but that is all. As late as 600, among all the occupations<sup>9</sup> of monks mentioned in the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great—gardening, getting in the hay, trimming vines, plucking olives, building, baking, etc.—literary occupation is mentioned only once.<sup>10</sup>

There was in the West, however, another stream of monastic tradition than the one which culminated in the Rule of St. Benedict, and this was less indifferent to things intellectual. It sprang from the vision and labors of two men of Gothic Italy, Boethius (d. 524) and Cassiodorus (d. 575), both officials in the court of Theodoric the Great. Boethius was the last great classical scholar and philosopher of antiquity; Cassiodorus, the first librarian of the Latin and German West of the Middle Ages.

Boethius<sup>11</sup> was a Roman noble who had married a descendant of Symmachus the Orator, the last pagan in the West who had done much to keep the classical spirit alive in an increasingly hostile Christian world. In the rich library of his father-in-law's palace he studied with such avidity that one may believe he compassed almost all the knowledge of antiquity. Certainly he cherished the plan of translating all the works of Plato and Aristotle into Latin. How far he completed the task is uncertain, but almost everything which the West

<sup>9</sup> M. Roger, *L'Enseignement des classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin*, pp. 147-48; G. Boissier, *La Fin du paganisme*, II, 66. If it could be established that the monastery of St. Meamin near Orleans was actually founded about A.D. 520, then we would have evidence of another monastic library in northern France besides that of St. Martin's, going back almost to the period of Roman domination in Gaul. But the tradition seems of too late currency to be trustworthy.

<sup>10</sup> *Dialog.* i. 4: "antiquarios scribentes."

<sup>11</sup> H. F. Stewart, *Boethius*; E. K. Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages*, chap. v; F. W. Wright and T. A. Sinclair, *A History of Latin Literature from the Middle of the Fourth Century*, pp. 80-90; R. Bonnaud, "L'Education scientifique de Boèce," *Speculum*, IV (1929), 198-206.

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knew of Aristotle in the Middle Ages until the twelfth century was derived from his translations. He wrote on astronomy, music, arithmetic, geometry, mechanics, and philosophy. When he was not more than thirty, Cassiodorus wrote to him: "All the rich treasures of Greek learning and art have been given to Rome through your industry; so clearly and eloquently have you translated these works that their authors, if they had known both, would have preferred your work to their own."<sup>12</sup> Boethius' most original work, *De consolazione philosophiae*,<sup>13</sup> is purely pagan in spirit, yet so personal and authentic that it reminds one of St. Augustine's *Confessions*—it might be described as *Religio grammatici*, the religion of a scholar. From this and his other extant writings it is possible in some degree to reconstruct his library. Yet every detail would be purely inferential; the only certain, substantial fact about Boethius' library we know is that the armaria were glazed and ornamented with ivory.<sup>14</sup>

Far otherwise is the case of Cassiodorus,<sup>15</sup> who not only profoundly influenced the intellectual development of Europe throughout the Middle Ages but established the first medieval scriptorium and the principles and practices of library management which endured until the invention of printing. He also was a Roman noble, heir of the proclassical and propagandist traditions of that coterie of the Roman noblesse, the Symmachi, the Praetextati, and the Nicomaci, of the fourth century. In the sixth century their Christian descendants still continued that literary tradition, although they had become reconciled to the new religious dispensation. The intellectual strength and the sentimental charm of the ancient classical literature still

<sup>12</sup> *Var.* i. 45.

<sup>13</sup> For the wide circulation of this work see M. Manitius, *Philologisches aus alten Bibliothekskatalogen*, pp. 130-35.

<sup>14</sup> "Comptos ebore ac vitro parietes" (*Consolatio* i. 5).

<sup>15</sup> A. Olleris, *Cassiodore, conservateur des livres d'antiquité latine* (Paris, 1841); A. Thorbecke, *Cassiodorus Senator* (Heidelberg, 1867); A. M. Franz, *Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator* (Breslau, 1872); T. Hodgkin, *Letters of Cassiodorus* (London, 1886); M. Roger, *L'Enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin* (Paris, 1905), pp. 175-87; A. van de Vyver, "Cassiodore et son œuvre," *Speculum*, VI (1931), 244-92; H. Thiele, "Cassiodor, seine Klostergründung Vivarium und sein Nachwirken im Mittelalter," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige*, L (1932), 378-419.

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had its attraction.<sup>16</sup> For many years Cassiodorus was Latin secretary and chief minister of state to the Ostrogothic king, Theodoric, and after his death in 526 continued to serve his successors until the Ostrogothic kingdom fell in ruins under the arms of Emperor Justinian, who conquered Italy and reannexed it to the Eastern Empire. The turning-point in Cassiodorus' career was the terrible siege of Rome in 546, which perhaps destroyed the ancient Palatine and Ulpian libraries and certainly ruined the design of Cassiodorus and Pope Agapetus to establish a great Christian university in the papal capital after the model of those of Alexandria and Nisíbis.

Unlike so many of his contemporaries, Cassiodorus regarded classical learning not as hostile to Christian learning but as complementary to it,<sup>17</sup> and spent the last years of a long life (he died in 575 at the age of ninety-five) in laboring to reconcile them. He had the genius to perceive that monasticism, then just beginning to reach the West, with its stress on a cloistered life, might be made the instrument for the achievement of his purpose, for he distrusted the secular activities of the bishops and their political aspirations. Cassiodorus was a great landowner; and at some time between 546 and 555 he established upon one of his estates at the foot of Mount Moscius near Squillace (Scyllaceum) in Calabria a monastery, which was called "Vivarium," from the fish ponds adjacent. Here he gathered a congenial community around him, whom he inspired with his own enthusiasm for classical and Christian learning, and disciplined in the techniques of literary study. He fostered an ideal and created a system which made the whole Middle Ages his debtor. The greatest immediate need of the community was a library, for Cassiodorus' own books, which he at once donated, were far insuffi-

<sup>16</sup> In 594 we find the consul Turcius Rufus Apronianus Asterius revising a text of Vergil in Rome, as is proved by a subscription in the Medicean manuscript at the end of the *Eclogues*. Quoted in J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, I, 249.

<sup>17</sup> How highly, not to say fantastically, Cassiodorus regarded pagan learning is exemplified in his commentary on the Psalms, which abounds with citations from ancient Greek mathematicians, physicists, and naturalists and frequently quotes Euclid and Archimedes. In the fourth century, Prudentius, "the Christian Vergil," had already been haunted with this idea (P. Chavanne, "Les Sentiments de Prudence à l'égard des institutions et des traditions romaines," *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, IV [1899], 385-413).

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cient for their needs.<sup>18</sup> He set to work energetically to remedy this defect, assiduously collecting manuscripts and inspiring his colleagues to do the same.<sup>19</sup> He also introduced the practice of copying manuscripts and praised such labor in the highest terms.<sup>20</sup> The result was epochal in the intellectual history of medieval Europe.

For the instruction and guidance of those whom he had gathered around him at Vivarium, Cassiodorus wrote a great work, the *Institutiones*.<sup>21</sup> In the Preface, Boethius' differentiation of knowledge into the seven liberal arts is preserved, but rhetoric and dialectic receive the largest treatment. The citations made in this work will reveal what, in his eyes, constituted the proper library for a monastery; and it is significant that works on cosmography, geography, rhetoric, and classical literature were given place upon the shelves, although not on a parity with the Scriptures, partistic writings, and church histories.<sup>22</sup> The books were in nine presses, arranged not by authors but by subjects.

In nine chapters Cassiodorus deals with the several books of the Bible. From these he passes to theology, church history, and gives a brief sketch of the post-Nicene writers and their works (chaps. x–xv). Then come seven chapters with long excerpts from Augustine and Dionysius the Little. Chapters xxiv–xxv point out the value of

<sup>18</sup> At the conclusion of his commentary on Psalms, Cassiodorus expresses regret for the lack of books from which he suffered.

<sup>19</sup> "... quae . . . tamen adhuc nullatenus potui reperire, quae vobis magno studio quaerenda derelinquo" (*Institutiones* i. 3). Some books were bought in Africa (*ibid.* 8).

<sup>20</sup> "Felix intentio, laudanda sedulitas, manu salutem mortalibus tacitam dare et contra diaboli subreptiones illicitas calamo atramentoque pugnare" (*ibid.* 30).

<sup>21</sup> As ancient and medieval books had no fixed titles, this work has been variously cited—*Institutiones divinarum et saecularium (humanarum) litterarum (lectionum) or scripturarum*. Until its text tradition has been established, many questions must go unanswered. It has sometimes erroneously been said that it was divided into two parts: i, *De institutione divinarum litterarum*; ii, *De artibus et disciplinis liberalium litterarum*. But Cassiodorus, neither in thought nor in practice, made this distinction. Cf. *Cassiodori Senatori institutiones*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1937).

<sup>22</sup> J. Mabillon, *Tractatus de studiis monasticis*, Part I, pp. 24–25, has analyzed the contents of the library at Vivarium from the evidence of Cassiodorus' own works. In Part II, p. 2, he discusses the question: "An monachis permitti indiscriminatim debeat lectio quorumvis librorum?" and concludes that, if one reads secular literature with a prick of conscience, then he should forbear reading it.

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cosmography; chapter xxvi deals with his notes on the Scriptures; chapter xxvii stresses the idea that elements of secular knowledge are also to be found in the Bible. Those mentally unable or disinclined to intellectual work are enjoined to do manual labor, preferably gardening and horticulture (chap. xxviii), chapter xxix is a pleasing descriptive picture of the monastery of Vivarium, which marks an important change in Cassiodorus' thought. He attached much importance to accurate copying and took an aesthetic pleasure in a beautiful manuscript. Hence, the remainder of the treatise deals with the method and the technique of transcription. It is no exaggeration to say that Cassiodorus formulated the ideals and established the technical practices of the monastic scriptorium of future centuries in this remarkable treatise. He insists upon accurate orthography, and for this purpose wrote a separate work, *De orthographia*, for the instruction of the monks. Other substantial ideas of Cassiodorus pertained to punctuation of manuscripts and the bibliography and notes appended to them.<sup>23</sup> No detail in book-making was neglected by Cassiodorus. He gave great attention to the binding of the books at Vivarium, and skilled monks labored "that the glory of the sacred writings may be decked with robes of fitting beauty." There were even sample bindings provided as models.<sup>24</sup> He also showed ingenuity in providing mechanical conveniences in the scriptorium, such as self-trimming and self-feeding lamps, a sun-dial for bright days, and a water clock for cloudy ones.

Cassiodorus attached much importance to translations into Latin of valuable Greek works. The chief translators were Epiphanius and Mutianus. The former translated various biblical commentaries and the Codex Encyclius, now lost, which consisted of the letters of the bishops who attended the council of Chalcedon in 451. But his most important translation was the lost *Historia tripartita*, a Latin rendition of the ecclesiastical histories of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoretus, which continued Eusebius to the year 450. Mutianus translated the *Homilies* of Chrysostom on the Epistle to the Hebrews,

<sup>23</sup> *Institutiones*, *praefatio*.

<sup>24</sup> "Quibus multiplices species factorum in uno codici depictas (ni fallor) decenter expressimus ut qualem maluerit studiosus tegumenti formam ipse sibi possit eligere" (*Institutiones* xxx).

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a treatise on music by Gaudentius, and divers other works.<sup>25</sup> Even Greek medical works were translated. "If Greek literature is closed to you," said Cassiodorus to his monks, "then read Latin translations of Dioscorides, Hippocrates, Galen, Coelius Aurelianus and many other such books which you will find in the library."<sup>26</sup>

Cassiodorus had sound ideas concerning textual criticism. He always tried to get the oldest manuscripts possible and also noted suggestive critical comments, variant readings, and expository notes;<sup>27</sup> and his greatest service to posterity was in the preservation and purification of classical and biblical texts. More than any other, it was he who "gave a scholarly bent to Western Monasticism and played a major role in the preservation and transmission of classical literature."<sup>28</sup>

Among Greek writers, Cassiodorus' library certainly contained the works of Homer, Hippocrates, Galen, Plato, Lucian, Dioscorides, Aristotle, Euclid, Archimedes, and Ptolemy. Naturally, Latin authors abounded, among them Ennius, Terence, Lucretius, Varro, Cicero, Sallust, Vergil, Horace, Columella, Valerius Probus, Seneca, Pliny the Elder, Quintilian, and Macrobius. Without the antecedent labors of Cassiodorus, the classical revival of the Carolingian renaissance would have been less than it was, just as the classical revival of the Italian renaissance of the fourteenth century, in turn, was heavily indebted to Carolingian scholarship.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup> E. A. Lowe, "An Uncial (Palimpsest) Manuscript of Mutianus in the Collection of A. Chester Beatty," *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXIX (1927), 29; O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, III, 303; F. B. C. Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts*, I, 752-53.

<sup>26</sup> E. C. Streeter, "Mediaeval Libraries of Medicine 500 A.D. to 1500 A.D.," *Bulletin of the Medical Library Association*, X (1921), 15-20.

<sup>27</sup> Mme O. Dobiache-Rojdestvensky, in *Speculum*, V (1930), 21-48, "Le Codex Q. v. I 6-10 de la Bibliothèque publique de Leningrad," contends that this manuscript is probably one used by Cassiodorus. She holds that it passed to Bobbio, thence to the Abbey of St. Germain, and was acquired by Doubrovsky, the Russian ambassador in France during the early years of the French Revolution, who availed himself of the turmoil of the times to acquire many valuable books. She even thinks that certain marginalia and critical signs in red ink may be in Cassiodorus' own handwriting.

<sup>28</sup> B. E. Skahill, *The Syntax of the Variae of Cassiodorus*, Preface.

<sup>29</sup> Traube, dissenting, thinks that the influence of Cassiodorus upon the preservation of classical learning has been exaggerated (*Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, II, 123). Most scholars, however, agree that his part in the transmission of Vergil was very im-

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The work of Cassiodorus in biblical criticism is of interest in relation to the text of the Vulgate, for he possessed nine codices of the Scriptures and carefully collated their texts. In chapter xii of the *Institutiones* he describes a sumptuous volume which contained the Old Latin translation, corrected in accordance with St. Jerome's version. This Codex Grandior opened with a decorative illustration of a scholar, probably Cassiodorus himself, seated before an open book cabinet. In the seventh century, Ceolfrid, abbot of the English monasteries at Wearmouth and Jarrow, seems to have acquired Codex Grandior at Rome and, using it as a model in part, had three fine copies of the Vulgate made, one of which was a gift to the pope. He reproduced the initial illustration<sup>30</sup> but labeled the seated figure as Esdras. Though Codex Grandior has perished, Ceolfrid's manuscript still survives as one of the best extant manuscripts of the Vulgate. It is known as the "Codex Amiatinus" because it was discovered in the sixteenth century, in the abbey of Monte Amiata in Tuscany, and is now in the Laurentian Library in Florence. In the next chapter will be found some details of the history of this manuscript.

True Roman that he was, Cassiodorus preserved his books in presses or armaria, nine of which contained the Scriptures and theological writings concerning them. The Greek manuscripts were in the eighth cupboard. The arrangement seems to have been rather by subjects than by authors.<sup>31</sup> Only in southern Italy in the sixth century was it possible to prosecute such studies as Cassiodorus instituted at Vivarium. The three sieges which Rome had suffered had temporarily destroyed it as a seat of learning. Northern Italy in the last half of the sixth century was overrun by the Lombards, whose depredations were added to the already appalling desolation

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portant, and W. M. Lindsay has conclusively shown that the Vatican Probus reverts to him. Cf. his article "Primary MS of Probus *Inst. Art.*," *American Journal of Philology*, XLVIII (1927), 231-34.

<sup>30</sup> R. Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte cristiana*, III, tav. 126; G. Pfeilschiffer, *Theodorich der Grosse*, p. 126; J. W. Clark, *Care of Books*, front., pp. 39-41; H. J. White, "The Codex Amiatinus and Its Birthplace," *Studia biblica et ecclesiastica*, II (1890), 273-308; E. H. Zimmerman, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, pp. 111 ff., 260 ff.

<sup>31</sup> *Institutiones* i. 8, 17; ii. 12.



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of the land wrought by Justinian's generals, Belisarius and Narses, in the conquest of the peninsula.

There were other scholars in southern Italy and other abodes of learning and humanistic study besides Vivarium in this time. Thus, about 559, an unnamed editor corrected Augustine's *De trinitate* "in territorio Cumano." Even when the Lombard forays were extended into the South, Petrus Notarius, during the siege of Naples (589), continued to labor over some extracts from Augustine in the monastery of St. Severinus. This had been founded by Proba, a daughter of Symmachus and sister-in-law of Boethius. She established her monastery in Castellum Lucullanum, formerly the great villa of Lucullus, to which Romulus Augustulus, the last Western emperor, was relegated in 476, when deposed by Odoacer.<sup>32</sup> Its first abbot was Eugippius, author of a *Vita Sancti Severini*, and a learned man. Through his enterprise, a valuable library was formed. We learn this from a letter of Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspe in Africa from 508 to 533, who wrote to Eugippius: "Obsecro ut libros quos opus habemus servi tui describant de codicibus vestris."<sup>33</sup> Even after Eugippius' death, the library was still eagerly used, as is shown by a number of notations upon the manuscripts and also by the number of various handwritings in which they are written.<sup>34</sup>

The fate of the library of Cassiodorus, the first great collection of Western monasticism, is vested in obscurity. Beer<sup>35</sup> contends that, though a portion of Cassiodorus' collection found lodgment in Verona and separate codices wandered to Britain, most of the books were transferred to Bobbio in the seventh century. He finds no direct record of the transfer but bases his argument on the fact that "no library of the early Middle Ages reflects so plainly the book collection

<sup>32</sup> Van de Vyver, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

<sup>33</sup> Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXV, col. 348; G. H. Hoerle, *Frühmittelalterliche Mönchs- und Klerikerbildung in Italien*, p. 7.

<sup>34</sup> In 558 the famous Codex Epternacensis (Paris 9389) was collated there. Cf. Hoerle, *op. cit.*, p. 7, n. 3; Dom J. Chapman, *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate*, pp. 31-32.

<sup>35</sup> R. Beer, "Bemerkungen über den ältesten Handschriftbestand des Klosters Bobbio," *Vienna, Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil.-Hist. Cl.), *Anzeiger* (1911), pp. 78-104. Beer's view has had wide acceptance; Van de Vyver, *op. cit.*, p. 283, even states the supposition as a fact.

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of Cassiodorus as the oldest manuscripts of the monastery of Bobbio." He fixes the date by assuming that the influx of Greek monks<sup>36</sup> into Apulia and Calabria which resulted from Justinian's conquest of Italy led to an expulsion of Latin Christianity from this region. While the growth of Greek ecclesiastical influence may have tended to expel Latin Christianity from the South, the Latin faith was, at the same time, strongly attracted to northern Italy by the conditions there at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century. On the monks of Bobbio fell the special task of combating Arianism, which the Ostrogoths had introduced and the Lombards perpetuated.<sup>37</sup> The intermediate person in the transfer of books, it has been contended, was the Lombard queen Theodolinda, who was a Catholic and withal an intellectual: Gregory the Great sent her his *Dialogues*<sup>38</sup> and an evangelical work which she gave to the church of St. John in Monza,<sup>39</sup> but Bobbio was her favorite.

This fascinating theory, however, of a nexus between Vivarium and Bobbio has lately been sharply challenged by Cardinal Giovanni Mercati, of the Vatican Library, in his introduction to the facsimile reproduction of Cicero's *De re publica* (Vat. Lat. 5757).<sup>40</sup> To him the hypothesis of a Vivarium origin for the library at Bobbio seems very improbable.<sup>41</sup> First of all, the reason advanced for the removal of the Cassiodorean library from Vivarium—the invasion of Calabria by the Greek rite in the seventh century—is not tenable.

<sup>36</sup> K. Lake, "The Greek Monasteries in South Italy," *Journal of Theological Studies*, IV-V (1903-4), *passim*.

<sup>37</sup> T. Jung, "Bobbio," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, XX (1899), 533 ff.; J. Zeiller, *Les Origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes*. Since the orthodox clergy and orthodox literature were weak in northern Italy, there was peculiar need for a library when Bobbio was founded. In this connection the *Vita S. Columbani* of his pupil Jonas, may be quoted (i. 3): "Beatus ergo Columbanus . . . Italiam ingreditur, ubi dum ille poenes Mediolanum urbem moraretur et hereseorum fraudes, id est Arriane perfidie scripturarum cauterio discerpi ac desecari vellet, contra quos etiam libellum florenti scientia edidit."

<sup>38</sup> Paulus Diaconus *Historia Langobardorum* iv. 5.

<sup>39</sup> *MGH, Epistolae*, II, 431.

<sup>40</sup> *Codices e Vaticanis selecti*, XXIII, 14-20.

<sup>41</sup> There is a review of his work in *Speculum*, X (1935), 432-34, in which F. M. Wheelock complains of "the extensive reliance upon theories."

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The predominance of Greek culture in Calabria came late in the seventh and more fully in the early eighth century. Again: it is argued that in the first decades of the seventh century Calabria was happier and more secure than central or papal Italy or Lombardy; and there must still have been monks at Vivarium who, even if they had not seen Cassiodorus' face, yet kept alive the scholarly tradition which he had established. In 598 Gregory the Great had praised the monks of Vivarium for their scholarly activity.<sup>42</sup> In the light of these things it seems unreasonable to think that the monks of Vivarium would have consented to be deprived of their manuscripts for the benefit of an Irish abbey situated in the Arian-ruled kingdom of the Lombards. Cardinal Mercati admits that some of the codices at Vivarium may have been archetypes of copies found in Bobbio, but is more inclined to believe that Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* became a sort of bibliographical guide for other monasteries in Italy, which labored to collect the same works which Cassiodorus prized. The Ostrogothic peace maintained by Theodoric the Great, especially in Upper Italy, was characterized by a considerable activity in the transcription of books, and many of these must have been available after the fall of the Ostrogothic kingdom; to pick up some of these manuscripts and to make new codices from them would certainly not have been difficult. In Cardinal Mercati's opinion the greater portion of Bobbio's library was collected in northern Italy itself, from such ecclesiastical libraries as could easily be found at Piacenza, Verona, Pavia, Milan, Ravenna, and elsewhere, and perhaps in some instances from private families of ancient and distinguished lineage. As for Vivarium, its fate is a riddle of history. Was it destroyed by earthquake, as Monte Cassino was once shattered? Or was it consumed by fire? Or did corsairs or Muslim pirates ravage and raze it?

The monastic libraries which we have considered thus far were developed within the Mediterranean area of Christian culture. As we now turn to the history of Bobbio, we meet for the first time a new influence to which frequent reference will be made—the influence of British Christianity, which flowed to the Continent during the

<sup>42</sup> *Registrum*, ed. Ewald, VIII, 32; *MGH, Epistolae*, II, 35.

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sixth and seventh centuries. The rise of a distinctive literary culture in the British Isles will be discussed in the next chapter. Here we are concerned only with the earliest Continental cloisters founded by Irish missionary monks.<sup>43</sup> One of the greatest of these Irish pioneers was St. Columban, who in 585, at the age of forty-five, set out for Gaul with twelve companions to set up religious houses which might serve as centers for missionary activity. In succession he founded cloisters at Anegray, Luxeuil, Fontenay, and finally, in 612, at Bobbio in Piedmontese Italy, a house which was to become one of the greatest monasteries of Europe. Here Columban died on November 21, 615.

In conformity with his Irish training, one of Columban's first cares had been to establish a scriptorium in each of his cloisters. Of these, that at Bobbio was especially important, though this was perhaps due more to the labors of Columban's successor than to the founder himself. This second abbot, Attal, we are told, brought several boxes of books<sup>44</sup> when he joined the new monastery; and apparently his literary interests continued throughout his term of office as abbot. Attal himself was a Burgundian, but many of the monks under him were Irish. Accordingly, the script<sup>45</sup> used at Bobbio was the Insular until, in the tenth century, it gave way to the Lombard writing. Not a great deal is known about the early history of this library and the scriptorium except from the surviving manuscripts themselves.<sup>46</sup> The earliest catalogue extant is of the tenth century and enumerates

<sup>43</sup> There is an extensive literature concerning Irish missions on the Continent. See the list in L. J. Paetow, *A Guide to the Study of Medieval History* (rev. ed.), pp. 162-63; W. Schultze, "Die Bedeutung der Iroschottischen Mönche für die Erhaltung und Fortpflanzung der mittelalterlichen Wissenschaft," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, VI (1889), 185 ff., 233 ff., 281 ff.; H. Zimmer, *Irish Element in Medieval Culture*; G. Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, chap. vii; F. H. Dudden, *Gregory the Great*, II, 86 ff.; P. F. Moran, *An Irish Missionary and His Work*.

<sup>44</sup> "Libros ligaminibus firmat" (Jonas *Vita S. Columbani* ii. 5).

<sup>45</sup> According to W. M. Lindsay, "The Bobbio Scriptorium: Its Early Minuscule Abbreviations," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XXVI (1909), 293-306, more than one script was used in the Bobbio scriptorium from the seventh century on, though the Insular script predominated in the early centuries but certain abbreviations and signs were common to most manuscripts written there.

<sup>46</sup> Manuscripts from Bobbio are preserved at Rome, Milan, Turin, Naples, Paris, Vienna, Wolfenbüttel, and Madrid.

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666 works.<sup>47</sup> The archives of the house contain scattered references to benefactions to the library: Abbot Bobolen in 643 bequeathed a chest of books, of which one volume, a seventh-century manuscript, Augustine's *Sermons*, is still extant;<sup>48</sup> in 862 Bishop Theodulfus of Turin presented a commentary on Corinthians by Claudius of Turin, which is now preserved in the Vatican Library;<sup>49</sup> and there were probably other similar bequests and donations. There are also in the monastery, records and notices which throw some light on the administration of the library. Thus, a list of officers drawn up in the time of Abbot Wala (834-36) mentions both an archivist ("custos cartarum omnia provideat monasterii monumenta") and a librarian ("bibliothecarius omnium librorum curam habeat lectionum, atque scriptorium"), in addition to the cantor, who, we know, in many houses performed these functions in addition to his supervision of the choir.<sup>50</sup>

More illuminating for the history of Bobbio's library than these scattered notices, or even than the tenth-century catalogue, are the codices which survive from the collection. From the paleographical evidence they contain it is clear that for a short period after St. Columban's death the scriptorium was intensely active, but by the close of the century this literary zeal died away. Some copying was always going on, but both the script and the text bear minute witness to cultural degeneration. Indeed, both the Carolingian and the Saxon revivals, which will be discussed later, passed over Bobbio without perceptible influence. In their present form most of the surviving codices are theological books, but many of them are palimpsests from which the texts of Latin classics have been erased.<sup>51</sup> Since in most cases it is now possible to decipher the earlier writing by the

<sup>47</sup> G. H. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, No. 32.

<sup>48</sup> Vat. 5758.

<sup>49</sup> Vat. 5775.

<sup>50</sup> The list is published by L. A. Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae medii aevi*, V, 379 ff. This is the first mention of a bibliothecarius in Italy, outside of Rome. The second mention is in the eleventh century for the cathedral library of Cremona; and the third, in the twelfth century for Verona. Cf. G. Manacorda, *Storia della scuola in Italia*, I, 204.

<sup>51</sup> Cicero's *Orations* was supplanted by Sedulius' *Carmen Paschale*; fragments of Galen and Dioscorides, medical prescriptions and mathematical observations by conciliar decrees, grammatical treatises and Isidore's *Etymologiae*; Cicero's *In Verrem* by Cyprian's *De opere et eleemosynis*; Lucan's *Pharsalia* by a treatise on grammar, etc. Cf. Hoerle, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

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use of chemical reagents or special photographic processes, the Bobbio codices are of the utmost importance to the classical scholar.

But to the ecclesiastical historian no less than to the classicist the Bobbio manuscripts are of superlative interest. One, Codex k, now at Turin, contains by far the most valuable text for critical purposes of all extant Old Latin texts of the Gospels. Almost certainly it once belonged to Cassiodorus himself, for it is at least two hundred years older than the monastery. The language is so archaic that it could not have been used by Columban. Paganism was still vital when it was written. The scribe was either a pagan himself or a recent convert, for he made ludicrous blunders, as "praetor" for "frater," and even stumbled over the names of Mary and Peter.<sup>52</sup> A second famous ecclesiastical manuscript from Bobbio is the *Muratorian Fragment*, now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, which contains the earliest known list of books of the New Testament. It bears the inscription "liber sancti columbani de bobio." This does not imply, however, that the manuscript once belonged to St. Columban, for this sort of inscription is found in many of the Bobbio manuscripts. Moreover, the handwriting of the fragment is of the eighth century.<sup>53</sup> Its great significance is that it is a careful copy of a second-century manuscript, and its faulty Latin has led some scholars to believe that the archetype was a translation from a Greek original.<sup>54</sup> The third ecclesiastical treasure is a collection of tracts and creeds current in the early church between the second and fifth centuries. This also may once have been in the possession of Cassiodorus but is of fifth-century Gallic origin, judging from the vulgarisms in it. One wonders if more probably it may not have once belonged to St. Columban, who, we know, was in Burgundy between 585 and 610.<sup>55</sup> Finally we come to what many scholars would regard as

<sup>52</sup> F. C. Burkitt, "Further Notes on Codex k," *Journal of Theological Studies*, V (1903), 105.

<sup>53</sup> Muratori, *op. cit.*, III, 851.

<sup>54</sup> E.g., Hilgenfeld, Zahn, Dom Chapman. Cf. P. C. Labriolle, *History and Literature of Christianity from Tertullian to Boethius*, pp. 53-54, 254. There is no evidence that the *Muratorian Fragment* was written at Bobbio; and its provenience is unknown (Sandys, *op. cit.*, I, 455; M. Stokes, *Six Months in the Apennines*, p. 282).

<sup>55</sup> This manuscript is now in the Ambrosian Library. For an account of it see E. S. Buchanan, "The Codex Muratorianus," *Journal of Theological Studies*, VIII (1907), 537-45. On

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the most precious of all, the Bobbio Missal, the oldest Mass book which survives entire. It is "... a specimen of the kind of book that was current in the Merovingian period; it is a mixture of true Roman, Gallican and Irish elements. . . ." <sup>56</sup> Dr. E. A. Lowe has graphically related the probable origin of this unique work.

A little over twelve hundred years ago, in an obscure village somewhere on this side of the Alps, in a district where French was the spoken language, near a convent of nuns, an old cleric once copied a service-book. His hand was not very steady, but he wrote with a will, and meant to do a good job. His parchment was not of the best, and his penmanship showed that he was no master of the craft. He had two kinds of ink: ordinary dark for the text, and red for the rubrics. He used the red as unskillfully as the black. He had little time, busy priest that he was, for over-care or refinements to bestow on titles and rubrics. But he could not deny himself the pleasure of some ornamentation, so when he could he copied a decorative initial, with results pathetic in their crudity. The old scribe was trying to follow his original page for page. When he came to passages he knew by heart, such as lessons from the gospels or prophets, he often cast a mere glance at his copy, and trusted his memory for the rest. He was a simple, downright man—no purist in spelling or grammar. He wrote as he spoke, with *ci* for *ti*, soft *g* for *j*, and vice versa; and he had small regard for case or verb endings. Coming from a modest place, he could not afford many books, so he crowded into his Missal much more than properly belonged there. And when his parchment went back on him, he borrowed fortuitous scraps.

In the centuries that elapsed between the writing of the Missal and its discovery by Mabillon, many a priceless manuscript treasure has been destroyed and lost to us for ever. By some strange freak of fate, this homely copy by an obscure, unnamed cleric has survived to puzzle and edify us. <sup>57</sup>

There were other monastic libraries on the Continent which had been established by St. Columban or as a result of his mission: Anegray, Luxeuil, Péronne, Corbie, St. Wandrille, St. Riquier, and St. Aile in Gaul, and St. Gall and Reichenau on Lake Constance. For the present we may pass them by, for our chief interest here has

a blank leaf in an ancient cursive hand, different from that of the scribe, is a notice of the sum paid to the copyist. Partly deciphered, it reads as follows:

"et posterius dedimus . . . LXX  
haec sunt lupulus ut estis Iuenculo  
+ noticia de sold quod dedimus  
+ noticia de pretiū quod dedimus."

<sup>56</sup> F. C. Burkitt, review of Wilmart *et al.*, *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXVI (1925), 178.

<sup>57</sup> "Henry Bradshaw Society's Publications": No. liii, *The Bobbio Missal (Facsimile)*; No. lviii (*Text*); No. lxi (*Notes and Studies*, by Dom A. Wilmart, Dr. E. A. Lowe, and the Rev. H. A. Wilson), 105 f.

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been the stream of Irish intellectual influence; and this we can follow most clearly at Bobbio in its origin, development, and decline; in the other Columban houses the original Celtic stream was soon lost in the tide of the Carolingian revival, which will be discussed later.

We must now turn to still another type of the earlier monastic libraries. While one line of tradition descended from Cassiodorus' practical-minded adaptation of Eastern asceticism and another from Irish establishments on the Continent, a third was to develop from the Englishman Boniface, who died in 755. As reformer of the Frankish church under the great mayors Karl Martel and Pepin the Short, as the statesman who, more than any other, engineered the deposition of the Merovingian and the accession of the Carolingian house in 751, to say nothing of his part in the establishment of the temporal power of the papacy, Boniface is the most commanding figure in Latin Christendom in the first half of the eighth century. But it is with Boniface as a book-lover and founder of monastic libraries in Germany that we have to deal. He restored the bishoprics of Mainz and Salzburg, founded those of Würzburg, Eichstadt, and Passau, and established the monasteries of Disibodenburg, Amoenaburg, Fritzlar, Buraburg, Fulda, and Heidenheim. We know nothing of the books in any of these establishments at this time except Fulda, which became one of the greatest centers of learning in medieval Germany. It is certain that Fulda's library drew on England, and probable that the other monasteries also were supplied with manuscripts imported from across the Channel.

The *Letters* of Boniface are a mine of literary information<sup>58</sup> for the eighth century. He thanked the Abbess of Thanet for "sanctorum librorum munera" and asked for St. Paul's Epistles; he begged Archbishop Nothelm of Canterbury for St. Augustine's *Interrogationes* and the *Responses* to them of Gregory I; he thanked Egbert of York for a gift of books, asked for some writings of Bede, and said that he was sending the archbishop "exemplaria epistolarum sancti Gregorii quas de scrinio Romanae ecclesiae excepi"—copies which he

<sup>58</sup> The fullest analysis is in Manitius, *op. cit.*, I, 147 ff. The text was edited by E. L. Dümmler, "S. Bonifati et Lulli epistolae," *MGH, Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini aevi*, I.



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himself, when in Rome, had made from examples preserved in the papal archives. To Abbot Duddo he wrote in 735:

I ask thee to send me as an aid to my knowledge of divine things a part of a Commentary on St. Paul which I lack. I have commentaries on two of his epistles, the one to the Romans, the first to the Corinthians. So too, whatever thou shouldst find in the library of thy church and think useful, but unknown to me and not in my possession, inform me of them and send me thine own notes.

In 742-46 Boniface asked Daniel, bishop of Winchester,

[to send across to him] the *Book of the Prophets* which Winbert, once my abbot and master left when departing this life to the Lord, and wherein the six prophets will be found written in the one volume in clear and finished letters—I cannot get in this land such a book of the prophets as I desire and with my eyes growing dim I cannot well distinguish minute and connected letters. I ask for this book since it is written in such clearly separated and finished characters.

He asked Egbert, archbishop of York, and Heutberht, abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, to send him

some part of the Commentaries which Bede, that saintly priest and investigator of the Holy Scriptures, composed; especially if it be possible, his *Homilies*, and his *Proverbs of Solomon*.

While the Abbess Bugga was in Rome about 720-22, she tried to find the *Passiones martyrum* for him.

Lull, who was to Boniface what Elisha was to Elijah, continued his master's practice of seeking for books in England. He wrote to Gutberct of Wearmouth, who had been a pupil of Bede, for any of Bede's works available. The abbot put the novices to work in the scriptorium and turned out copies of some of the writings of Cuthbert, and promised in due time to send to Lull thirty-four books. Later Lull wrote for other books, which were also sent. Earlier than this he had appealed to one Dealwin for the works of Aldhelm and to Archbishop Koaena of York for some of Bede's works and also a cosmography, perhaps some compilation out of Pliny and other sources or one of Isidore of Seville's voluminous writings. Appreciation of classical literature is faint in Boniface and Lull.<sup>59</sup> Vergil seems to have been the only Roman poet familiar to them; and, as might be expected, they knew Sedulius, Juvenius, and Aldhelm. The

<sup>59</sup> See notes in E. L. Dümmler (ed.), *MGH, Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, I, 3-14; II, 687.

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revival of the classics had to await the Carolingian renaissance. Boniface himself wrote a few textbooks of minor importance, of which the *Ars grammatica* and a fragment of a work on versification are extant.<sup>60</sup>

The library of Fulda is of very great interest, both for its contents from the time of its foundation and because its catalogue is the oldest known of monastic origin. Under Abbot Sturmi (744-79) forty monks were constantly employed in the scriptorium, and books continued to be imported from England by the teachers whom Boniface and Sturmi brought over. The most valuable evidence is extant in books which once were at Fulda, of which there are still four in the local library of that city.<sup>61</sup> The first is the famous Codex Fuldensis, which contains a harmony of the Gospels, the Epistles of Paul, a history of the Apostles, seven catholic letters, and the Apocalypse, all in the same handwriting, written for Victor, bishop of Capua, about 546, and in an Anglo-Saxon binding. It is practically certain that the volume came from Northumbria to Boniface at Fulda, after Benedict Biscop, or Ceolfrið, had brought it to England from Italy.<sup>62</sup> The second precious book is the Ragyndrudis Codex, which contains fourteen tracts of a dogmatic and controversial nature. There is a difference of opinion on the origin of this codex. The explicit reads: "In honor of our Lord Jesus Christ I Ragyndrudis have arranged this book. All you who shall read it I conjure by the living God that ye deign to pray for me." There was a nun named Radrudis, living in Lombardy, who might have sent this work to Boniface by Sturmi, who had been sent to Italy to study the Benedictine Rule.<sup>63</sup> On the other hand, Loeffler<sup>64</sup> contends that the work was written in France for the Merovingian queen Raginthruda. The third manuscript is a copy of the Gospels written in an Irish hand.<sup>65</sup> According to the

<sup>60</sup> F. A. Specht, *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschland*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>61</sup> C. Scherer, "Die Codices Bonifatiani," *Festgabe zum Bonifatius-Jubiläum* (Fulda, 1905).

<sup>62</sup> Dom T. Chapman, *Early History of the Vulgate Gospels*, p. 157.

<sup>63</sup> This is the opinion of G. T. Browne, *Boniface of Crediton and His Companions*, pp. 160-62.

<sup>64</sup> K. Loeffler, *Deutsche Klosterbibliotheken*, pp. 120-21.

<sup>65</sup> W. M. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. 78, describes it as "full of capricious suspensions. The scribe knew that what he was writing was thoroughly familiar to his readers; the mere sight of

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explicit (which is in another hand), it was written by Boniface himself. But in the text it is said that it was transcribed by Vidrug, whom Browne identifies with Wintrung, the priest, martyred with Boniface by the heathen Frisians. Loeffler, however, asserts that the writer was Cadmung, an Irish monk. But the volume is almost certainly Boniface's pocket copy. It is traditionally identified with the book mentioned in the *Vita Bonifacii*, attributed to an unknown priest of Utrecht,<sup>66</sup> who related:

As I was making inquiries concerning Boniface in the same region, on the chance that I might find some material for my work, I was told that a certain woman was yet living, though greatly enfeebled by age, who was wont to assert on oath, that she was present when the soldier of Christ was beheaded, and to say that, when he was smitten by the sword he covered his head with a copy of the holy gospels: that beneath it he might receive the stroke of the murderer, and that he might have its defence in death as he had loved its words in life.<sup>67</sup>

The appearance of the book sustains this tradition, for the binding has been deeply slashed across, apparently by a sword.

The fate of the little library which Boniface carried with him to Frisia on this ill-starred mission is related by Willibald, his earliest biographer, who said:

Having worked their will on the mortal flesh of the just, the exultant throng of heathens at once seized the spoils of victory, the fruit of their damnation, and, wasting the camp, shared and plundered the booty. But also they stole the chests in which were many volumes of books, and . . . carried away the cases, locked as they were, to the ships. . . . Having broken open the boxes of books, they found volumes instead of gold. . . . Thus, deprived of treasure, they scattered over the meadow some of the books which they found; others they threw into the reed thickets of the marshes. But . . . the books were found a long time after, sound and unharmed.<sup>68</sup>

The last statement in this account tries one's credulity.

The spirit and the disciplines of study inaugurated by Cassiodorus passed into Benedictinism, not with St. Benedict, but with Hadrian

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the opening letter or syllable of a word would be sufficient to recall it in sentences stored in their memory." Lindsay further writes (*ibid.*, p. 321) that "it is usually described as Irish, but which may conceivably have come from the Cornish region or neighborhood."

<sup>66</sup> W. Levison, *Vitae Sancti Bonifacii*, p. 75.

<sup>67</sup> *The Life of St. Boniface* by Willibald, tr. by G. W. Robinson, p. 86 n.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

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and Theodore in England, who fired Benedict Biscop, Aldhelm, and Bede. The passionate missionary spirit and example of Irish monks stimulated English monks, in their turn, to migrate to the Continent to convert the last pagan German peoples, the Hessians, the Frisians, and the Saxons. Thus, Willibrord, Willibald, and Boniface brought the old English Benedictine tradition of learning in its double aspect of classical and Christian learning back to the Continent where even the Irish influence had become a spent force. The combination of Cassiodorean, Insular (or Irish), and English Benedictine intellectual traditions and activities, made the Carolingian renaissance possible. Of that revival of learning, Boniface was the morning star, Alcuin the sun. The two hundred and fifty years which elapsed between Cassiodorus and Alcuin are, intellectually, the darkest in European history.<sup>69</sup> The so-called "leaden" tenth century was far from being so heavy and so dark.

The stage then passed through was that one, so particularly decisive, when popular piety, which has listened to the word of the preachers, makes the ideas they express, even if but rhetorically at times, its own; and piety in its slow and silent workings generates by and by a common and accepted belief. Thereafter, by steps natural and easy enough, come the reflection or reasoning of the more educated on what is so believed, its formulation, consequent disputes, heresy, dogma. It is this consideration which gives value, indeed importance, trivial looking as they may seem or sometimes almost grotesque, to the records coming from this darkest period of the history of the Church.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Yet, paradoxical as it may seem, it was precisely in these two centuries and a half that took place the evolution definitely fixing the religion of medieval and a large part of modern Europe.

<sup>70</sup> E. Bishop, *Liturgica historica*, p. 79.

## CHAPTER III

### Libraries of the Carolingian Renaissance

The conditions which heralded the Carolingian Renaissance consisted in the political position of the Frankish Empire, the flourishing of theological studies among the Anglo-Saxons (Bede), the ecclesiastical activity of Boniface on the Continent, and the partly new, partly revived, relations of the Empire to Rome and Constantinople. The fact that elements from England, Rome, Lombardy, and finally also the East converged at Charlemagne's court and found so energetic a Maecenas in the king, made possible the renaissance, which then continued to exist under Louis the Pious, and at the court of Charles the Bald.<sup>1</sup>

**F**OR the first time since Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius a prince took an active interest in learning and literature; and his example stimulated the élite of secular society to manifest the same interest.<sup>2</sup> In this famous effort "to gain by storm a higher culture for the Frankish Empire" libraries were an important instrument.

Yet the Carolingian renaissance was not so sudden or so novel as is sometimes represented. It was not a cause, but an effect—the flowering of a plant whose roots went deep into the soil of the past. The source of the inspiration is to be found in the work of Cassiodorus, whose ideas found their fullest fruition in Anglo-Saxon England. Intellectually, the conjunction of England and Rome was the decisive factor. The stimulus toward learning in England had emanated from Rome, and that learning, nurtured in England, was brought back to the Continent by Boniface and Alcuin.

The book collections of the Frankish empire increased considerably during the rule of Charles. Originally they were slight and poor. The manuscripts which entered several monasteries with Celtic mis-

<sup>1</sup> A. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, IV, 277 n.

<sup>2</sup> G. C. O. Koerting, *Die Anfänge der Renaissance-literatur in Italien*, p. 79.

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sionaries were not very numerous;<sup>3</sup> and there were very few men who were capable of multiplying them. Pepin obtained books from Rome through Pope Paul I. Gregory of Utrecht (d. 775) likewise brought books to Germany from Rome.<sup>4</sup> When Gregory's pupil, Liudger, left England, he took a great many books with him.<sup>5</sup>

The history of the Carolingian renaissance revolves around the English scholar Alcuin, the greatest intellectual figure at the court of Charlemagne. Born in 735, he was educated in the episcopal school at York under Archbishop Egbert. But his true master was Aelbert, who represented the best Northumbrian intellectual traditions. In one of his poems Alcuin pays a tribute to this teacher, who once made the penetrating remark that books were to be valued in the degree in which something new or something true was to be found in them.<sup>6</sup> Alcuin went with Aelbert on a book-hunting expedition to Rome, and in 768 succeeded him as master of the cathedral school. In 781, after Aelbert died, Alcuin was sent to Rome to receive the pallium for Eanbald, the new archbishop, and, while returning, met Charlemagne at Parma, who invited him to the Frankish kingdom; the next year, Alcuin joined his coterie of distinguished scholars and amateurs of classical literature. Several of his English pupils soon followed him.<sup>7</sup> Officially Alcuin was abbot of Ferrières, but actually he spent the next eight years at court. He returned to England for four years (789-93), and from 796 until his death in 804 he was the *matricularius* of St. Martin of Tours.<sup>8</sup> Throughout his life he stood for the tradi-

<sup>3</sup> F. Keller, "Bilder und Schriftzüge in den irischen Handschriften der schweizerischen Bibliotheken," *Mittheilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft zu Zürich* (1851), translated in *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, VIII (1860), 212-30, 291-305.

<sup>4</sup> A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, II, 167.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 179.

<sup>6</sup> "Si quid forte novi librorum seu studiorum,  
Quod secum ferret. . . ."

ALCUIN, *De sanctis Euboricae urbis* (1457/8).

<sup>7</sup> W. Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter*, I, 159. For the relations of Charlemagne with England, especially with Northumbria and Winchester, see R. Pauli, "Karl der Grosse in Northumbriischen Annalen," *Forschungen zur deutsche Geschichte*, XII (1871), 137-66.

<sup>8</sup> It is almost universally believed that Alcuin was a monk, but the statement is not true. Charlemagne dissolved the monastic community at St. Martin's and substituted secular canons instead. Cf. *Moyen Age*, 2d ser., VI, 54.

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tion of York, that Cassiodorean ideal which attached value to both Christian and secular learning.<sup>9</sup>

The literary poverty of the Frankish monasteries at first seems to have appalled Alcuin. Even so old and rich a foundation as St. Martin of Tours had few books. When he began teaching there, he sent to England for a consignment of books.<sup>10</sup> To Charlemagne he wrote:

I here feel severely the want of those valuable books of scholastic erudition which I had in my own country, by the kind and affectionate industry of my master, and also in some measure by my own humble labors. Let me therefore propose to your excellency that I send over thither some of our youths who may collect for us all that is necessary, and bring back with them into Francia the flowers of Britain.<sup>11</sup>

To the end of his life England was for him the chief source of books, and Rome next.<sup>12</sup> What books were at Tours when Alcuin assumed direction of the monastery there it is not possible to say. No catalogue has been preserved either before or after his time. The rehabilitation of St. Martin's must have been effected through acquisitions from England and Rome, with some books from Lerins and Vienne in Provence.

The genealogy of the Carolingian renaissance may be traced through the transmission of books from Cassiodorus through Benedict Biscop, Bede, and Egbert of York to Alcuin. The next tradition, of classical authors, also proves this statement. Traube has written:

In general the development is this: that old manuscripts from the sixth century are propagated in Carolingian times without any intermediate stages; an old ancestor is thus immediately followed by a Carolingian offspring. . . . Quite frequently only a single manuscript of an old text reached the Carolingian era, in which it was multiplied and thus it became possible for it to come down to our time. Only by exception did the Carolingian age possess more than one example of an ancient author. . . . If there had been much transcription in the time before Charlemagne we would be able to perceive it in our texts. Even in cases in which Merovingian manuscripts existed, the Carolingian period preferred to use the older sixth century

<sup>9</sup> His own words are: "Nec tamen saecularium literarum contemnenda est scientia, sed quasi fundamentum tenerae infantum aetati tradenda est grammatica, aliaeque philosophicae subtilitatis disciplinae" (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, C, col. 501).

<sup>10</sup> E. K. Rand, *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*, p. 39, n. 2.

<sup>11</sup> *Ep.* xxxviii.

<sup>12</sup> *Epp.* xl, xciii, and cxiv.

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texts. When our manuscripts display a high degree of corruption the reason is not to be found in continual recopying, but in the transition from a no longer intelligible script to a new kind of script.<sup>13</sup>

From Tours the multiplication of books spread to all the other great monasteries of the Frankish empire, in France, in Germany. The indolent and negligent monks at Tours<sup>14</sup> had no love for Alcuin and the "English" reforms which he instituted in the scriptorium. Alcuin bluntly told his crew that "it was better to copy books than to cultivate vines" (*fodere quam vites melius est scribere libros*). The greater part of this copying was done in the clear, precise hand known as the "Caroline minuscule," developed from an irregular Merovingian script, which, in turn, owed its origin to the everyday cursive writing of the Roman Empire. Though widely used and generally admirable, nowhere did the Caroline minuscule achieve such excellence as in the scriptoria of Tours, and in particular in that of St. Martin's. The minuscule there developed, in its perfected form, was, for its simplicity, grace, and sheer beauty, easily queen among the scripts of France. There, too, other established hands were purified and regularized, and the resulting styles as carefully distinguished as present-day fonts of type. Even in that day of beautiful books, the books of Tours were pre-eminent both in design and execution. Christian humanism and classical humanism went hand in hand in the Carolingian renaissance. Art also had a place. Copies of Vitruvius were multiplied to promote architecture.<sup>15</sup>

Charlemagne's solicitude for monastic libraries is curiously illustrated in the immunity granted to the abbey of St. Marcellus at Châlon-sur-Saône, wherein it is provided that "if any one shall presume to violate or infringe this immunity, let him be punished with a

<sup>13</sup> L. Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, II, 133—an abridged statement of what is written in his *Geschichte der klassischen Philologie*. See, further, E. J. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, I, 471-76.

<sup>14</sup> There were some Irish among them; cf. Rand, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

<sup>15</sup> There is reason to think that the Harleian codex of Vitruvius, from which the Carolingian copies were derived, was written in the same scriptorium as the Codex Amiatinus. See F. Granger, "The Harleian MS of Vitruvius (*H*) and the Codex Amiatinus," *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXXII (1930), 74-77.



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fine of 600 solidi, two parts of which shall go to the library, and the third part to our treasury."<sup>16</sup>

The library which Alcuin formed for Charlemagne at Aachen was probably the largest collection on the Continent in its time. From it both Alcuin and others borrowed books, and to it they gave books.<sup>17</sup> Charlemagne seems to have had two libraries in the palace at Aachen—a private collection and the court library.<sup>18</sup> Unfortunately, no catalogue of either of them has come down to us; and Einhard, *Vita Caroli Magni* xxxiii, merely states: "Of the books of which he had collected a great quantity in his library (he does not say which library) he ordained that they should be sold at a reasonable price to any persons who wished to buy them, and that the money so received should be distributed among the poor." Illuminated manuscripts—theological, grammatical, legal, and scientific works—made up most of the collection.<sup>19</sup> Diligent research has succeeded in glean- ing a few bits of information concerning Charlemagne's library activities.<sup>20</sup> Scattered references to gifts made to the emperor mention some books, but there are too few to establish the content of his library. Charles probably gave books to Fulda, but it may be only an exaggeration when the *Adversaria* names him as the founder of that library. Lorsch, too, is supposed to have been founded by Charles. But the traditions of his relations with Zurich are fabulous. In the Munich Library there is a batch of manuscripts from Benediktbeuren, given by Gisela, Charlemagne's sister, to a nunnery at

<sup>16</sup> Quoted in E. Emerton, *Beginnings of the Middle Ages*, p. 249. For Charlemagne's interest in having authentic texts established see H. Labande, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques de France: Départements*, XXVII (1894), 96-98; Dom A. Wilmart, *Revue Mabillon*, XII (1922), 119 ff.

<sup>17</sup> M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I, 264.

<sup>18</sup> This opinion was first advanced by B. Simson, *Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reichs unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, II, 254 and n. 6. A rare work on Charlemagne's library is D. Koeler, *Commentatio de bibliotheca Caroli Magni Imperatoris Aug. ad Eginharti de vita ejusdem cap. XXXIII* (Altdorf, 1727).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Hauck, *op. cit.*, II, 180 and nn. 1-6, for an analysis.

<sup>20</sup> P. J. G. Lehmann, "Büchersammlung und Bücherschenkungen Karls des Grossen," *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, XIX (1916), 237-46.

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Kochel. Charlemagne also established a "nobilissima bibliotheca" in Jerusalem for Christian pilgrims.<sup>21</sup>

Through the reigns of Charlemagne's son and grandson, Louis the Pious (814-40) and Charles the Bald (840-77), the Frankish court preserved the intellectual tradition which the great emperor had founded, although with diminishing vigor. In his father's lifetime, Louis the Pious had a collection of books of which Ebbo, later archbishop of Rheims, was custodian. When the great reform council of Aachen met in 817, the court library was used for reference purposes. The emperor's will disposed of his books at his death in 840, but we have no such particulars as in the case of Charlemagne's will.<sup>22</sup> Louis, who was intensely religious, was interested in seeing that every monastery, and even every parish church, was provided with the Bible, liturgical books, and the standard works of edification.<sup>23</sup>

Of all the Carolingian princes, Charles the Bald was far and away the most cultivated. The evidence for this statement is less circumstantial information with regard to the actual books he owned<sup>24</sup> than the fact that many writers of the time—theologians, historians, poets—dedicated their work to him,<sup>25</sup> and that he himself sometimes penned Latin verse in the rare moments of calm in his stormy life. From his mother, Empress Judith, Charles inherited a vivacious, if

<sup>21</sup> The nucleus of the medieval library at Jerusalem was composed of books from Mar Saba, Holy Cross, and the Convent of the Holy Sepulchre. Cf. A. Ehrhard, "Der alte Bestand der griechischen Patriarchalbibliothek von Jerusalem," *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, IX (1892), 441-59.

<sup>22</sup> Thegan *Vita Ludovici* lxiii.

<sup>23</sup> E. Baluze, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, I, col. 582. In 827 the Byzantine emperor Michael sent a copy of the *Areopagitica* to Louis the Pious at Compiègne. H. Omont shows this example is still in the Paris National Library: "Manuscrit des œuvres de S. Denys l'Aréopagite envoyé de Constantinople à Louis le Débonnaire," *Revue des études grecques*, XVII (1904), 230-36.

<sup>24</sup> M. Bouquet, *Rerum Gallicarum et Francicarum scriptores*, VII, 711. He divided his books, when he died, between St. Denis, St. Mary's in Compiègne, and his son, Louis the Stammerer.

<sup>25</sup> The greatest of these was Sedulius Scottus, who lauds Charles's learning in one of his poems (A. Ebert, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters im Abendlande*, II, 217; S. Hellman, *Sedulius Scottus*, pp. 190-94).

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not a strong, mind. His teacher was Walafrid Strabo, the brightest literary light of the ninth century.

By the middle of the ninth century, however, the Carolingian court had ceased to be the intellectual center of the time. The oldest manuscripts of the Carolingian renaissance still to be found are those of Fulda, Reichenau, and Würzburg. This is true of both classical and religious texts. The literary work of the monasteries was the most permanent survival of Carolingian culture. The significance of the ninth century, both from the literary and paleographical points of view, is hardly yet sufficiently recognized.

It is the earliest century from which an abundant supply of Latin manuscripts has survived, and it is the earliest century which can show any appreciable number of authors' autographs, or copies contemporary with those autographs. As a result, it is also the earliest century for which we can reconstruct texts of faultless accuracy. Apart from the desirability of such reconstruction for its own sake, the ninth century was a great age of compilation from earlier sources of the fourth, fifth, sixth and other centuries, some of which are otherwise lost, and all of which have fresh light thrown on their transmission by such compilations.<sup>26</sup>

The literary energy of the period may be illustrated by an analysis of the surviving codices produced in two typical German monasteries, Reichenau and St. Gall, in successive centuries, as shown in the accompanying table.

Century	Reichenau	St. Gall
Eighth.....	44	21
Ninth.....	100	237
Tenth.....	29	86
Eleventh.....	7	49
Twelfth.....	4	54
Thirteenth.....	11	50*

\* From A. Schulte, *Der Adel und die deutsche Kirche im Mittelalter* pp. 67-68.

One of the effects of the movement generated by Charlemagne and Alcuin was a revival of old cathedral and monastic libraries and the founding of new ones all over the Frankish empire—in France and Flanders, in Germany, in Italy, in Christian Spain. Even small and

<sup>26</sup> A. Souter, "The Sources of Sedulius Scottus' *Collectaneum* on the Epistles of St. Paul," *Journal of Theological Studies*, XVIII (1917), 184.

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remote foundations profited. Although there is no ninth-century catalogue for St. Martin of Tours, the tradition of Alcuin must have been carried on by his disciples, who collected manuscripts and copied them.<sup>27</sup> Indeed, Herard, archbishop of Tours, reminded his priests that they must reopen the schools and care for books.<sup>28</sup> At Marmoutier, near St. Martin, the conservation of books was considered important even as early as the ninth century. Correspondence was carried on with other monasteries to correct the old manuscripts and to obtain new ones.<sup>29</sup>

The most important library in central France was probably that at Fleury, one of the foremost seats of culture since the seventh century.<sup>30</sup> The monks here developed a school of writing which became famous in the history of calligraphy. Religious texts were copied as early as the seventh century, and these became the foundation of the library.<sup>31</sup> To these were added the gifts of interested patrons. Thus, Charles the Bald gave a magnificent Gospel, and Count Eccard all his books. Abbot Magnulfus, in the same century, had a special room built where the monks would have better facilities for reading. Although there are three eighth-century manuscripts from Chartres, and Clerval<sup>32</sup> affirms the existence of a school there since the sixth century, the first mention of the library is of the ninth century, when a book was offered to the church of St. Maria. Near the church, under the bishop's care, was a place where manuscripts useful for study and divine service were collected.<sup>33</sup> As further evidence of a library at this period, there remains a score of ninth-century manuscripts, primarily ecclesiastical in character, but a few of a secular nature.

<sup>27</sup> L. Maitre, *Les Ecoles épiscopales et monastiques en Occident avant les universités* (2d ed.), p. 33.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>29</sup> L. C. F. Petit-Radel, *Recherches sur les bibliothèques anciennes et modernes*, p. 114.

<sup>30</sup> E. K. Rand, "A Vade Mecum of Liberal Culture in a Manuscript of Fleury," *Philological Quarterly*, I (1922), 258.

<sup>31</sup> C. Cuissard-Gaucheron, *Inventaire des manuscrits de la bibliothèque d'Orléans, fonds de Fleury*, p. ix.

<sup>32</sup> J. A. Clerval, *Les Ecoles de Chartres au moyen âge*, I, 6-8.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

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The three outstanding abbeys in Old Austrasia which were noteworthy for their libraries during the Carolingian epoch were St. Wandrille, St. Riquier, and Corbie. The first, St. Wandrille,<sup>34</sup> near Caudebec on the Seine, had been established by Wandregisil, a disciple of St. Columban, in 650-57. It decayed during the seventh century but was restored in the reform of the monasteries initiated by Boniface. Abbot Wando (742-47) was the reformer. The *Gesta abbatum Fontanellensium* preserves a long account of the books he acquired. Religious books, of course, formed the bulk of the collection; but, surprisingly, there are also the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* and Jordanes' *History of the Goths*. It is also significant that one codex is specifically described as "codicem Romana littera scriptum."<sup>35</sup> The successors of Wando, Austrulf (747-53) and Wido (753-87), do not seem to have been interested in expanding the library. The latter donated two books, although he was "fere gnarus litterarum."<sup>36</sup> Abbot Austrulf, however, was a man of education. In his time it is related that a buried treasure was discovered at Portbail, near modern Cherbourg, and among other things a "codicem pulcherrimum quattuor evangelia continentem, Romana littera optime scriptum, membranis mundissimis honestaque forma confectum."<sup>37</sup>

The Carolingian renaissance reached St. Wandrille only with Abbot Gervold (787-806), who contributed codices of the Pentateuch and the *Minor Prophets*, an *Exposition of the Gospel of John* by St. Augustine and an *Enchiridion* of diverse authors.<sup>38</sup> In this time the abbey had an enthusiastic book-lover in a monk named Harduin, a scholar and an expert scribe, who transcribed many volumes for the library. He shared an interest in St. Augustine with his abbot and copied a large portion of the *De civitate dei*; Bede's *De tempore*; the Psalter and Canticles; and Ambrose's hymns and lives of SS. Wandregesil, Ansbert, and Wulfram. Under Abbot Ansegis (817-

<sup>34</sup> G. H. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, Nos. 1, 4, 7.

<sup>35</sup> Wattenbach, *Schriftwesen* (2d ed.), pp. 370 and 451, thinks that uncials are meant; but Sickel, *Acta*, I, 290, n. i, believes that capitals are intended.

<sup>36</sup> *Gesta* 15.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* 14.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.* 16.

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27) a wider interest in culture is observable. No more is said of liturgical works and homilies. At the head of the list stands a magnificent Bible with the beginning of each book illuminated with gold letters. Then follow twelve manuscripts of Augustine; four of Ambrose; several of Jerome, Gregory the Great, Fulgentius, Bede, and others; and a collection of conciliar legislation.<sup>39</sup> In the same spirit Ansegis provided for the library of St. Germain de Flay (Flavigny). Among the numerous new buildings which were constructed at this time the chronicler records with pride the erection of "a house in which an abundance of books could be preserved."<sup>40</sup>

In the valley of the Somme were situated the three monasteries of Centula (or St. Riquier), Corbie, and Peronne. These were of Irish foundation and originally animated by Irish spirit and tradition. Centula, located on the Channel near Amiens, was founded between 625 and 645 by a disciple of St. Columban named Riquier, for whom the monastery was afterward named.<sup>41</sup> This abbey was intimately connected with the literary and scholarly activities of Charlemagne's court. Indeed, its Abbot Angilbert had grown up with Charles himself and had married his daughter, Bertha, by whom he had two children, one of whom succeeded him as lay abbot of the monastery. This was the famous historian Nithard. Most of Angilbert's life was concerned with secular, rather than with monastic, affairs. He made many journeys to Rome on business of state.<sup>42</sup> His poetry, most of which is dedicated to members of the royal family, shows a strong classical influence. He must have used Charlemagne's library at this time, for he had a home near the imperial palace.

In 790 Angilbert became abbot of St. Riquier, although he did not abandon political life. By his efforts three hundred monks were brought together, who competed in their ardor for the reproduction of manuscripts.<sup>43</sup> Charlemagne gave them a text of the Gospels

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* 17.

<sup>40</sup> "Domum vero, qua librorum copia conservaretur . . ." (*ibid.* c. 17, pp. 55-56 and note). Some manuscripts also contain the words ". . . quae Graece pyrgiscos dicitur." This is the earliest "book tower" of which I have knowledge.

<sup>41</sup> Hariulf, *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint Riquier*, pub. par. F. Lot, Book I, chap. vi.

<sup>42</sup> M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I, 545.

<sup>43</sup> L. d'Achery, *Spicilegium* (2d ed.), II, 311.

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written in letters of gold on purple vellum; and Gerward, librarian to Charlemagne, left some of his books to Angilbert. The latter left two hundred books to St. Riquier when he died, in 814.<sup>44</sup> The nearness of England doubtless afforded Angilbert the means to enrich his abbey.<sup>45</sup> His son and successor, Nithard, like his father, was a man of affairs. He became lay abbot at the time when Charlemagne's library was sold and the proceeds given to the poor. One cannot but wonder whether St. Riquier acquired a portion of the imperial library. A catalogue was compiled in 831, by order of Louis the Pious, and was incorporated into the *Chronicle*.<sup>46</sup> The first part of the list shows an attempt to classify the books, but this is shortly abandoned for mere enumeration. Twenty-two volumes containing the Bible or its parts are first listed. Then come twenty-nine works of St. Augustine, fifteen of St. Gregory, twenty-two of St. Jerome, eleven of Bede, nine of Isidore, a Boethius *De consolatione philosophiae*, and a Gregory of Tours. Church history is represented by Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Jerome's *Chronica*. The most interesting works, however, are those of secular literature. They included ten Latin grammarians, Cicero's *Rhetoricorum libri ii*, Vergil, Pliny Minor, among classical authors; *Dictys et Dares*; a metrical *Vita* of SS. Cosmas and Damian, Quintus Serenus' *De medicamentis*, and Jordanes' *History of the Goths*. The copy of Fortunatus' poetry in the collection had been especially executed for Angilbert. In 831 it was cut in two, and half given to Corbie; many years later Mico, in a poetical missive, requested that it might be sent to him.<sup>47</sup> At the end of the list of books is the interesting comment that the total number of codices listed aggregates 256, but as many codices contained several works, the total number of titles would have exceeded five hundred.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>44</sup> W. Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, I, 173.

<sup>45</sup> J. Mabillon, *Annales ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, IV, Part I, 116.

<sup>46</sup> Hariulf, *op. cit.*, Book III, chap. iii; T. Gottlieb, *Ueber mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, p. 145; Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 11.

<sup>47</sup> *MGH, Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, ed. E. L. Dümmler, III, 363. This Corbie manuscript still survives at Leningrad (F. XIV, 1, in the former Russian imperial library).

<sup>48</sup> "Omnes igitur codices in commune faciunt numerum CCLVI, ita videlicet ut non numerentur libri sigillatim, sed codices; quia in uno codice diversi libri multoties, ut supra notatum est, habentur. Quos, si numeraremus, quingentorum copiam superarent" (Hariulf, *op. cit.*, Book III, p. 94).

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Corbie was an old Benedictine monastery situated on the Somme near Amiens. It was founded in 657 by Bathilde, the widow of Clovis II. Her son, Clotaire III, was liberal in his patronage, and his example was followed by later Merovingian kings.<sup>49</sup> Under the Carolingians it was an intellectual center closely connected with the leaders of the Frankish state. At the beginning of the ninth century it had two famous Adelhards, each in turn an abbot. An idea of the extent to which Corbie was a center of learning is indicated by the fact that a codex containing *Hieronimi contra Iovinianum, libri II*, and an *Expositio symboli a Rufino edita liber I* ends with a long Greek inscription. The manuscript also includes a number of Greek words correctly copied.<sup>50</sup>

The greatest scholar of this period was Paschasius Radbertus (790-865), a monk of old Corbie and later abbot of Corvey on the Weser in Saxony. He cites from all the plays of Terence, and refers to Cicero's *Cato Maior, De inventione, De officiis*, the *Oratio pro Sestis*, the *Verrines*, and the *Pro Milo*. Of Seneca he knows the *Letters, De beneficiis*, and *De morte Claudii*. He often quotes Virgil; besides this, he knows Cato, Statius, Juvenecus, Sedulius, Fortunatus, Ausonius, Ennodius, Fulgentius, Boethius, and Bede. He shows an exceedingly rare knowledge in his translations of Irenaeus and Tertullian's *De pudicitia*.<sup>51</sup> His great work, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, in its second edition, was dedicated to Charles the Bald as a Christmas present in 844. Adelhard the Younger and Radbertus brought the abbey schools at both Old and New Corbie to great distinction.<sup>52</sup> The activity of the monks in the scriptorium is shown by Adelhard's order that a parchment-maker be attached to the abbey.<sup>53</sup> After his death his younger brother, Wala, became abbot in 826. Upon being exiled, he went to Italy and became abbot of Bobbio (833-35). There

<sup>49</sup> L. Delisle, "Recherches sur l'ancienne bibliothèque de Corbie," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 5th ser., I, 393 ff., 498 ff.

<sup>50</sup> A Graeco-Latin glossary was in the library at Corbie. Cf. Sandys, *op. cit.*, I, 499.

<sup>51</sup> Manitius, *op. cit.*, I, 406-7.

<sup>52</sup> E. L. Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reichs*, I, 261.

<sup>53</sup> L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la bibliothèque impériale*, II, 111.



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is an interesting study by E. Lesne<sup>54</sup> comparing the Statutes of Adelhard at Corbie with the rules of Bobbio.

There is much evidence to show that Corbie's closest connections were with Italy. The monastery owned numerous manuscripts which Delisle thinks all came from Italy.<sup>55</sup> Others can be identified as coming from Saxony—in fact, the models used by Mabillon to illustrate the Saxon script were Corbie, not Corvey, manuscripts.<sup>56</sup> Three existing Corbie manuscripts are of Irish origin.<sup>57</sup> Corbie not only founded Corvey in Saxony but was active in sending out missionaries to the north. St. Anskar spent his youth at Corbie, taught at Corvey, and then, with four monks, went to Sweden in 830. Druthmar, the grammarian, taught at Stavelot and Malmédy. John the Monk was called from Corbie by Alfred the Great to help found his palace school at Winchester.<sup>58</sup> Corbie continued throughout the ninth century to be intimately connected with the Frankish court. About the year 880, Abbot Angilbert dedicated to King Louis III a copy of a work of St. Augustine.

St. Vaast at Arras, in this period, was not so rich as St. Riquier or Corbie,<sup>59</sup> but traces of other book collections along the northern border of France may be seen in the order of Abbot Odilo for a Bible for the abbey of Stavelot, in the diocese of Liège,<sup>60</sup> and the manuscripts today ascribed to Sedulius Scottus, who was at Liège in 848. To the latter and his circle we are indebted for parts of Cicero's orations, missing in other copies, and for the oldest copy of Horace's *Odes*.<sup>61</sup>

Peronne, or Peronna Scottorum, like Corbie and St. Riquier, was founded by Irish monks about 650. Originally these three monas-

<sup>54</sup> E. Lesne, "L'Economie domestique d'un monastère au ix<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après les statuts d'Adalhard, abbé de Corbie," *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge offerts à M. Ferdinand Lot* (Paris, 1925).

<sup>55</sup> Delisle, *op. cit.*, II, 122.

<sup>57</sup> Delisle, *op. cit.*, II, 122.

<sup>56</sup> J. Mabillon, *De re diplomatica libri VI* (2d ed.), p. 351.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164.

<sup>59</sup> A. d'Hericourt, "Ancienne bibliothèque de Saint Vaast à Arras," *Bibliophile belge*, 1st ser., VI, 210-18.

<sup>60</sup> Delisle, *op. cit.*, II, 417.

<sup>61</sup> *Cambridge Medieval History*, III, 526.

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teries "served as links between the insular and continental literature."<sup>62</sup> But by the ninth century that tradition had vanished, and all three looked, not to Ireland, or even England, but to Rome for their culture. In this part of Frankish Gaul, Irish representation persisted most strongly at Cambrai, where the oldest extant manuscript of the *Hibernensis* was written during the episcopate of Alberic, who probably died in 790.<sup>63</sup>

In Frankish Gaul the inception of the Carolingian renaissance began with Alcuin in 782. In Germany, on the other hand, the revival of learning began with Boniface, who died in 755. The movement in Germany, therefore, was a generation earlier than in France. But the two movements, which became one intellectual revival in the time of Charlemagne, had this in common, that each derived its primary inspiration from England, which was for both Germany and France the chief source of book supply, with Rome in second place. By the middle of the ninth century, even more than in France, the German monasteries felt the lift of the Carolingian renaissance. No abbeys west of the Meuse were as intellectually alert and progressive as those in the Rhineland and Germany. Books were prized possessions there.<sup>64</sup> Rabanus Maurus, abbot of Fulda and later archbishop of Mainz, boasted of the large number of books in Germany.<sup>65</sup>

In ninth-century Germany four monasteries—Fulda, Reichenau, St. Gall, and New Corvey—and three bishoprics—Würzburg, Salzburg, and Mainz—excelled as studious centers and seats of libraries. Two ancient catalogues of Fulda have long been known. More recently Professor Paul Lehmann, of Munich, discovered at Basel a catalogue of Fulda Library at the end of the eighth century "without doubt one of the oldest catalogues known."<sup>66</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Sandys, *op. cit.*, I, 456, n. 2, citing L. Traube, *Peronna Scottorum*, p. 493.

<sup>63</sup> E. Bishop, "On Some Early Manuscripts of the *Gregorianum*," *Journal of Theological Studies*, IV (1903), 414, n. 1.

<sup>64</sup> See the letter, probably of Arno of Salzburg, in the Salzburg *Formulae*, cited by A. Hauck, *op. cit.*, II, 183, n. 2.

<sup>65</sup> F. Kunstmann, *Hrabanus Magnentius Maurus*, Part III, p. 211.

<sup>66</sup> P. Lehmann, "Fuldaer Studien," *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie (Phil.-hist. Kl.)*, 1925, Abh. 3. In *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, July 1, 1927, he gives a less technical account of this manuscript, and in the same article relates the finding of an unknown capitulary

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The foundations of Fulda library were laid, as we have seen, by Boniface and Lull. There were many of Alcuin's works there.<sup>67</sup> The library was far from being limited to Christian literature. Abbot Baugulf (779-802) himself copied Vergil's *Bucolics*.<sup>68</sup> He was very much interested in collecting books and in teaching, and it was in his time that Einhard and Rabanus studied at Fulda. A copy of the *De architectura* of Vitruvius must have been in the monastery in this period, for Einhard, after he had left Fulda, wrote back to one of the students inquiring about some of the technical words in this book. This copy was probably at a later date in Reichenau.<sup>69</sup> It was probably during this same period that four books were loaned to the monastery by St. Kilian's in Würzburg.<sup>70</sup> An Irish manuscript of the end of the eighth century from Fulda is now in Rome (Pal. 235).<sup>71</sup>

Ratger (abbot of Fulda, 802-17) was at first interested in learning and had his monks sent to various places to be educated, according to the *Catalogus abbatum Fuldensium*.<sup>72</sup> But later on he became more interested in manual labor and in building than in books, and refused to let the monks have any time for writing, even taking all the books away from Rabanus, according to Rabanus' *Ad Ratgerium abbatem suum carmina*.<sup>73</sup> Under Abbot Eigil (817-22) learning fared better, and Rabanus was soon made head of the monastery school, which, under him, became the most influential school in Germany.<sup>74</sup> From 822 to 842 Rabanus was abbot of Fulda, and the school and library

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of Charlemagne which was sent to Abbot Baugulf of Fulda, which throws new light on Charlemagne's interest in schools. He enjoins Baugulf to send promising pupils of Fulda either to the court school at Aachen or to Tours.

<sup>67</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 30.

<sup>68</sup> Kunstmann, *op. cit.*, p. 35. It was to Baugulf that Charlemagne sent the famous *Epistola de litteris colendis*, in which he encourages learning in the monastery. Lehmann says that this was not a general letter for all monasteries but for Fulda alone.

<sup>69</sup> Sandys, *op. cit.*, p. 482.

<sup>70</sup> E. A. Lowe, "An Eighth Century List of Books," *Speculum*, III (1928), 12-14. This article is exceedingly valuable for the light it casts upon early monastic cataloguing and inter-monastery book loans.

<sup>71</sup> F. Falk, "Beiträge zur Rekonstruktion der alten Bibliotheca fuldensis und Bibliotheca laurehamensis," *Beihfte zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XXVI (1902).

<sup>72</sup> MGH, *Scriptores*, XIII, 272.

<sup>73</sup> Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXII, col. 1600.

<sup>74</sup> W. Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, I, 235.

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became very important. The *Catalogus abbatum Fuldensium*, obviously exaggerating, says that it was Rabanus Maurus who first "fecit et bibliothecam, [quam] tanta librorum multitudine ditavit, ut vix dinumerari queant."<sup>75</sup> From the writings of Rabanus we can get an idea of the types of books which must have been in Fulda while he was there, for he was not a very independent writer. His chronological works were founded on Boethius, Isidore, and Bede.<sup>76</sup> He compiled a large part of his theological writings from Augustine, Cassiodorus, and Gregory's *Cura pastoralis*; based his *De universo* on Isidore and *De anima* on Cassiodorus; and made an extract of *De re militaria* by Vegetius, which he called *De praecinctu militiae Romanae*. In 842 Rabanus turned over his position as abbot to Hatto, in order to devote all his time to study; and in 847 left Fulda to become archbishop of Mainz. He had imbibed from his teacher Alcuin not only knowledge but a zeal for learning; he valued Latin literature little less than Christian; and he believed that classical studies ministered to an understanding of the Scriptures.<sup>77</sup> In a poem addressed to Gerhoh, formerly Charlemagne's librarian, Rabanus expresses his pride that the library contained classical, as well as Christian literature.<sup>78</sup>

Other monasteries, not only in Germany but in France, borrowed books from Fulda to such a degree that an exchange catalogue was kept.<sup>79</sup> Twelve monks were constantly employed in transcribing; and, according to a contemporary writer, the number of books at Fulda was a matter of wonder.<sup>80</sup> During the ninth and tenth cen-

<sup>75</sup> MGH, *Scriptores*, XIII, 273.

<sup>76</sup> In his *Liber de computo* Rabanus quoted from the following sources: Arator, *Phaenomena*; Augustinus, *De Sancta Trinitate* and *Epistola de Pascha*; Boethius, *Arithmetica*; Cato, *In originibus oratorum*; Dionysius; Hieronymus, *Martyrologium*; Isidore, *Origines*; Josephus, *Liber antiquitatum*; Pliny Secundus; and Virgilius. Although he quoted from these sources, I do not think that Rabanus had the complete texts of all these works; he may have used quotations from Boethius or Isidore.

<sup>77</sup> W. Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, I, 235. As a general rule, it may be said that, from this time on, a library containing patristic works generally also had some classical Latin works, and where any of the latter are found the former will be abundant.

<sup>78</sup> *Carmen XXIII*; MGH, *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, I, 187.

<sup>79</sup> Lupus of Ferrières *Epp.* i and v.

<sup>80</sup> R. P. M. Ziegelbauer, *Historia rei literariae ordinis S. Benedicti*, I, 483; A. H. L. Heeren, *Geschichte der classischen Literatur im Mittelalter*, I, 163.

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turies the scriptorium of Fulda was noted for its illuminated manuscripts, which were made not only for its own library but for exchange with other monasteries and as gifts to kings and popes.<sup>82</sup> Most of these manuscripts were service books, although there are still extant some illustrated copies of the *Agrimensores*, *Leges barbarorum*, the *Vita Eigilis*, and other secular works.

In the letters of Servatus Lupus,<sup>83</sup> who was a pupil of Rabanus, are mentioned some books which he had used in Fulda. He asks Einhard for the writings on rhetoric by Cicero, of which he had only a corrupt copy that had already been compared with a still more corrupt Fulda text. In 844 he wrote to Abbot Markward of Prüm asking him to send a skilful monk to Fulda to make a transcript of their copy of Suetonius, which "was contained in two rather small volumes"; he added that he was unable to find a copy of this work in central Gaul. In a letter in 836 he mentioned the *Commentaries* of Servius on Vergil.

We do not have any complete catalogue for Fulda before the sixteenth century; but from several fragments of one of the ninth century and from a list of Fulda manuscripts now in other libraries we may get some idea of its books. One fragment of this ninth-century catalogue found in the Vatican Library and published by Becker<sup>84</sup> as a twelfth-century manuscript is now placed by Lehmann<sup>85</sup> and Lindsay between 840 and 850. Lehmann also says that Becker's No. 13 published as a separate ninth-century catalogue is but part of No. 128. Catalogue No. 13 starts in the middle of a list of monastic rules. Following this comes a group of the works of Alcuin, three of them still unpublished—*In prophetas XII*, *In epistolam Pauli ad Ephesios*, and *In proverbi Salomonis*. Next is a list of the works of Rabanus Maurus, but this breaks off in the middle. Catalogue No. 128 begins with a list of lectionaries, homilies and antiphonaries; then gives the *Epistolae Pauli Graeco-Latinae*, and works of St. Augustine. Following these are some manuscripts of Hieronymus, including commentaries and letters. Becker No. 14 is also a

<sup>82</sup> A. Boinet, "Notice sur deux manuscrits carolingiens à miniatures exécutés à l'Abbaye de Fulda," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, LXV (1904), 355-63.

<sup>83</sup> Loeffler, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

<sup>84</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 128.

<sup>85</sup> Lehmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-12.

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fragment of a book list of Fulda which must have been written in the ninth century. It starts with a *Liber officiorum* and includes a *Liber compoti*, the *Ecclesiastica istoria*, *Regula S. Basili*, *Liber Esopi de natura animalium*, and the *Vita beati Augustini*.

Naturally the greatest proportion of works in the extant sixteenth-century catalogue,<sup>85</sup> which is chiefly a medieval list, are of a theological nature, although there are a great many classical ones. The first books mentioned are biblical text and commentaries. Then come the works of Augustine, of which there is a vast number, Gregory the Great, Jerome, and, of course, an exceedingly great number by Rabanus, and then works by Gratian, Beda, Alcuin, Boethius, Cassiodorus and Cassian, Eusebius, Josephus, Orosius, Priscian, and Donatus. There are not as many works of Alcuin in this catalogue as in the earlier ones. The most interesting works of the classical period are: Sallust, *De bello Jugurthino et Terentii commediae* and *De bello Punico Carthaginensium* (two copies); Lucanus, *De bello civili* (three copies); Cicero, *Liber rhetorica* (two copies); *De amicitia*, *De senectute et de anima*, and *Officia*; Livius, *De republica*; Vergil, *Aeneid* and *Eclogae et liber georgicorum*; Plautus, *Aulularia*; Aristotle, *De natura animalium*; Ovid, *De tristibus* and *Metamorphoses*.

Among the Fulda manuscripts now in other libraries, some of the most interesting may be mentioned. At Basel is a Fulda manuscript in Anglo-Saxon-Frankish script containing the astronomical work "of Germanicus Caesar." Other codices in Basel are from Fulda, in Saxon, Saxon-Frankish, and Irish hands. In Cassel are a number of important Fulda manuscripts of the ninth century. One contains two copies of the *Hildebrandslied*. Another, of the second half of the sixth century, has corrections in an Anglo-Saxon cursive. This is one of the oldest and most famous copies of Josephus, and it was still in Fulda in the seventh century.<sup>86</sup> Here also is a codex which has the *Annales Fuldenses antiquissimi* and Bede's *De ratione temporum*. In Göttingen there is a missal of 256 pages and a confession formula in German vernacular. The Gotha library has the famous Eutropius. In Rome are quite a number of ninth-century manuscripts; in the Vatican, the Ammianus Marcellinus which Falk says was probably

<sup>85</sup> Published by C. Sherer in Falk, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-112.

<sup>86</sup> Lehmann, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

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taken to Italy by Poggio. He may not have visited Fulda himself, but Fulda manuscripts were taken to Constance, where Poggio attended the Council of Constance. Another interesting codex contains several different works on the art of surveying and an *Agrimensores*, which was copied in Fulda in the eighth or ninth century, probably from a fourth-century work. In Wolfenbüttel there is, in a beautiful Anglo-Saxon-Fulda hand, a copy of the *Statuta canonica Karoli*, the Aachen capitulary of Charlemagne of 789. There is also a collection of canons by Cresconius of the ninth century, a copy of which was also in Monte Cassino.

The abbey of Reichenau,<sup>87</sup> founded in 724 at Auwa (Augia, Ow), lay on an island in the northwestern arm of Lake Constance, a position especially favorable, as it was near the highway to Italy. Its founder was Pirminius, who was probably an Irishman,<sup>88</sup> though Rabanus Maurus<sup>89</sup> says he was a Frank, and Hauck<sup>90</sup> thinks he must have been Anglo-Saxon. Egon<sup>91</sup> does not credit him with any special knowledge, but he does say that Augiae was famous for its learning from the "first hundred years." According to Öhem,<sup>92</sup> Pirminius was the founder of the library of Reichenau, having brought fifty books with him from the Frankish kingdom. Although this number may be too large, it is true that the books of the monastery which belong to the first half of the eighth century are of West Frank origin.

Under his successor, Etto (727-32), a school was founded which attracted students from various places to Reichenau, one of the most brilliant being Ermanfred. Many of these students brought books with them, and some sent books back to the monastery after they had left; but these same students, on leaving, often took books with

<sup>87</sup> A. Holder, *Die reichenauer Handschriften*, contains the principal sources for the history of the Reichenau library.

<sup>88</sup> K. Beyerle (ed.), *Die Kultur der Abtei Reichenau*.

<sup>89</sup> Rabanus Maurus, "Epitaph Pirmins," *MGH, Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, II, 224.

<sup>90</sup> Hauck, *op. cit.*, I, 315-18. For other conjectures and the literature see J. F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, I: *Ecclesiastical*, No. 322a.

<sup>91</sup> Egon *De viris illustribus* i in Holder, *op. cit.*, III, Part II, 212-45.

<sup>92</sup> Gallus Öhem *Chronica* in Holder, *op. cit.*, III, Part I, 65.

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them. It is also recorded<sup>93</sup> that on one occasion Etto divided his monks and books into four groups, keeping one at Reichenau and sending the other three to found new monasteries at Pfäfers in the Reiss, Altheim in Passau, and Murbach in Alsace, each one thus starting with a library. What books and how many these monks took with them is not known, but the volumes which Pirminius had brought to Reichenau remained there; so evidently it was only copies which left the library. Ermanfred, abbot from 732 when Etto was sent to Constance by Charles Martel, likewise increased the library by having his monks copy books, and on his death left his own volumes to the monastery. During the rest of the eighth century the library suffered considerably. Abbot Sidonius (740-60) appropriated the whole collection to his own use, refusing others access to it. Abbot Johannes (760-81) did likewise, but at the end of his life gave them back to the monastery with the others which he had brought to Reichenau. Under Abbot Peter (781-86), however, occurred the greatest loss. Count Kerebalt borrowed some of the most precious books, promising to return them as soon as they had been copied. But he did not keep his word, keeping the volumes during his lifetime and leaving them to his nephew. This is the first record at Reichenau of books being lent to laymen. Among those thus lost was a valuable collection written in Saxon by Edefridus, a monk at Reichenau in the time of Abbot Johannes or Peter, and a Greek Psalter which Abbot Peter had brought from Rome.

Under the next four abbots the monastery and library attained its first period of real importance. Waldo (786-806) had studied in Reichenau and was serving as abbot when he became confessor and chief councilor to Charlemagne. Later he was bishop of Pavia and Basel. But he evidently tired of his duties, abdicated, and returned to Reichenau, where he built up one of the most famous schools and collections of books in the history of this monastery. While at Pavia he had acquired many codices, which he brought to Reichenau along with others which he had copied in the various places he had visited.

<sup>93</sup> Holder, *op. cit.*, III, Part I, 165.



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In his second period at Reichenau he spared neither trouble nor money to increase the library. He borrowed many volumes from other houses to be copied by his monks. He also became famous as a teacher and drew monks from all countries to study. Lampertus, a Welsh bishop, "like a good brother brought many books"; and "Hatrikus a bishop from Saxony did likewise." Drutmund, from Bavaria "took many good books to Ow." Unfortunately, the names of the books brought by these visiting students are not recorded. Certain Reichenau monks, whom Waldo had sent to Tours for study, sent back many manuscripts. There was also trade with Italy in this period—for example, a thrice-written palimpsest<sup>94</sup> with a fourth-century first text of the *Lex Langobardorum*, from Lombardy.

Another famous monk was Heito, who had been sent by Charlemagne on a diplomatic mission to Constantinople and acquired many books, which he gave to Reichenau. He succeeded Waldo as abbot (806–22) and, like his predecessor, became a famous teacher. One of Heito's most eminent students, and his successor as abbot, was Erlebold, who had studied at Reichenau, Tours, and St. Denis. He, too, was a great lover of books, copying many at St. Denis to send back to his own monastery<sup>95</sup> and, as abbot, continuing to collect books and have them copied. During this period many monks came to Reichenau with books on their backs. Fortunately, we have a catalogue of the names of books thus acquired, as well as of the donors. Bishop Ratold, of Verona, left to the monastery his poetical edition of the *Moralia* of Gregory the Great. A monk named Hiltiger brought from Italy the Book of the Prophets. Uragrath gave Priscian's *De arte grammaticae*; Machelm, a *Lectionarium*, a nameless monk, a volume containing both the *Chronica Gregorii episcopi de Turonis* and the *Chronica Bedani presbyterii*; Hunzo gave the *Historiae Josephi*; another anonymous donor, *St. Athanasii altercatio cum haereticis* and the *Vita St. Martini* in one volume.<sup>96</sup> Others gave service books.

Abbot Rudhelm (838–42) had a "very special love for books"<sup>97</sup> and copied many both before and after he became abbot, and also

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, Part II, p. 114.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 88–90.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, Part I, p. 67.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67.

## LIBRARIES OF THE CÂROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE

caused many to be written by others. In his time a small but interesting collection of books was added to the library. Besides lives of the saints and works of Jerome there were: *Epistolae imperatorum Marci et Leonis ad episcopos pene totius orbis de synodo Chalcedonensi*, *Contra Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum haereticos*, *Liber Vitruvii magistri de architectura*, Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*, a book on geometry by many authors and one on astrology, also two commentaries of Rabanus Maurus, which were brought by Walafrid Strabo from Fulda, and finally, a volume of tracts by St. Augustine.

Under these four—Waldo, Heito, Erlebal, and Rudhelm—Reichenau was also especially noted for its learned monks. Most important to the historian of libraries was Reginbert<sup>98</sup> (d. 847), who was librarian under all four of these abbots. He himself wrote many volumes of commentaries and even poems in German. However, he is most important for us because of his catalogues of the library, which are still extant.<sup>99</sup> These are the more important because so many of the volumes listed are still in existence, though not at Reichenau itself. Some were dispersed for one cause or another and are now in Munich, Trier, Stuttgart, Wolfenbüttel, Cologne, Heidelberg, Donaueschingen, St. Paul (Carinthia), Vienna, St. Gall, Schaffhausen, Zürich, Brussels, Leyden, Cambridge, Oxford, the British Museum, Paris, the Vatican, and Cheltenham. And finally, in 1805, all that still remained of the library at Reichenau was removed to Karlsruhe.

The extraordinarily high quality of the Reichenau manuscripts for the student of medieval thought in the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries has been set forth by A. Souter: "The collection is not a large one, if compared with such as those of Paris, Munich, or Oxford. It numbers only 265 manuscripts on vellum, but the quality is extraordinarily high. It may be doubted if any collection contains so little that is valueless."<sup>100</sup>

The catalogue of 822 enumerates 415 manuscripts. They include Latin ecclesiastics from Cyprian to Alcuin; some of the Greek

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, Part II, pp. 223-24.

<sup>99</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, Nos. 6, 8, 9, 10.

<sup>100</sup> A. Souter, review of Holder, *op. cit.*, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, VIII (1907), 310.

## THE MEDIEVAL LIBRARY

fathers; saints' lives; monastic rules; the Theodosian Code; German folk laws; Josephus; Gregory of Tours; many grammarians; Christian poets, but of the pagans only Vergil; a volume of German poetry; and several works on natural science. The library also was rich in Irish treatises<sup>101</sup> and in many collections of canons of special interest because of their Spanish provenance—in particular, Reginbert's own copy of *Graeciae Africae Galliae Hispaniaeque postea decretales epistolae antistitum Romanorum*,<sup>102</sup> now lost. There were likewise some books in German, in both the Saxon and Swabian dialects.<sup>103</sup> Classical literature, however, was little cultivated. Among all the works transcribed in this period, not one is of the classical period except Vitruvius, and he was valued only as a manual of art. Indeed, a Reichenau monk who in the ninth century went to Rome noted Christian inscriptions in his journal but would not stain his pages with the pagan. He seems also to have brought back some books from Verona. Yet, at Reichenau a smattering of Greek seems to have obtained.<sup>104</sup>

The second catalogue was written between 823 and 838. In it a Bible comes first; then writings of St. Augustine, Origen, and Jerome; St. Clement's *Itinerarium S. Petri*; Isidore, a *Computum et cyclum in uno libello*; and the *Istoria Iosephi*. Under the title "De libris abbatis Erlebaldis" are grouped seven service books, evidently the abbot's private collection. Finally are listed certain gifts made by various monks.

The third catalogue (838-42) is probably an unfinished revision of the two earlier catalogues, while the fourth (786-842) lists the books which Reginbert himself wrote, copied, had copied, or which were given during his lifetime. In this catalogue the contents of each

<sup>101</sup> M. Esposito, "A Seventh Century Commentary on the Catholic Epistles," *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXI (1920), 316-18.

<sup>102</sup> Identified by A. Kuenstle, *Eine Bibliothek der Symbole und theologischer Tractate zur Bekämpfung des Priscillianismus und westgotischen Arianismus aus dem VI Jahrhundert*, with the collection known as the "Hispana," ed. Gonzales (Madrid, 1808), reprinted in Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXXIV; cf. C. H. Turner, review of Kuenstle, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, II (1901), 460.

<sup>103</sup> Hauck, *op. cit.*, II, 566, n. 1.

<sup>104</sup> Codex F of the Pauline Epistles, late ninth century, probably came from Reichenau; cf. C. R. Gregory, *Prolegomena to Tischendorf's Novum Testamentum Graece* (8th ed.), p. 30.

## LIBRARIES OF THE CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE

codex is given in detail. The first contains theological treatises; the second and fourth, works on the seven liberal arts, such as *Libri grammaticae artis Donati*, *Liber de aenigmatibus Symphosii*, *Liber fabularum Aniani poetae*, *Libri Boetii geometricorum*, *Libri duo Alchuini de rhetorica et dialectica arte*, *Liber Iulii Caesaris de mensione universi orbis*, *Liber Aethici Hieronymi de cosmographia*, *Libri duo de architectonica Fauentini*, *Liber herbarius Apulei*, and *Metrum Iuvenci et Sedulii super libros IV Evangeliorum*. The third codex, which may have come from Tours at the time of Waldo, is a collection of material from Eusebius, Jerome, Prosper, Cassiodorus, Jordanes, Melilitus, Bede, and Isidore. Included are also notes from Pliny the Younger and treatises on the determination of Easter. The fifth codex contains *Visiones*, such as that of Wettin by Walafrid Strabo. The rest of the forty-two volumes are lives of saints, writings of the fathers, folk laws, letters of Charlemagne, monastic rules, and service books. The most interesting writings among these are *De philosophia consolationis Boetii*, *XII carmina Theodiscae linguae formata*, *Libri tres quos Arculphus episcopus Adamnano escipiente de locis sanctis ultramarinis designavit conscribendos*, which Walafrid gave to Reginbert; *De arte medicinae*;<sup>105</sup> [Verses quae] *Iacobus nomine ad Karolum regem scribebat comprehendens capitula LXII* "quem mihi (Reginbert) frater Colduinus detulit et donavit," *Libri quinque historiarum gentis Winilorum qui et Langobardorum*, and *Liber in quo habetur excidium Troiae civitatis*.

The fifth catalogue, written before 850, is a general list of all the books in Reichenau and has 353 entries. Most of these are of a theological nature; but a few interesting new titles are noted: *De hystoria Nabuthae I in quo et Vegicius de re militari et questiones Albini in genesim et gesta Alexandri Magni*, *Postera pars ethimologiarum Isydori*, *Rabanus in Genesim*, *Historia Romanorum*, *Historia Langobardorum*, *Gennadius de illustribus viris*, *Tripartitae*, *Excerptio Amali contra Iudeos*, and Cassiodorus, *De VII liberalibus artibus*. This is also the first catalogue of Reichenau to contain any real

<sup>105</sup> The best extant copy of the notes on medicine by Quintus Serenus is the Carolingian text of St. Gall which was taken from this Reichenau text. Walafrid Strabo used this work in his *Hortulus*. Cf. P. Lehmann, "Die mittelalterliche Bibliothek," in K. Beyerle, *Die Kultur der Abtei Reichenau*, II, 645-56.

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classical writings. Here are found *Persii et Iuuenalis*, *Ovidius de amatoria arte*, *Ovidii metamorfoseon Sili et Stacii*, *Kalcidius in Thymeum Platonis*, *Libellus epistolarum Senecae et Pauli*, *Eiusdem ad Lucilium*, *Categoriarum Aristotelis*, *Salustius Catelinarum*, *Claudianus de Proserpina*, *Excerpt. Pompeii*, *Seneca naturalium questionum*, and *Aristotelis de VII liberalibus artibus*.

Walafrid Strabo<sup>106</sup> was a contemporary of Reginbert. He was born in Allemania, about 809, of humble parents and came to Reichenau in the time of Abbot Heito and was taught by Erlebald, Wettin, and Tatto. In 827 he went to Fulda to complete his studies under Rabanus Maurus, and here became a great friend of Gottschalk. From Fulda he went to the court of Louis the Pious at Aachen and returned to Reichenau as teacher and abbot until 849. Walafrid was one of the best poets of his time; he studied and wrote on secular, as well as sacred, themes. His best-known sacred poem is the *De visionibus Wettini*, which gives a history of the monastery of Reichenau, as well as a biography and "vision" of Wettin. Two of his secular poems are *On the Statue of Theodoric* and *Hortulus*, the latter a descriptive poem of the plants in the monastic garden of Reichenau, which was very popular all during the Middle Ages. In these poems there are frequent references to Vergil and Ovid, and the *Hortulus* is quite similar to some of the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. He was also author of the original *Glossa ordinaria*, based on the writings of Rabanus, which was much used by clerks. Walafrid brought out new editions of the *Life of St. Gall* and Einhard's *Life of Charles the Great*. His only independent work in prose was the *De ecclesiasticarum rerum exordiis et incrementis*, which was written at the request of Reginbert. When Walafrid became abbot in 842, he, too, encouraged the collecting of books and had many, including his own, copied by the monks trained under Reginbert. In his time there was a lively exchange of manuscripts with Fulda, Mainz, Speyer, Murbach, and Trier. To the Spanish writer Prudentius (later bishop of Troyes), he sent the poems of Moduinus. To an Irishman in Mainz he sent a poem of Venantius Fortunatus and a *Mensuratio orbis*.

The wandering Irish brought a number of manuscripts to Reiche-

<sup>106</sup> Ebert, *op. cit.*, II, 145-66; Sandys, *op. cit.*, I, 485.

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nau. Some of these contain Irish glosses and are thus very important monuments of early Celtic philology. One of these codices is particularly interesting both for its travels and its contents. This is the so-called "Reichenau school book" (ninth century), now in St. Paul's in Carinthia.<sup>107</sup> It may have been brought to Reichenau by some Irish monk and then later taken to St. Paul. The volume contains a Vergil *Vita* with a commentary on the *Aeneid*, probably by Johannes Eriugena; some notes on natural history from Pliny; a grammar with parts of Horace's *Satires*, and a geography containing extracts from Cicero, *De natura deorum*. There are likewise some Greek words in Latin characters and with Latin translation; two glosses of the Latin grammarian Charisius; a treatise on classical meter, with a glossary; an astronomical treatise, probably from Pliny; a book on Logic by Rubin; and a number of Irish poems.

There was naturally an interchange of books between Reichenau and St. Gall because of their proximity. Various records mention single volumes lent or borrowed. Moreover, the whole library of St. Gall was sent to Reichenau when the former abbey was threatened by an invasion of the Hungarians in 925. We have the account of this in the *Casus S. Galli* of Ekkehard IV.<sup>108</sup> After a couple of years many of the books were returned, but probably not always the copies that had been deposited.

By comparing the collection of Reichenau with those in other monasteries, one realizes that, though it had less profane literature than some, it did have at least a respectable number of books on all subjects, and that there were several rare works in this library, such as the *Silvae* of Statius and the *Punica* of Silius Italicus. It also had, very early, an interesting collection on medicine, treatises by Galen, Vindicianus, Eupate, Democritus, and Publius Vegetius Renatus. Other sciences were represented, such as geography and astronomy, by the works of Aratus, Rabanus Maurus, Solinus, Soranus, Vegetius, Caelius Aurelianus, and Apuleius. For architecture there were both Vitruvius and Faventinus. The historians were well represented, Josephus, Eusebius, Jerome, Orosius, Gregory of Tours,

<sup>107</sup> K. Preisendanz, "Die Augiensens von St. Paul," in Holder, *op. cit.*, III, Part II, 124-31.

<sup>108</sup> Hauck, *op. cit.*, III, 277-80; Holder, *op. cit.*, III, Part II, 3.

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<sup>108</sup> Hauck, *op. cit.*, III, 277-80; Holder, *op. cit.*, III, Part II, 3.



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Isidore, Bede, and Paul the Deacon being the most important. The two best chronicles were those of Cassiodorus and Hermann Contractus. For poetry there were hymns and sequences in Latin, Irish, and German. The grammatical, metrical, and rhetorical works were those of Agroeius, Aldhelm, Asper, Caper, Donatus, Eutyches, Festus, Probus, Martianus, Priscian, and Virgilius; most of these probably came from Ireland. Naturally there was also a large collection of the most important writings of the Church Fathers. Two noteworthy palimpsests have been discovered among the Reichenau manuscripts.<sup>109</sup> The more important one has as its latest text a tract by Jerome copied in the eighth century on leaves from which had been erased a fifth-century copy of Pliny's *Natural History*. Beneath the *Natural History* is a third text, unknown, of the third century.

The abbey of Lorsch was founded in 763 and was a favorite Carolingian foundation. Though we have only a few scattered notices concerning its library, it had an important collection of books.<sup>110</sup> In 814 Gerward of Ghent left a number of volumes, among them two manuscripts of St. Augustine, now in the Vatican Library.<sup>111</sup> Like other monasteries, this abbey suffered serious losses during the Middle Ages. For instance, in 1090 there was a fire which destroyed a great many of its books. In the twelfth century, Abbot Diemo (1125-39), sold "tres libros auro et argento gemmisque pretiosis exornatos," probably service books. Two Lorsch catalogues of the ninth century survive,<sup>112</sup> which form the longest list of books found for any early medieval monastic library. The first contains 590 titles arranged in 63 divisions. First are listed the costly books for the church services written in gold and colors and sumptuously bound; e.g., "Evangelium scriptum cum auro pictum habens tabulas eburneas."<sup>113</sup> Next

<sup>109</sup> Holder, *op. cit.*, I, 569; III, Part II, 114-16.

<sup>110</sup> K. Loeffler, *Deutsche Klosterbibliotheken* (2d ed.), pp. 140-45; A. Wilmans, "Der Katalog der Lorsch Klosterbibliothek," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, 3d ser., XXIII, 385-410; Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 37; W. M. Lindsay, "The (Early) Lorsch Scriptorium," *Palaeographia Latina*, III (1924), 5-48; D. Neuendorfer, *Studien zur ältesten Geschichte des Klosters Lorsch*.

<sup>111</sup> *Pal. Lat.* 210, in uncial letters, and *Pal. Lat.* 234, on Genesis. Cf. Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>112</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, Nos. 37 and 38.

<sup>113</sup> This Evangelium is evidently a product of the Carolingian palace school at Aachen, for it belongs to the *Ada* group and was made between 793 and 824. Loeffler suggests that it might have been a gift of Charlemagne, who was especially fond of the abbey of Lorsch.

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come the homilies, copies of the Rule of St. Benedict, antiphonaries, and Psalters. In the third group are three volumes of medical works and the *Liber felicis capellae*. For some strange reason this group comes before the biblical codices, which form the fourth section. Historical works are fifth: *Historia ecclesiastica Eusebii*, *Historia Iosephi*, *Historia Orosii*, *Chronica Eusebii*, *Hieronymi et Bedae*, the *Tripartita historia*, *Gesta pontificum Romanorum*, *Libri Clementis*, *Gesta Francorum Gregorii Turonensis*, *Historia Iordansis de summa temporum seu origine Romanorum*, *Pompeii Trogi epitoma*, *Favii Claudii Gordiani de aetate mundi et hominis reservatis singulis litteris per singulos libros ab A usque Z*, *Excidium Troiae et historia Daretis Phrygii de exitu Romanorum in uno codice*, *Liber aethici cosmographi*, *Annaei flori epitoma Livii Romanae historiae*, *Libellus Quinti Iulii Hilarionis de origine mundi*, *Solini polyhistor de situ orbis terrarum et mirabilibus*, and *Libri antiquitatum Iosephi historiographi*. This is both the most interesting and the longest list of chronicles and histories found in the study of these five monasteries.

After these there is an extremely long list of works by St. Augustine, many of them rarely seen in other catalogues. Next follow many works of Jerome and of St. Ambrose. The manuscripts of Bede are not as numerous as those of Augustine but contain some of his best-known works, such as *Historia Anglorum*, *De aedificatione templi*, *De tabernaculo*, *De temporibus et computo et chronica et circuli Dionysii*, *Orthographia*, *De ratione metrorum*, and the *Vita sancti Cuthberti*. Among the works of Origen are some interesting titles with the name of the translator, Rufinus. There are quite a few works by Prosper, many more than in any other catalogue. In the same group there are works of Chrysostom and other fathers.

Scattered among other writings in various groups are the classical writings—poems of Horace, Martial, Juvenecus, and Juvenal; Vergil, the *Bucolica* and *Georgics*; Lucanus, *Bellum civile* and *Epistolae Gaii Plinii*; Cicero, *De officiis*, *Epistolae*, *Liber differentiarum Ciceronis*, and *Epistolae Senecae*; the first part of Pliny's *De natura rerum*; and Seneca's *De beneficiis* and *De clementia*. There are a great many works of the fourth through the sixth centuries: Prudentius, *Psychomachia et apotheosis et hamartigenia*, *Metrum Sedulii et Prudentii*,

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and *Fabulae numero quinquaginta secundum philosophiam expositae a Fulgentio presbytero*; Fulgentius, *Super bucolicon Virgilii*, and *Descriptio Arculfi de situ Hierusalem et locorum sanctorum in circuitu eius*; Vegetius, *Epitoma rei militaris*; Pelagius, *Super omnes epistolas Pauli*, *De interpretatione nominum Graecorum*, and *Interpretatio nominum Graecorum de catalogo beati Hieronymi excerpta in uno quaternione*. The collection of grammatical works is rather large. There are several complete copies of the *Grammatica integra Prisciani*, and the works of Honoratus, Donatus, Maximius, Victorinus, Metrorius, Bede, Consentius Pompeius, Eutychis, Servius, St. Augustine, Aldhelm, Asperus, and Phocas. There are also glosses by Paul the Deacon and Palaemonis. There are very few copies of the folk laws in comparison with the library of Reichenau; but Lorsch had one copy of each of the *Lex Gothorum*, the *Lex Ripuaria*, and the *Lex Salica*. Evidently the monks of Lorsch were very much interested in poetry, for there are a large number of separate volumes in verse as well as several general collections.

In 822 Corvey<sup>114</sup> was founded on the Weser in Saxony as a daughter-house of Corbie-on-the-Somme and was therefore often called "Corbeia Nova." It was under the special protection of Louis the Pious, and some of its first books may have come as gifts from him. When the Frankish monks first came from Corbie into Germany, they brought many books with them; but unfortunately, we have no record of what they were. Probably the pre-Carolingian codex of Jerome in uncial letters (now in Wolfenbüttel) was one;<sup>115</sup> and, naturally, there was an interchange of books between Corbie and Corvey for a long time. There is no old catalogue of Corvey;<sup>116</sup> so we can get an idea of its library only from the writings of the monks who used it.

<sup>114</sup> P. Lehmann, *Korveyer Studien, Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XXX (1919), Abh. 5; G. Hüffer, *Korveyer Studien*; K. Loeffler, "Die Korveier Bibliothek," *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, N.F., X (1918-19), 136 ff.

<sup>115</sup> L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la bibliothèque nationale*, II, 122, says that manuscripts in a Saxon hand were found in Corbie and evidently came from Corvey in Carolingian times; but Lehmann, *op. cit.*, p. 11, says that these manuscripts cited by Delisle came directly from England or Ireland.

<sup>116</sup> The so-called "notices" from the Corvey *Annals* telling about the wonderful gifts to the library are a forgery of C. F. Paullinis in the seventeenth century.

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Radbertus, who took part in the founding of Corvey, wrote three works, which are mentioned by later inmates of the house. The works of Ratramnus, another Corbie monk, must likewise have been in the old Corvey library. About 847 Gerold, the chaplain of Louis the Pious, entered the monastery, bringing with him many presents, including "magnam copiam librorum." We do not know the number or names of these books, but we do know that Gerold was a well-educated man. The claim has been made that some of the first books in Corvey must have come from Charlemagne's library, but there is absolutely no proof of this.<sup>117</sup> The two famous Florentine codices containing the first half of the *Annals of Tacitus* and the *Epistolae* of Pliny are of German origin and were once in Corvey.

In 975 the monk Agius wrote to the Abbess of Gandersheim, and from his letter and from the sources used by the chronicler Widukind we may suppose that these books were in Corvey: Vergil, Sallust, Livy, Tacitus, Suetonius, Pliny, Lucan, Ovid, Horace, Juvenal, Juvenius, Josephus, Sulpicius Severus, Bede, Paulus Diaconus, Isidore of Seville, Jordanes, Einhard, and the *Lex Saxonica*, *Translatio St. Viti*, Rimbert's biography of Anskar, works of the earlier Corvey teachers, and the rules of various orders.

The long struggle for existence which the abbey of St. Gall had after its foundation in 614 by St. Gall, a companion of Columban in his migrations, was not conducive to literary activity.<sup>118</sup> Yet, even in the middle of the eighth century there were cultured monks in the house, such as Abbot Othmer (720-59), and the monks Winithar and Kero. The penury of books at St. Gall before the time of Abbot Gozberg (816-36) was very great.<sup>119</sup> It was he who set aside a room for the library above the scriptorium in 830. St. Gall was the beneficiary of the Irish literary tradition more than any other monastery

<sup>117</sup> Lehmann, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>118</sup> F. Weidmann, *Geschichte der Bibliothek von St. Gallen*; T. von Sicking, "St. Gallen unter den ersten Karolingern," *Mittheilungen zur vaterländischen Geschichte*, IV, 9 ff.; E. I. Hogan, "The Monastery and Library of St. Gall," *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 3d ser., XV, 33-54, 289-301.

<sup>119</sup> *Librorum enim quorum maxima peruria in nostro loco usque ad illius (Gozberti) tempus extiterat tantam copiam ille patravit ut locus iste ex eorum multiplicatione non parum excresceret* (Ratpert, *Casus St. Galli* v, in Weidmann, *op. cit.*, p. 6).

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on the Continent in the eighth and ninth centuries. The list of thirty "Libri Scottice scripti" is among the oldest book lists of St. Gall which we have.<sup>120</sup> On the other hand, the tradition of Insular script had already vanished by this time. None of the manuscripts written in the Insular hand now preserved may be regarded as having been written at St. Gall, the type of the earliest book being "Rhaetian," similar to that native to the Romance-speaking parts of Switzerland and showing decided affinities with the North Italian, according to Loeffler.<sup>121</sup>

The brilliant epoch of St. Gall began with the abbacy of Grimwald (841-72), in whose time the oldest catalogue was probably compiled.<sup>122</sup> It lists about four hundred volumes and was supplemented by the private collections of the abbot and other monks. Grimwald himself donated 35 works.<sup>123</sup> Under Abbot Hartmut (872-83) the library continued to grow,<sup>124</sup> though at this time a decline of interest in classical studies is observable. Among the books which Grimwald gave St. Gall was Vergil, but not a single classical work is found among the volumes amassed by Hartmut. The first librarian of record was Liuthard (861-72). In 890 Notker I, nicknamed "the Stammerer (Balbus)," held the office; and at the beginning of the tenth century, Waltram.

Another old catalogue of the library of St. Gall, found in the first eighteen pages of a volume still at St. Gall (No. 728), is divided into two parts.<sup>125</sup> The first is inscribed "Libri Scottice scripti" and enumerates 30 works, distinguishing between *volumina*, *codicilli*, and *quaterniones*. The second part lists a collection of about four hundred volumes and is inscribed: "Breviarium librorum." It is written in four different handwritings of the ninth and tenth centuries. The

<sup>120</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 22; C. Scherer, *Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek von St. Gallen*.

<sup>121</sup> K. Loeffler, "Die Sankt Galler Schreibschule in der 2. Haelfte des 8. Jahrhunderts," *Palaeographia Latina*, VI (1929), 5-64.

<sup>122</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 15.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 23; T. von Arx, *Geschichte des Kantons St. Gallen*, I, 189.

<sup>124</sup> Ratpert *Casus S. Galli* ix and x; cited in Weidmann, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>125</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 22; Weidmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 364-96.

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compiler of the first section of the second part almost certainly was Liuthard, who sometimes affixed descriptive or critical notes. There is a sprinkling of classical works; numerous theological writings; hagiography, monastic regulations, and canons; a little on medicine and philology; and—strangely—almost no history except for Eusebius, Orosius, and Bede.

In Fulda and Reichenau, as has been noticed, the Irish influence had vanished by the ninth century and was but a tradition out of the past. But in St. Gall it was not so. In the time of Grimwald a "Scottish bishop" named Marcus, accompanied by his nephew, Moengal, stopped at St. Gall when returning from Rome; and the latter was persuaded to remain. He became director of the inner school, while Iso, a German, taught in the outer school. Moengal was the forerunner of a line of notable teachers at St. Gall, among them Ratpert, Notker the Stammerer, and Salomo III, who later became bishop of Constance. But by the end of the ninth century the laurels of St. Gall had faded, just as in the case of Fulda and Reichenau.<sup>126</sup>

No catalogue of the important abbey of Prüm in Lorraine is known. Yet the monastery was rich in codices and was the intellectual center of Lorraine in the ninth century. In 855 Emperor Lothar gave a valuable Bible to the library, decorated with illustrations and illuminated initials—"bibliothecam cum imaginibus et majoribus characteribus in voluminum principiis deauratis."<sup>127</sup>

The medieval cathedrals lagged behind the monasteries as seats of culture until the eleventh century, when they not only caught up but excelled. The intellectual primacy of York in the eighth century was quite exceptional and had no Continental parallel. Nevertheless, cathedral libraries here and there were touched by the Carolingian revival; and in Germany, if not in France, some of them were also influenced by Anglo-Irish cultural tradition. In Cologne scholarship was established by Hildebald, formerly Charlemagne's archchaplain, celebrated by Theodulf under the name of Aaron. He had manuscripts which the pope sent to Charlemagne, copied for the episcopal

<sup>126</sup> Hauck, *op. cit.*, II, 567-68.

<sup>127</sup> T. Marx, *Geschichte des Erzstifts Trier*, IV, 558; T. Gottlieb, *Ueber mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, p. 65 n.

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library. Archbishops Hilduin (842-49) and Gunthar (deposed 863) are praised for their learning by Sedulius. Archbishop Willibert (870-89) had the Codex Carolinus copied.<sup>128</sup> Archbishop Lull of Mainz, Boniface's former pupil, imported theological and scientific works from England.<sup>129</sup> The *Vita sancti Liudgeri*<sup>130</sup> further illustrates this dependence of Germany in the latter half of the eighth century upon English libraries. Liudger was born in Frisia about 744, received his early education at Utrecht, and between 767 and 770 was a pupil of Alcuin at York. Then he returned to Utrecht, "taking many books with him." After Charlemagne's conquest of Saxony, Liudger was made first bishop of Münster, and we may believe had books of English provenance with him.

It has been previously observed that the Irish influence persisted most strongly at Cambrai, after it had vanished from the monasteries of Irish foundation in Frankish Gaul. Cambrai also, alone among Carolingian bishoprics, owned some Greek manuscripts, which Bishop Halitgar brought back in 817 from his embassy to Constantinople.<sup>131</sup> But, of all cathedral libraries in Carolingian Germany, Würzburg and Salzburg were incomparably the richest. The Irish influence in the former was strong. The careful preservation and study of older Christian literature in Ireland, owing to its long isolation, had the result that, when the tide set from Ireland to the Continent, the Irish missionaries carried this literature abroad, and nowhere in such measure as to Würzburg. A Würzburg codex of the Epistles of St. Paul,<sup>132</sup> written about 800, is provided with a marginal and interlinear commentary of later date, part in Latin, part in Irish. The Latin glosses are especially interesting. Much of the matter is anonymous, but seven patristic authors are cited by name: Origen, Hilary (i.e., "Ambrosiaster"), Jerome, Augustine, Gregory the Great, and

<sup>128</sup> W. Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, I, 263.

<sup>129</sup> Hauck, *op. cit.*, II, 179, n. 5.

<sup>130</sup> Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XCIX, cols. 769-96.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, LXXXVIII, col. 450; CV, col. 649.

<sup>132</sup> MS Würzburg, M. tr. f. 12. J. F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland, I: Ecclesiastical*, No. 461, cites a facsimile edition (critical editions of which those by H. Zimmer and W. Stokes are most important), translations and commentaries.

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Isidore. But what elicits most astonishment is that Pelagius is the source of 1,311 glosses, of which 957 are direct citations. Ancient Irish Christianity certainly was loyal to the first great Western schismatic whose popularity in Ireland probably explains much of the deviation in early Irish Christianity.

The bishopric of Würzburg was founded by St. Boniface and entrusted to his companion, the Anglo-Saxon Burchard. Professor E. A. Lowe, of Oxford, reports on a short catalogue written in an Anglo-Saxon hand of about 800, on a page at the end of a French manuscript of St. Augustine, from the episcopal library at Würzburg.<sup>133</sup> Of the thirty-six items listed, some are now in the Laudian Collection at the Bodleian, acquired by Archbishop Laud in Germany during the Thirty Years' War, while others are still preserved at Würzburg.

An analysis of the list shows that five items refer to Biblical books (1, 28, 29, 32, 35), four to books by Gregory (2, 3, 21, 34), one to Bede's works (5), three (possibly four) to Jerome (6, 13, 30 and possibly 4), seven to Augustine (7, 8, 16, 19, 27, 31, 33), one each to Ambrose (9), Orosius (100), Arnobius (11), Juvenius (12); three at least are liturgical (14, 23, 24), one is canon law (15), one Junilius (17), one Prosper (20), one, possibly two, Isidorus (22 and probably 18), one a glossary (25), one Aldhelm (26), one Boniface (31), and one a book on the Beatitudes (36).<sup>134</sup>

For its light on medieval library administration, this list is very interesting in its evidence concerning the loan of five of the books. Item 4 has added in a German hand, "ad holzkirihhun"—evidence that when the catalogue was compiled the work was out on loan to the monastery of Holzkirchen, a dependency of Fulda. Similarly, the words, in Anglo-Saxon characters, "ad fultu," indicate that four books were on loan to Fulda.

The episcopal library at Salzburg was the creation of Archbishop Arno<sup>135</sup> (d. 821), a close friend of Alcuin. He, no doubt, brought the

<sup>133</sup> E. A. Lowe, "An Eighth Century List of Books in a Bodleian MS from Würzburg and Its Probable Relation to the Laudian Acts," *Speculum*, III (1928), 3-15.

<sup>134</sup> Lowe, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>135</sup> Zeissberg, "Arno, erster Erzbischof von Salzburg," *Sitzungsberichte der wiener Akademie*, XLIII (1863), 305-81.



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nucleus of the library with him from Elno<sup>136</sup> but increased the collection by many transcripts, being careful to include contemporary writers, notably Alcuin.<sup>137</sup> Arno was in close touch with the spiritual leaders of Frankish Gaul; to his monastic school came teachers and writing material from the west. Alcuin's pupil, Wizo, came in 797 and stayed several years. Among the codices which Arno himself brought from the west, was the *Evangeliarium*, written by the Anglo-Saxon, Cuthbert, which, dating back to the eighth century, is the oldest manuscript in the Salzburg library. There is also a collection of Alcuin's letters, put together in Salzburg in 802, and a chronologico-astronomical manuscript, which was begun about 809. In 797 Arno started the *Annales Fuvavenses maiores*; the *minores* were begun in 816, still preserved at Würzburg. Altogether, about thirty-two existing manuscripts can be traced back to Arno. Most of the others were probably destroyed by fire, for in 845 the church of St. Ruprecht, and in 847 the church of St. Peter burned. In 1127 fire destroyed the cathedral church; and in 1167 almost the whole city, including the cathedral.<sup>138</sup> Arno also stimulated the establishment of libraries in Bavarian monasteries, where, in addition to the usual works found in such places, lives of the saints were popular reading.<sup>139</sup>

Arno's successors continued his tradition. Adalram (821-36) had the *Sermo S. Augustini de symbolo contra Judaeos* copied. The next archbishop, Liuphram (836-59), also put great value on books. Under him was written the *Excerpta de moralibus Gregorii super Job*. In Liuphram's circle there was Baldo, under whom was copied Arculfus' *Liber de locis sanctis*, as well as poems dealing with the Salzburg suffragans. There is a letter of King Ludwig to Baldo, thanking him for sending him books. Baldo also had copied a collection of canons, about 851.<sup>140</sup>

Cologne's library could not compare with those of Würzburg and Salzburg in the Carolingian era. Its foundation was laid by Archbishop Hildebald (785-819), and the earliest collection was composed

<sup>136</sup> K. Foltz, *Geschichte der salzburger Bibliotheken*, p. 7, and cf. Hauck, *op. cit.*, II, 384.

<sup>137</sup> Hauck, *op. cit.*, II, 770, n. 54. <sup>138</sup> Foltz, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-10. <sup>139</sup> Alcuin *Ep.* cxxxvii.

<sup>140</sup> W. Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, I, 158, 202.

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of works which Pope Leo III gave to Charlemagne. Cologne seems to have excelled all other episcopal scriptoria during the Carolingian period, although one may not attribute to it a distinctive style in the sense in which Tours and Corbie excelled.<sup>142</sup>

The missionary station at Hamburg, for the conversion of Scandinavia, which was founded by Anskar in 834, had a library—it must have been a small one—which was soon afterward destroyed by a Viking raid.<sup>143</sup>

Passing across the Rhine from Germany to France, we find in the ninth century an utter poverty in cathedral libraries there, which contrasts strangely with conditions in Germany. Lyons is the only notable episcopal library to be found in France in the ninth century, and it owed its superiority, not to the Carolingian renaissance, but to contact with Italy and Spain.<sup>144</sup> Rheims was rich in archives and must have possessed much upon canon law, as the writings of Archbishop Hincmar show;<sup>145</sup> but it seems to have been almost without books. Amid all the wealth of information which Flodoard relates in his *History of the Church of Rheims*, the sole reference to a book is that Archbishop Turpin gave a copy of the Scriptures to the cathedral library.<sup>146</sup> Not long after we find Freulf of Lisieux complaining of the dearth of books there,<sup>147</sup> even of the Bible, which makes one wonder what had become of Turpin's copy. Paris was better off, for Remigius of Auxerre had founded a notable school<sup>148</sup> and expounded Boethius, Sedulius, Martianus Capella, Donatus, Priscian, Phocas, Eutyches, Cato Minor, Juvenal, Persius, Terence, and the *Ars metrica* of Bede. Odo of Cluny, Hildebold of St. Mihiel,

<sup>142</sup> L. W. Jones, *The Script of Cologne*. Twenty-eight manuscripts are studied, all but one of which are still in the Dombibliothek. The exception is the famous Harleian Vitruvius.

<sup>143</sup> *Vita Anscharii* vi.

<sup>144</sup> The life and writings of Agobard of Lyons (d. 840) afford ample proof; cf. A. Potthast, *Bibliotheca historica medii aevi*, I, 26-27.

<sup>145</sup> Manitius, *op. cit.*, I, 346 n.

<sup>146</sup> Flodoard *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* ii. 17.

<sup>147</sup> Ebert, *op. cit.*, II, 147 (French tr.).

<sup>148</sup> H. F. Stewart, "A Commentary of Remigius Autissiodorensis on the *De consolatione philosophiae*," *Journal of Theological Studies*, XVII (1915), 22-42; Manitius, *op. cit.*, I, 504 ff.

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and Blidulf, archdeacon of Metz, were his pupils.<sup>148</sup> The abbey of St. Denis had a ninth-century manuscript containing the works of Vegetius and Solinus, as well as a de luxe copy of the Scriptures.<sup>149</sup>

Some amendment for the general poverty of French cathedral libraries in the ninth century is made by that of Lyons. With the exception of the chapter library at Verona, the ancient *Bibliotheca Lugdunensis* is the best preserved of all the cathedral libraries in Europe. Here are still to be found 13 manuscripts in uncial and half-uncial writing ranging from the fifth to the eighth century, while there are others as old preserved elsewhere which undoubtedly once belonged to Lyons. Most of these books are patristic, but a few are biblical and juristic. Among them we find Origen, Hilary, Augustine, Eucherius, and Jerome; three parts of the Old Testament, including a famous Heptateuch; canons of certain councils; and a precious copy of the Theodosian Code. Finally, it is now established, almost with certainty, that the famous Codex Bezae was in Lyons at least as early as the ninth century.<sup>150</sup> Lyons has a longer and more continuous literary tradition than any other city of France. It goes back to the Roman bookstalls which sold the *Letters* of Pliny and the poems of Martial, to St. Irenaeus and the school of rhetoric which still flourished there in the fifth century.<sup>151</sup> Archbishop Leidrad (798–814) was a progressive churchman who restored the cathedral school. Leidrad was a pupil of Aribo of Freising, and his successors were men like himself; Agobard (814–40) was one of the most learned men of the ninth century; Amolo (840–52) and Remigius (852–75) were leaders in the controversy over the theories advanced by Gottschalk. Finally, the work of the poet and theologian Florus (*ca.* 860) must not be overlooked in any estimate of the literary activity and library pos-

<sup>148</sup> *Vita Odonis*; Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXXXIII, col. 62.

<sup>149</sup> L. Delisle, *Littérature latine et histoire du moyen âge*, pp. 7–8.

<sup>150</sup> E. A. Lowe, *Codices Lugdunenses antiquissimi*, and his article, "The Codex Bezae at Lyons," *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXV (1925), 270–74.

<sup>151</sup> L. de Saussaye, *Les six premiers siècles littéraires de la ville de Lyons* (Lyons, 1876); early volumes of the *Histoire littéraire de la France*; various articles in *Mémoires de l'Académie de Lyons, Classe des lettres*, 1858–61; S. Tafel, "The Lyons Scriptorium," *Palaeographia Latina*, II (1923), 66 ff.; IV (1925), 40 ff.

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sessions of the city.<sup>152</sup> Doubtless there were in Lyons also other libraries, such as those at St. Just and St. Irénée; but there is no foundation for the legend (of fifteenth-century origin) that Charlemagne's library, or at least part of it, was lodged in the abbey of Ile-Barbe in the Saône River under Leidrad's care.<sup>153</sup>

Most dioceses in France in the ninth century were very deficient in books. Freulf of Lisieux in 822 complained to Rabanus Maurus that in his see there was not even a whole Bible, much less any commentary on it.<sup>154</sup> However, Freulf must have either repaired the lack of books or else traveled widely to consult them, for his *Chronicon tomii II*, a sort of universal history, shows wide reading.<sup>155</sup> By the merest chance we have slight but interesting information concerning the episcopal library of Langres in the late Carolingian period. Among the 329 manuscripts preserved in the Museum Meermano-Westreenianum at The Hague is a fragment of the ninth century, *Vita Alexandri Magni*, on vellum, in which are seven lines giving a list of books apparently in the cathedral library. Two were historical works: Orosius, a *Gesta Francorum*; two were of a legal nature: *Capitularia Karoli Magni* and the *Ripuarian Code*; literature was represented by Vergil, and grammar by Donatus, Priscian and his pupil Eutyches; theology, by a commentary on Isaiah and an exposition of the Four Gospels and the Epistles.<sup>156</sup>

Singular as it may seem, we have almost no information about books and libraries in Italy in the ninth century, not even for Rome. But we cannot doubt that, next to England, Rome furnished more manuscripts than any other place for the Carolingian renaissance. The books which Pope Paul I sent to Pepin the Short were certainly the forerunners of many others.<sup>157</sup> The learned Peter of Pisa and

<sup>152</sup> Florus' library was an object of wonder in his time. Cf. Wandalbertus Prumiensis' *Carmina* in Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXXI, col. 577.

<sup>153</sup> Tafel, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-73.

<sup>154</sup> Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CVII, col. 727.

<sup>155</sup> A. Molinier, *Les Sources de l'histoire de France*, V, xlix; L. C. F. Petit-Radel, *Recherches sur les bibliothèques anciennes et modernes*, pp. 77-79.

<sup>156</sup> H. Stein, "Une bibliothèque langroise du ix<sup>e</sup> siècle," *La Bibliographie moderne*, XIX (1918-19), 159 ff.

<sup>157</sup> *MGH, Epistolae*, III, 529.

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Paul the Lombard must each have brought books with them when they left Italy for the Frankish court.

Information regarding the monastic libraries in Italy during the Carolingian period is excessively scant, even of Monte Cassino. Education, it may safely be inferred, was confined to the Scriptures, the texts of Donatus and Priscian, and commentaries on Vergil, though the secular knowledge of Alanus, abbot of Farfa (d. 769), was reputed to be "astute." He was the author of a homiliarium used by Paulus Diaconus, and the abbey library must have possessed a good collection of patristic literature. In the middle of the ninth century the general upswing of the Carolingian renaissance seems to have opened the doors of Farfa to classical appreciation. The epitaph of Abbot Sichard (d. *ca.* 840) is written in really excellent verse and has echoes of Vergil, Ovid, and Venantius Fortunatus.<sup>158</sup>

The rise of intellectual interests at Rome is best measured in the career of Anastasius, surnamed "Bibliothecarius" for his erudition, in the pontificates of Nicholas I, Hadrian II, and John VIII. He was primarily interested in Greek and was employed by the papal chancery in translating Greek state papers and theological treatises into Latin. But Greek was independently cultivated at Rome in this century. The Codex Graecus Paris 1470, containing the *Vita S. Marinae*, bears annotations upon the margin made by the Byzantine monk Methodius, who was renowned as a grammarian and calligrapher and who migrated to Rome at this time. Also, the Greek translation of the *Vita of St. Anastasia*, embodied in Codex Graecus Paris 1451, was written at Rome in 824.<sup>159</sup> As Rome was the rich storehouse of classical and theological texts, it is vexatious to find so little about them in the ninth century. We may be confident, however, that Roman grammarians and rhetoricians of the time got their classical training not only from anthologies and florilegia but also from the complete texts preserved in Roman libraries.<sup>160</sup>

<sup>158</sup> G. H. Hoerle, *Frühmittelalterliche Mönchs- und Klerikerbildung in Italien*, p. 53. A companion volume to this work, valuable for libraries of the Carolingian period, is R. Stachnik, *Die Bildung des Weltklerus im Frankenreiche von Karl Martel bis auf Ludwig den Frommen*.

<sup>159</sup> P. Batiffol, "Librairies byzantines à Rome," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, VIII (1888), 298-99.

<sup>160</sup> Hoerle, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

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The long arm of the Carolingian renaissance touched Rome in persons such as Ado, the cultured archbishop of Vienne (d. 874). Born of a noble Frankish family, he was educated at Ferrières near Sens, the monastery which Servatus Lupus had made the center of literary studies in the previous generation. For a time, Ado studied at Prüm in Lorraine, and later spent five years in Italy. Thence, he went to Lyons, which, as we have already seen, was a notable intellectual center, and in 860 he became archbishop of Vienne. He was author of a not unimportant chronicon, but his most distinguished work is his *Matyrologium*. In the Preface to this work Ado tells us that his Italian journey took him into many libraries in search of codices.<sup>161</sup>

A more famous hunter of books in Italy was Lupus of Ferrières, who appealed, about 855, to Pope Benedict III to send him codices of Cicero's *De oratore*, Quintilian's *Institutes*, and Donatus' *Commentary on Terence*.<sup>162</sup> He is the most passionate and indefatigable manuscript-hunter of the Middle Ages, and its greatest bibliophile.<sup>163</sup> Servatus Lupus, son of a Bavarian father and a Frankish mother, was born about 805, and entered the monastery of Ferrières under Abbot Adalbert, a pupil of Alcuin. About 828 he was sent to Rabanus Maurus at Fulda, to receive instruction in the Scriptures; and it was there he met Gottschalk. As his studies advanced, he assisted Rabanus in the preparation of his commentaries. He also engaged in other scholarly activities while at Fulda, writing a large volume on Germanic popular law for Count Eberhard of Friuli, a literary man with a large library. This volume includes stanzas and pictures to introduce the individual "leges," which depict Germanic folk types as well as the kings of the Franks from Charlemagne to Lothar I.<sup>164</sup> From 842 to 860 Lupus was abbot of Ferrières.

<sup>161</sup> Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXXIII, col. 453.

<sup>162</sup> *Ep. ciii*. I am indebted for the account of Lupus in the following pages to my former student, Mr. Palmer Throop, who presented this matter in a seminar report.

<sup>163</sup> L. Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, II, 133 ff.; Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 25; Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 991; Molinier, *op. cit.*, II, Nos. 53-59, 790, p. 242; C. H. Beeson, *Lupus of Ferrières as Scribe and Text Critic*; J. B. Mullinger, *Schools of Charles the Great*, pp. 155-70; and the literature cited in Paetow, *op. cit.*, pp. 397-98.

<sup>164</sup> Manitius, *op. cit.*, I, 483.

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It is nothing less than a marvel that, amid all the cares and disturbances so characteristic of the tumultuous ninth century, Lupus could have found time and means of pursuing his intellectual interests. Yet he continued throughout all his life to hunt zealously for new manuscripts, to collate, to write, to teach, to study, and to answer learnedly his friends' queries. Only a very sincere and profound love of learning could have inspired such a tireless will to learn and such determination to acquire new books under difficult circumstances.

As a book-collector, Lupus had one asset that more than compensated for the hardships he had to meet—ingeniousness. For instance, certain references in his letters suggest that he and his correspondents exchange lists of the books available in their respective monasteries. Thus he wrote, sometime after 840, to his friend Reginbert of St. Gall:

I long as is right and proper for your coming which has been definitely promised by letter, but I suggest that you must choose a safe road with the utmost caution because in the kingdom of Charles our king, revolutionary movements have arisen, and raiding goes on with impunity; nothing occurs more often and constantly than robbery and violence. Such a company therefore of fellow travelers is to be sought that through their numbers and valor the bands of the wicked may be avoided, or if necessary, beaten back. Sallust's Catiline and Jugurtha and the books of Verrine orations and *whatever others you know we have either in imperfect shape or not at all*, be good enough to bring us so that through your kindness the defective ones may be corrected, and those which we do not have and cannot have except through you may be acquired all the more gratefully because unexpectedly. Good luck to you.<sup>165</sup>

This implies that Reginbert knew what was in the library of Ferrières, either by a list or by personal observation. But there is reason for thinking that he had never been in the West Frankish kingdom; otherwise, why would Lupus warn him of the bad traveling conditions, which were so constant that Lupus' allusion to revolutionary movements is no aid whatsoever in the dating of the letter? Lupus was clearly giving instructions to someone who was unfamiliar with the West Frankish kingdom. Therefore, it does not seem rash to infer that Reginbert must have had a list of the books of Ferrières. Another bit of evidence pointing the same way is Lupus' letter to Altwin written in 837, after his return from Fulda: "Many have

<sup>165</sup> *Ep.* xlv. 114.

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asked me for the book you requested since my return to whom I could not think of lending it. I have almost decided to hide it away somewhere so that it might not be lost."<sup>166</sup>

Clearly, monks of other monasteries had been plaguing the wary bibliophile. It is possible that news of this book had been spread by local rumor. Yet it should be noted that Altwyn was near Mainz, which is a bit too far from Ferrières for even gossip. This points to the probability of a list and to something equally interesting—the fact that it was kept up to date. For it seems that the book in question was one brought from Fulda by Lupus, and at the date of this letter Lupus had been back at Ferrières for approximately a year.<sup>167</sup> Lupus speaks of the catalogue of Seligenstadt as if he had seen it at Fulda.<sup>168</sup> Finally, it is significant that, in refusing requests for books, Lupus not once offers the excuse that the book is not in his possession.<sup>169</sup> His correspondents must have known that he had the books they wanted, and Lupus' requests for books are most definite. He seems to have no doubt as to their location, even though some of his letters were addressed to persons he did not know. If both he and his correspondents depended on rumor, chance was especially good to these men of the ninth century.

Variations in a text added much to Lupus' zest for collecting. It can never be inferred that, because Lupus asks for a work, he did not have it himself. He was ever anxious to correct his own manuscripts by a comparison with others, and frequently borrowed a work which he already possessed in order to improve his own copy by comparison. When there was a difference in reading, he registered the variant and indicated its source. Corrupt passages he labeled by a critical sign. He corrected spelling and syllable division. More

<sup>166</sup> *Ep.* vii. 66.

<sup>167</sup> L. Levillain, "Etude sur les lettres de Loup de Ferrières," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, LXII (1901), 498.

<sup>168</sup> "Quos (*libros*) vos habere arbitror; propterea quod in brevi voluminum vestrorum post commemorationem *libri ad Herennium*, interpositis quibusdam aliis reperi: *Ciceronis de rhetorica*; item *explanatio in libros Ciceronis*. Praeterea *Auli Gellii noctium atticarum*. Sed et alii plures in praedicto brevi." The word "breve" seems to have been used to designate a catalogue, or at least a list of books.

<sup>169</sup> Cf. *Ep.* xii. 76; *Ep.* lxxxv. 161; *Ep.* x. 66.



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than any other man of his time, he approached the comparative technique of modern scholarship. Such critical endeavor in the ninth century is of peculiar importance in the transmission of the Latin classics, for it was then that the old majuscule manuscripts were transcribed in minuscule script like that developed at Tours. A letter to a certain Adalgard, written about 840, shows Lupus' desire for correct and complete texts.

I am very grateful to you for the brotherly trouble you have taken in the correction of the Macrobius. Also I should greatly like to see the book of which you have sent me a sheet; for it is verily one of praiseworthy and most painstaking industry. And I thank you no less for the commentary of Boethius and yet I do not know whether it is all here and whether it is yours or whether you did it with some one else. So I hope you will be chastized forever in order that you may never write or tell me anything ambiguous, which you know for certain and, after the manner of Apollo's oracles, obscure with some equivocal utterance. For you have not made clear whether the book of the *Tusculans* has been copied for me nor what Agius is doing, nor what books you have been working with, nor, what I am very anxious to know, whether you have gained anything by this retirement.<sup>170</sup>

This letter also reveals that Lupus had other ways of procuring books than that of borrowing and having them copied at Ferrières. Adalgard was, no doubt, an expert copyist living in a monastery which, perhaps, refused to lend its manuscripts to Lupus but would allow his friend to copy them for him. It is plain that Lupus had sent his own copy of Macrobius to be corrected by Adalgard from a copy he had access to. It is equally plain that Lupus' gratitude for the "brotherly trouble" was more than counterbalanced by his annoyance at the ambiguity which kept from him any news of Cicero's *Tusculans*.

Lupus did not confine his book-borrowing to the East and West Frankish kingdoms. After he had recovered the priory of St. Josse, which was near the English Channel, he set about trying to borrow books from York, still an important cultural center, writing to Alsigus, abbot of York:

Since by the great mercy of God the pest of discord which has been atrociously harrowing all the Gauls and Germanies has abated, I have desired among the very first acts of peace to renew the bonds which once existed between our church and yours. . . . And that you may perform first what I promise, I earnestly beg you to

<sup>170</sup> *Ep.* ix. 69.

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send by the surest messengers to the priory of St. Josse, which has lately been restored to us, the "Studies in the Old and New Testaments," which, according to the testimony of Cassiodorus, the blessed Jerome composed; also your Bede's "Studies in Both Testaments"; also Jerome's "Commentaries on Jeremiah" except the first six books, which we have; finally, the twelve books of Quintilian's "Institutiones." These are to be handed to Lantramus, who is well known to you, to be copied at St. Josse and to be returned to you as soon as possible. If you cannot send all, yet kindly send some, and you will receive from God the reward of your labor of love and from us any reward within our power which you may order in return for so much trouble.<sup>174</sup>

It is not likely that he received all these books from York, for in a letter to Pope Benedict III, written sometime between 855 and 858, we find him still searching for the Quintilian.

. . . . We beg also for Cicero's "De Oratore" and the twelve books of Quintilian's "Institutiones Oratoriae," which are contained in one comparatively small volume. Parts of these authors we have, but we want to obtain the whole through you. With like purpose we request the commentary of Donatus upon Terence, and if your generosity shall bestow the works of these authors upon us, we will see to it with God's approval that they are all faithfully restored along with the aforesaid manuscript of St. Jerome. . . . .<sup>175</sup>

These letters and others show that Lupus was a most enthusiastic borrower of books, but there is evidence that he had no difficulty in suppressing his enthusiasm for lending. When he asked to borrow the pope's Quintilian, he said that it was a "comparatively small volume," inferring that it would be easy to carry. When, however, Hincmar of Rheims asked for Bede's commentary, Lupus replied that the book was much too big to be sent safely. He wrote:

I was afraid to send you Bede's commentary on the Apostle in accordance with the works of Augustine, because the book is so large that it cannot be hidden in one's cloak, nor comfortably carried in a hand-bag, and even if one or the other could be done, one would have to fear meeting some band of villains whose greed would surely be kindled by the beauty of the manuscript and it would perhaps be lost thus to both me and you. Accordingly, I can most securely lend the volume to you as soon as, if God will, we can come together at some safe place and will do so.<sup>176</sup>

Travel on horseback was essential to the safe-carrying of books, in Lupus' opinion. In refusing to lend Altwyn a book, he states: "For though I saw that this book could be trusted with this cleric, since he is faithful to you, yet I wondered that you had not consid-

<sup>174</sup> *Ep.* lxxv. 148.

<sup>175</sup> *Ep.* cxi. 191.

<sup>176</sup> *Ep.* lxxxv. 160-61. •

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ered how unsafe it would be to send it by him, owing to the fact that he is on foot."<sup>174</sup> Lupus was likewise exceedingly careful as to whom he could trust a book. The lack of a suitable bearer furnished him an excuse for a refusal to Reginbert.<sup>175</sup>

Nevertheless, he did lend books occasionally, although cautiously and with many a gentle reminder that he wanted them back again as soon as possible. Bishop Heribold of Auxerre was one of the two men Lupus trusted with books, but he was perhaps Lupus' own brother.<sup>176</sup> Even so, he was properly cautious, as may be seen from the following: "For the rest, I am sending you according to your wish, the manuscript of the Blessed Jerome's 'Annotations on the Prophets,' which I have not yet read. Let your diligence quickly see to having it copied or read, and order it returned to me."<sup>177</sup> Heribold must have asked Lupus concerning Julius Caesar, and Lupus went so far as to say that he would get the *Commentaries* and send them to him.<sup>178</sup>

Another person to whom Lupus may have lent books was Wenilo, archbishop of Sens, his superior. Unfortunately, two letters addressed to Wenilo are so badly damaged that only fragments of sentences can be made out. These were placed together by the original collector of Lupus' letters; and, since Levillain has shown conclusively that his arrangement was roughly chronological,<sup>179</sup> there can be little doubt that the two letters to Wenilo<sup>180</sup> are related in point of time. Since both letters are imperfect, it is not certain whether Lupus is borrowing or lending. But from the wording of the fragments, the mention of Titus Livius, and our knowledge that Lupus had owned a copy of Livy even before he became abbot, it is likely that he at first acceded to a request by Wenilo for the loan of his manuscript of Livy and later requested its return.

As jealous a guardian of books as Lupus was, he sometimes had a

<sup>174</sup> *Ep.* x. 66-67.

<sup>175</sup> *Ep.* xii. 76.

<sup>176</sup> E. Marckwald, *Beiträge zur Servatus Lupus*, p. 58.

<sup>177</sup> *Ep.* xxviii. 92.

<sup>179</sup> Levillain, *op. cit.*, pp. 454 ff.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.* 93.

<sup>180</sup> *Epp.* xcii and xciii.

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book, or at least parts of one, stolen. In a letter to Gottschalk he wrote: "The quaternions you found someone had stolen from me. . . ."<sup>181</sup>

Although there can be little doubt that Lupus kept careful account of his books, a catalogue of the library of Ferrières has not been preserved, and it is no easy matter to determine from Lupus' letters what was there. It cannot be taken for granted that Lupus possessed a work because he quoted it. Nor can it be taken for granted that he had read a work because he quoted it; the quotation might have been taken from another work or from some florilegium. It cannot be inferred that Lupus did not possess a book which he sought to borrow; he was always eager for another copy for the purpose of collation. Nor can it be concluded with certainty that Lupus received the books he asked for. There are certain books he states he owned; and, fortunately, there are manuscripts extant written or annotated by him.

Seven of these were listed by Beeson in 1930,<sup>182</sup> and three others have come to light since.<sup>183</sup> The first identification was made by Traube and his pupil Schnetz; others, by Beeson, Lindsay, Lowe, and Rand. Not all of these works are referred to in the letters—sufficient indication of how inadequate our knowledge of Lupus' library must be. Yet, that as many as ten manuscripts (and it is entirely possible that more will be found) written or annotated by Lupus have survived a thousand years of vicissitudes indicates how active a worker he must have been. Whether he received any training as a scribe before going to Fulda cannot be discovered from his letters, but such skill as his could come only through years of practice. He employed, of course, the Caroline minuscule for the body of his manuscripts

<sup>181</sup> *Ep.* lxxiii. 145

<sup>182</sup> Beeson, *op. cit.*, pp. vii-viii. This book contains a facsimile of the one manuscript completely in Lupus' autograph (Cicero *De oratore*, Harleian MS 2736).

<sup>183</sup> Rand believes that corrections in Berlin MS 126 (Phillip. 1872) of St. Jerome, *Chronica Eusebii*, are by Lupus; cf. his *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*, I, 132-33. Beeson has noted Lupus' corrections in Macrobius' commentary on the *Somnium Scipionis* (B.N. Lat. 6730) and the Vienna manuscript (189) of Cicero's philosophical works; cf. Sr. L. Meagher, *The Gellius Manuscript of Lupus of Ferrières*, p. iii.

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and wrote a remarkably distinctive and beautiful hand. Mr. Beeson writes of him:

His expertness as a scribe enabled him to write a compact uniform script that moved rapidly with never-failing rhythm and, to one who becomes familiar with his ductus, it is as characteristic as the handwriting of a modern scribe. The style of his writing is several decades in advance of the current style; that is the reason why most of the Lupus manuscripts have been dated by one scholar or another as late ninth or early tenth century.<sup>184</sup>

From a rough classification of the works which he certainly knew, it is evident that Lupus was chiefly concerned with non-ecclesiastical writings; he was familiar with some forty secular, against approximately fourteen religious, works. The twenty-seven books of belles-lettres, commentaries, and grammars clearly indicate that his main interests lay in classical scholarship. He was an important link in the perpetuation of classical works, for the surviving manuscripts owned or annotated by him include early texts of Valerius Maximus, Cicero, Livy, Gellius, Donatus, Macrobius, and the letters of Symmachus, all the more valuable for their critical emendations by Lupus. There can be no doubt that he was, as Traube believed, the most outstanding representative of critical philology of his time.

This chapter may well be concluded with some notes concerning the libraries of two Frankish nobles in the later ninth century, which may be described as the last glow of the Carolingian renaissance. In each case our information is derived from a will. Count Heccard was a Burgundian noble who made his testament about 875.<sup>185</sup> The document shows that this layman must have possessed a remarkable library for that day. Especially worthy of mention are his Gregory of Tours, Paul the Lombard, Salian and Burgundian law codes, the Codex Papianus, a work on agriculture, one on military science, a medical book, two on astrology, a German Gospel, several works on canon law, theology, and a "libellum Isidori."<sup>186</sup> Count Heccard

<sup>184</sup> Beeson, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>185</sup> The subjoined information is, for the most part, derived from E. Bishop, "A Benedictine Confrater," in his *Liturgica historica*, pp. 362 ff.

<sup>186</sup> P. Lejay, "Catalogues de la bibliothèque de Perrecy," *Revue des bibliothèques*, VI (1896), 228, points out that there are traces of Heccard's library in two eleventh-century catalogues of the library at Perrecy, a priory dependent on Fleury-sur-Loire, which Heccard had founded.

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not only owned these books, but he had borrowed others. He instructs his executors "to return the books belonging to the monastery of St. Benedict at Fleury, which are kept in my closet." Another noble of the ninth century who owned and loved books was Eberhard, margrave of Friuli.<sup>187</sup> His relations with Rabanus Maurus, Hincmar of Rheims, and Sedulius Scottus indicate his intellectual interests. His library was even larger than that of Heccard, for at his death in 864 he left books to two sons and three daughters.<sup>188</sup> He had married Gisela, a daughter of Emperor Louis the Pious. His elder son was afterward King Berengar I of Italy (888) and emperor (916).

<sup>187</sup> E. Favre, "La Famille d'Evrard, marquis de Frioul dans le royaume franc de l'ouest," *Mélanges d'études ... Gabriel Monod* (Paris, 1896), pp. 157 ff.

<sup>188</sup> L. D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, II, 877; Dom A. Wilmart, *Revue bénédictine*, XXVIII, 365-66.

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## CHAPTER IV

# Libraries of the British Isles in the Anglo-Saxon Period

By RAMONA BRESSIE

WHAT became of the Roman books when Britain reverted to barbarism after the departure of the Romans? During the three and a half centuries of the occupation a high degree of literate culture had been established and, no doubt, copies of the Latin classics were quite common. But the record of scholarship in Britain is completely blank from 410, when Honorius abandoned the island to its fate, to about 670, when the works of Aldhelm, Alcuin, and Bede show familiarity with classical authors. Yet there is a persistent tradition that Britain, and especially Ireland, had an important share in the preservation of the books of the ancient world.<sup>1</sup> A note on the barbarian invasions in a Leyden manuscript (M.L.V.F. 70) represents a tradition current in Gaul in the sixth and seventh centuries that at the time of the invasions "all the learned men on this side of the sea took flight and in transmarine parts, namely in Ireland and wherever they betook themselves, brought about a very great increase of learning to the inhabitants of those regions."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> During eleventh-century excavations on the site of ancient Roman Verulamium by two abbots of St. Albans, the workmen found in a wall, as in a cabinet, a number of books and rolls. One of these was deciphered by an old priest and was pronounced to be in the language of the ancient Britons and to contain the history of St. Alban. The others, containing pagan invocations and idolatrous rites, were destroyed. This story, as Wright has written, "was probably a pious fraud, designed to give authority to the legend of the saint" (T. Wright, *Essays on Archaeological Subjects*, I, 273). Yet, the remark that some of the books were rolls may have significance for this form of book was obsolete after the fifth century. The original account of this incident is found in *Gesta abbatum monasterii Sancti Albani a Thoma Walsingham compilata*, ed. H. T. Riley ("Rolls Series," No. 28), I, 24 f.

<sup>2</sup> J. F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, I: Ecclesiastical, p. 142.

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The Latin writings known as the *Hisperica famina* have been conjectured to be the product of a literary society in Ireland in the fifth and sixth centuries "which perpetuated for a time the Latin and Greek learning of Gaul in the last years of the Roman Empire." Also, "the Latin of these texts is so strange as to form practically a secret language, reminiscent of the cryptic *formulae* of Vergilius Maro."<sup>3</sup> Although Zimmer's belief that the grammarian himself may have emigrated to Ireland is somewhat fantastic,<sup>4</sup> the writings of Vergilius Maro had considerable influence in Ireland.

A passage in the *Confessio* of Patrick has been interpreted as implying that British Latin scholars ridiculed the saint's rustic Latin and questioned his mission because of it. Another saint's legend says that Cadoc, after he had learned the seven liberal arts at Lismore, returned to Britain and there learned Latin, "Romano more," of a celebrated rhetorician from Italy named Bachan.<sup>5</sup> But hagiography is always doubtful historical evidence. The text of the *Confessio*, if it is authentic, is corrupted beyond all restoration. Its import must necessarily be uncertain.

Perhaps the *Hisperica famina* gave birth to the tradition that the Irish had a knowledge of the classics and a classical curriculum in their early schools. Columban is supposed to have learned to write verses in imitation of classical authors at Bangor in Ireland in the late sixth century, a hundred years before Englishmen were writing them under the instructions of Hadrian and Theodore at Canterbury. The poems which are the sole evidence of Columban's classical education are, moreover, of doubtful authenticity; they are extraordinary for his period, and they are markedly different in style and tone from his letters. They have a happy facility and grace, while the letters are dour, practical, and though vigorous, in no way remarkable for style. The earliest authentic Irish composition showing traces of classical knowledge is Adamnan's *Life of Columba*.<sup>6</sup> This

<sup>3</sup> Quoted from *ibid.*, pp. 255-58, which cites the texts and literature of this enigma.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145 and n. 122.

<sup>5</sup> T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland* ("Rolls Series," No. 26), I, 147.

<sup>6</sup> Kenney, *op. cit.*, pp. 431 ff.



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was written in the late seventh century, when the influence of Hadrian and Theodore at Canterbury had had ample time to reach the Irish through Iona and Northumbria. Aldhelm's remarks on the strength of the Irish schools belong to the same period.<sup>7</sup> Further, such evidence as exists concerning the Irish schools shows that they were too elementary for classical studies; indeed, they were simply training schools for priests, as Canterbury had been before the time of Hadrian and Theodore.<sup>8</sup> For example, Wilfrid learned the Psalms at Lindisfarne, but later at Canterbury he studied them in the Vulgate. Finally at Rome he studied the Gospels and learned the Roman calculation of Easter,<sup>9</sup> all of which he could have learned at Canterbury after 668.

The earliest Irish manuscript which can be dated is the *Bangor Antiphonary*. This is the remains of a service book written at Bangor about 690 and later used at Bobbio. The other oldest Irish books are a Gospel book known as the Codex Usserianus I<sup>o</sup> and a Psalter called the *Cathach of Columcille* from the tradition that it was written by St. Columba (d. 597). The Gospel book is in the Italic recension, which may have been current in the British Isles from the time of the first missions in the fifth century; but the Psalter is the Vulgate version, which was still unknown at Lindisfarne in Wilfrid's time. Biblical texts other than the Gospels and Psalter do not appear in Irish manuscripts before the eighth century.

The history of libraries in the British Isles in the Middle Ages must begin, therefore, not with a glorious inheritance from the Roman Empire but with a few biblical texts and ritual books, overlooked in obscure monasteries during the period of destruction, when all the land where the agriculture and commerce of the Romans had flourished had reverted to wilderness, to fen and bog and wildwood, to the hunting and herding of the barbarian. Travel was by water

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 227, letter to Eahfrid.

<sup>8</sup> P. F. Jones, "The Gregorian Mission and English Education," *Speculum*, III (1928), pp. 344 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Eddius Stephanus, "Life of Wilfrid," in *Historians of the Church of York and Its Archbishops*, ed. J. Raine ("Rolls Series," No. 71), pp. 4, 5, 8.

<sup>10</sup> Trinity College, Dublin, MS 55.

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rather than by road. Bede speaks of a Roman town, Grantchester, as "uninhabited"; a party of pious Christians went there in search of a coffin to bury their saint.<sup>11</sup> Culture and learning were at an ebb when the first Roman missionaries were sent out in the early fifth century. Surviving inscriptions decrease in number from the third century, indicating a decline of the Roman schools established by Agricola in A.D. 79.<sup>12</sup> Probably, therefore, there is some truth in the tradition that the books which Palladius and Patrick had in Ireland were from Rome.<sup>13</sup> But the listing of Patrick's books as a ritual, a Gospel book, and the seven texts of the law<sup>14</sup> is, however, only a reflection of what priests customarily had when this tradition was written two centuries later.

Nothing is said of any books taken into Scotland by Nynias (Ninian) on his mission to the Picts, or into Wales by Germanus of Auxerre. A century or more after Germanus' time, there is evidence in the profuse quotation from the Bible in Gildas' (d. ca. 570) *Liber de excidio Britanniae* of a very remarkable collection of biblical texts in Wales. All but five of the Old Testament books are cited by Gildas, and nearly all of the New Testament. The quotations represent a variety of texts—the Vulgate in certain books, and the Old Latin text in others, while parts of First Samuel and First Kings show both Old Latin and Vulgate readings.<sup>15</sup> The library implied by this diversity of sources cannot be paralleled anywhere else in the British Isles before Benedict Biscop formed the collection at Wearmouth in the late seventh century. The record thus supports the tradition that Gildas was equipped "cum magna mole diversorum voluminum."<sup>16</sup> A collection to account for Gildas' quotation must have contained several volumes of various age and provenance. But some scholars have assigned to Gildas an even more remarkable library. Chapters

<sup>11</sup> *Ecclesiastical History* iv. 19.

<sup>12</sup> Tacitus *Agricola* xxi; R. J. Collingwood, *Archaeology of Roman Britain*, p. 162.

<sup>13</sup> E. A. Savage, *Old English Libraries*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>14</sup> *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, ed. W. Stokes ("Rolls Series," No. 89), I, 105, 326, 300.

<sup>15</sup> *Gildas de excidio Britanniae*, ed. with tr. by H. Williams ("Cymmrodorion Record Series," No. 3), p. 94.

<sup>16</sup> "Life of Gildas," by Caradoc of Llancarfan in Williams' ed. of Gildas, p. 394.

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ii-xxvi in the present form of his text have as sources Jerome's *De viris illustribus*, Vergil's *Aeneid*, Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* in the edition of Rufinus, Orosius' lost account of the persecution of Diocletian, and various other records, such as, for example, the letter to Aetius.<sup>17</sup> That Gildas owned these books, however, awaits proof that those chapters are authentic. They have been questioned on the ground of chronology<sup>18</sup> and are even more open to doubt for the reason that chapters xxvii-cx, which are of unquestioned authenticity, cite only biblical texts.

At about the time that Gildas was writing, Columba founded Iona. By his aristocratic connections and his powerful personality he made this monastery the dominant ecclesiastical establishment among the Irish before 600, and as the archscribe of ancient Ireland, he established permanently industry in the scriptorium among his monks.<sup>19</sup> Iona and her dependent houses were famous for their books. The *Lindisfarne Gospels*, the *Cathach of Columcille*, and the *Book of Durrow* remain as testimonials to the perfection of their art.<sup>20</sup> While Adamnan describes the saint as incessantly writing, he mentions only one text thus copied, a Psalter; and he describes only one particular volume from Columba's pen, a book of hymns, in the possession of a Pictish priest named Iogman. If Columban and his followers stopped at Iona on their way to the Continent,<sup>21</sup> and secured books there to take with them, they were, in all likelihood, Psalters,

<sup>17</sup> F. J. Haverfield, "The Romanization of Roman Britain," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1905-6, p. 217.

<sup>18</sup> A. W. Wade-Evans, "Some Insular Sources of the *Excidium Britanniae*," *Y Cymmrodor*, XXVII (1917), 37-70.

<sup>19</sup> Adamnan's *Life of Saint Columba* mentions Columba's writing in ii. 8, 9, 16, 30, 44, and iii. 23. He says the saint, when traveling, carried books with him in a watertight pocket (ii. 8), and died while copying a Psalter (iii. 24). Before his exile Columba had surreptitiously copied the manuscript of a Psalter belonging to Finnian, who complained to King Diarmaid, claiming that the transcript also was his property. The king decreed that "a copy belongs to the book from which it was taken, as a calf belongs to a cow." In his anger Columba instigated his clan to war upon Diarmaid, who was defeated. Columba recovered his copy but was banished by an Irish synod for inciting a war. Cf. W. D. Killen, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, p. 31.

<sup>20</sup> Kenney, *op. cit.*, Nos. 490, 454, and 455, gives brief descriptions of these codices and references to their literature.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 186 ff.

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hymnals, or other church books. Codex Bobbiensis of the Gospels<sup>22</sup> which is said to have been owned by Columban, is not certainly known to be an Irish book. The Irish did not bring rare texts to the Continent, but only a supply of the books necessary for their religious mission. When Gertrude, abbess of Nivelles, purchased books in Rome and Ireland,<sup>23</sup> they were probably Psalters and liturgies, and possibly Gospels.

In the year that Columba died (597), Augustine was sent by Gregory I to Canterbury. Columba had centered the strength of the Irish church in Iona, and from there Irish influence spread southward as far as East Anglia. But the Augustinian mission-set up a base of operations which were not only to check the Irish system but to break its strength at Whitby (664) and finally drive it completely from the field by the middle of the eighth century.<sup>24</sup> These facts have a certain significance for the history of books in the British Isles. It is evident that, during the hundred years and more between the first missions to the Britons, the Picts, and the Irish, in the fifth century, and the mission of Augustine at the end of the sixth, no new ideas or influences had come in from the Continent. Hence, there can hardly have been any important traffic in books across the Channel in the interval. The coming of Augustine, however, in 597 and the success of his mission set a great tide flowing toward Britain.

No catalogue of any English library before the Norman Conquest has come down to us. This puts the historian of Anglo-Saxon books and libraries at a disadvantage when compared with the student of Continental conditions. Even Alcuin's poem on the library at York enumerates only authors. Accordingly, the contents of Anglo-Saxon libraries must largely be restored by internal evidence derived from works written in the period, especially Aldhelm's writings and Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*. Bede says that Augustine was dispatched with books given by Pope Gregory himself. This may be accepted, as Bede had his information about Canterbury from Abbot Albinus, a

<sup>22</sup> Turin Bibl. Naz. G. VII. 15; Kenney, *op. cit.*, No. 451.

<sup>23</sup> J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, I, 448.

<sup>24</sup> See the account of the Easter controversy in Kenney, *op. cit.*, pp. 210 ff.

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Latin and Greek scholar trained by Hadrian and Theodore.<sup>25</sup> Bede did not mention the titles of Gregory's gifts, however; and much discussion, conjecture, scrutiny of extant manuscripts, and other ingenious scholastic maneuvers have failed to supply them. An opinion on which most scholars agree is that the books may have been the ancestors of some of the books listed by Thomas of Elmham.<sup>26</sup> If so, they were a Bible and one or more copies each of the Gospels, the Psalter, and the Martyrology. Conjecture from the circumstantial evidence of the characters, habits, and relationships of Gregory I and his devoted disciple, Augustine, adds the *Benedictine Rule* and Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, of which the last has a certificate of probability in the statement of Alfred that it came "over the salt sea" with Augustine.<sup>27</sup> Finally, it must not be forgotten that the deacon, James, had learned to chant in the Gregorian manner at Canterbury before he accompanied Paulinus to York in 625.<sup>28</sup> If a book was necessary for James's singing lessons, then a Gregorian *antiphonarium* must be added to the list of new Roman books at Canterbury.

Foreign books like these may have been taken to all parts of England before the middle of the century, for until about 650 the prelates were foreigners with English subordinates. The presence of these foreign bishops in England implies not only Continental ideas and influences at work but the importation of books from Rome and France. Bishop Felix, of Burgundy, taught the school which King Sigebert established in East Anglia in 635. Moreover, the English began to go abroad for more education. Hilda of Whitby, as a member of the royal family of Northumbria, was an early convert of Paulinus. Filled with missionary zeal, she left York in search of training, and went first to East Anglia and then to Cale or Chelles in France.<sup>29</sup> Some of the books from which the poet Caedmon and the five bishops "of singular worth and holiness" were instructed at Whitby in "the regular course of holy history" may, therefore, have been from France. Wilfrid went from Lindisfarne to Canterbury,

<sup>25</sup> *Ecclesiastical History* i. 1; v. 20.

<sup>26</sup> M. R. James, *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, p. lxiv.

<sup>27</sup> *Ecclesiastical History* ii. 56 (I, 63 n., in C. Plummer's ed.).

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* 20.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, iv. 23.

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and from Canterbury to France and Rome; and a manuscript of the Gospels in the Bodleian Library is supposed to have been brought back from Gaul by him and presented to Lichfield Cathedral.<sup>30</sup> Wilfrid's epitaph, as Bede gave it, states that the saint had the Four Gospels written in gold and placed in Ripon Church in a red-gold cover.<sup>31</sup>

But the most important of all Englishmen who were impelled by foreign influence to go abroad at this time was Benedict Biscop.<sup>32</sup> He is outstanding among Englishmen of his century for his foreign education and as the greatest library-builder before the Norman Conquest. Without Benedict and his library, there could have been no Bede. Benedict was twenty-five when he renounced his thanship and became a monk. He first went to Rome in 653 with Wilfrid and made a second journey alone. Then after a few months in Rome he lived as a monk in Lerins two years, returning to Rome in time, as it happened, to escort Theodore to England. There Benedict served as abbot of Canterbury for two years, until Hadrian's arrival. He then set forth on a third visit to Rome and, says Bede, "brought back many books of all subjects of divine learning which had been either bought at a price, or been given him freely of his friends." Finding on his return that Cenwalh, king of the West Saxons, had died, he went to his home in Northumbria, where King Egfrid gave him land for the monastery of Wearmouth, which was built in 674. In the interests of the new house, Benedict made two more journeys to Rome, chiefly for books, and when he died, enjoined the monks to preserve the precious collection which he had formed.

Ceolfrid, already head of the sister-monastery at Jarrow, became abbot of both monasteries and continued development of the library and scriptorium. In particular, he had made three fine copies of the Vulgate. Ceolfrid had accompanied Benedict Biscop on one of the latter's journeys to Rome, and there seems to have acquired the Codex Grandior of Cassiodorus, and probably also brought back

<sup>30</sup> MS Bodl. 2698 or Auct. D. 2. 14; F. Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, II, Part I, 500-502.

<sup>31</sup> *Ecclesiastical History* v. 29.

<sup>32</sup> See article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*; T. Allison, "Benedict Biscop," *Church Quarterly Review*, CVII (1928), 57-59, and his *Pioneers of English Learning*, pp. 17-19.

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Italian scribes. The influence of Italian writing and of the arrangement of the Codex Grandior can be seen in the one complete copy and the fragments of Ceolfrid's Vulgate which have survived. One copy was destined for Wearmouth, and another for Jarrow. Despite age and failing health, Ceolfrid set out in 716 to make a presentation of the third copy to the pope. He died at Langres, but some of his followers went on to Rome and apparently presented the book as Ceolfrid had intended. Its subsequent history is not fully known, but it was presented about A.D. 900 by one Abbot Peter of a monastery in Lombardy to the monastery of S. Salvatore at Monte Amiata, and the original inscription of Ceolfrid was altered accordingly. In modern times the manuscript was found at Monte Amiata and transferred to the Laurentian library at Florence. Codex Amiatinus is ranked as one of the oldest and finest copies of the Vulgate text.<sup>33</sup>

If the other books at Wearmouth and Jarrow were of the quality of the Codex Amiatinus, the library was beyond question one of the finest in Europe. Bede's own writing indicates its literary resources, for he knew more books and wrote more than any other man of his time, and far more than any other Englishman before the Conquest. Wearmouth library gave him not only an unusually wide range of reading but experience in the critical use of texts, especially of record material, so that his *Ecclesiastical History* is a landmark in historiography. What books, then, did the library contain? So far, only one of its manuscripts is definitely known,<sup>34</sup> but there may be others still unidentified. Until the sources by Bede have been worked out in detail,<sup>35</sup> the contents of Wearmouth library can be described only in very general terms.

<sup>33</sup> F. Madan, "The Localization of Manuscripts," *Essays in History Presented to Reginald Lane Poole* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 6-7; Mgr. A. Mercati, "Per la storia del codice Amiatino," *Biblica*, III (1922), 324-28; H. J. White, "The Codex Amiatinus and Its Birthplace," *Studia biblica et ecclesiastica*, II (1890), 273-308 and Appen.; "The Codex Amiatinus, Where, When, and How Written," *Church Quarterly Review*, XXIV (1888), 435-48. See also chap. ii, n. 30.

<sup>34</sup> Laud Gr. E. 35 in the Bodleian, used by Bede in his comments on *Acts*. This manuscript was written in Sardinia in the seventh century; after its sojourn in Wearmouth-Jarrow, it returned to the Continent, where it remained until modern times; cf. M. R. James, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii; E. A. Lowe, "An Eighth Century List of Books," *Speculum*, III (1928), 12-14.

<sup>35</sup> But see R. Davis, "Bede's Early Reading," *Speculum*, VIII (1933), 179; M. L. W. Laistner, "Bede as a Classical and Patristic Scholar," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*,

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First of all, it had a copy of the Old Latin translation of the Bible, probably the Codex Grandior which had belonged to Cassiodorus in Vivarium, and one of the Vulgate precisely like the Codex Amiatinus. Eleven leaves of the copies of the Vulgate made for Wearmouth and Jarrow by Ceolfrid have been found—one folio at Newcastle by the Rev. William Greenwell and presented by him to the British Museum,<sup>36</sup> and ten folios used as covers for other manuscripts in the Middleton Collection.<sup>37</sup> It has been conjectured that the Middleton leaves are part of the Bible which Offa, king of Mercia, gave to Worcester, according to a spurious charter, about 780.<sup>38</sup> Bede also used a Bible belonging to Nothelm.<sup>39</sup>

Second, Wearmouth library had the works of the Church Fathers. Bede knew all the works of Gregory the Great; the *Homilies* on the Gospels, on Ezechiel, and on the Prophets; the *Moralium in Job*; the *Liber pastoralis*; the *Dialogues*; and the correspondence with Augustine; besides the *Synodical Books* and the tract on the *Cantica canticorum*. Of Jerome's works, he used the commentaries on the major and minor prophets and possibly the *Commentaries* on the Pentateuch, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Mark, and the Apocalypse. Bede's commentaries on Acts and the Apocalypse were drawn largely from Augustine. He used Ambrose's *Hexameron* and other works, Basil's *Hexameron*, Isidore for the six ages of the world, Anatolius for his epistle on the equinox. Paulinus of Nola's *Life of St. Felix* he paraphrased in prose, and he corrected a translation of a Greek biography of Anastasius, apparently using more than one manuscript. For the life of Cuthbert he had an account written at Lindisfarne. For the *Ecclesiastical History* he used, of standard historians, Pliny the Younger; Solinus; Orosius; Eutropius; Eusebius; Prosper of Aquitaine; Marcellinus Comes; Josephus; and in addition a life of

XVI (1933); the same writer in *Bede, His Life, Times and Writings*, ed. A. Hamilton Thompson, chap. ix.

<sup>36</sup> MS Add. 37777, printed by C. H. Turner, *Journal of Theological Studies*, X (1909), 530 ff.

<sup>37</sup> W. H. Stevenson, *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord Middleton*, pp. xi, 196, 611.

<sup>38</sup> C. H. Turner, *Early Worcester Manuscripts*, Append. I, pp. xli-xlii.

<sup>39</sup> Plummer's ed. of the *Ecclesiastical History*, I, lv n.



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St. Alban now unknown; Constantius' life of Germanus; Gildas; Eddius' life of Wilfrid; the *Vision of Drihthelm* from Melrose; a life of St. Chad from Lavington; Adamnan's *Life of Columba* and the *De locis sanctis*; an account of Kent by Albinus, abbot of St. Augustine's in Canterbury; an account of the West Saxons, East Saxons, and Isle of Wight by Bishop Daniel; an account of Bishop Esi on East Anglia; the letters of Bishop Cynibert on Lindsey province; and a little book of miracles from Barking nunnery. He had also copies of records in the papal archives which Nothelm brought from Rome, such as papal letters and decrees of councils.

Bede used for his scientific works, Isidore's *De natura rerum*, *Etymologia*, and *Origines*, and Pliny's *Natural History*, works on the date of Easter then current in England, Dionysius Exiguus, Anatolius, Julianus of Toledo, *Liber pontificalis*, Marcellinus Comes, Marius of Avanches, Paschasius, Prosper, Proterius, and Solinus. His *Book of Orthography* is from Isidore; and his *De schematibus* and *De metrica arte* are based on Donatus and the commentaries of Pompeius and Sergius, on Audax, Mallius Theodorus, Servius' *Commentary on the Aeneid*, Charisius, Victorinus, and Diomedes. Of the poets, he knew Juvenecus, Sedulius, Venantius Fortunatus, and possibly Horace, Ovid, Lucan, and Terence. Vergil was one of his favorite authors. He knew Aldhelm's *De virginitate* and a treatise on Easter date. Other sources of his works are Africanus Julius, Arator, Clemens Alexandrinus, Cyprian, Origen, Prudentius, Theophilus of Alexandria, and Tychonius.

The books which Bede compiled in this great library were in part intended for use by the monks at Wearmouth, but also in part for compendiums designed to supply to smaller libraries what they most needed. He records that Acca of Hexham, to whom he dedicated several works, gathered a collection of the *Passiones martyrum*, together with other ecclesiastical books, and made a large and noble library. Thus this great library generated smaller libraries all around it.

In the meantime, other libraries had grown up in the south of England. When Benedict Biscop left Canterbury in 670, Hadrian had

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taken up his duties at Canterbury. He was a scholarly man who knew sacred writings in Greek as well as Latin. Leland claimed that in his time some of Augustine's Latin books were still extant but the Greek ones were all gone, and he supposed that Theodore's library had been ruined by the Danes. It is certain that few books now extant can be proved to date from pre-Norman times. A great fire at Canterbury in 1067 destroyed many; and after 1168 the ignorant monks tore up Greek manuscripts, which they did not understand, and used very old Latin ones, in which they were not interested, for lining shelves. Yet Leland was sure that some of the old library was taken to Henry VIII's palace. At the dissolution in 1538 and 1539, however, no effort was made to preserve the Christ Church or the abbey library.

After the seventh century, serious study of Greek seems to have died out in England until the thirteenth century.<sup>40</sup> It is possible that a book of Byzantine geography was somewhere in the country in the eighth century, for Koaena of York (fl. 767-81) mentions books of cosmography written in peculiar letters which no one could copy, and one English manuscript as old as 930 has a Latin version of parts of *Cosmos Indicopleustes*. No Greek manuscripts are known from the ninth century. In the tenth (984), Ethelwold of Winchester left Peterborough Abbey a book "de litteris grecorum," but it is uncertain whether this was a grammar or a text. The eleventh century has nothing to show. The twelfth has a "Donatus grece" mentioned in the catalogue of 1170 of Christ Church, Canterbury (No. 25). This was probably a Greek grammar; but, as it is missing from later catalogues, it cannot be identified. A twelfth-century Psalter now at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in a heavy laborious hand, is clearly not the work of any Greek and seems to have been produced in an English monastery.

The connecting link between Benedict and Bede was Aldhelm<sup>41</sup> of Malmesbury, in whom were first combined the older tradition of British culture with the new stream from Augustine's mission. A

<sup>40</sup> G. R. Stephens, *The Knowledge of Greek in England in the Middle Ages*.

<sup>41</sup> G. F. Browne, *Aldhelm: His Life and Times*.

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letter written by him in 671<sup>42</sup> to the Bishop of Winchester describes indirectly the curriculum at Canterbury, where he was then studying. He mentions instruction in Roman law, prosody, church music, rhetoric, and the theory of the calendar. The textbook in law, it is supposed, was Alaric's breviary.<sup>43</sup> Studies in church music would have been pursued in such books as John the archchanter of St. Peter's wrote and left at Wearmouth. Aldhelm and his fellow-students may have practiced native,<sup>44</sup> as well as church, music. As for textbooks in grammar and rhetoric, Aldhelm probably gives in his *Epistola ad Acircium* a fair representation of what he had studied at Canterbury. His sources for the *Epistola* were Priscian and Donatus with commentaries, Diomedes, Audax, Servius, and for literary studies the Symphosian riddles, Sedulius, Prudentius, Lactantius, Juvenius, Dracontius, Horace, Juvenal, Ovid, Lucan, Persius, Statius, and Vergil.<sup>45</sup> The Bishop of Winchester asked Aldhelm to put what he had learned at Canterbury on the reckoning of the date of Easter into a treatise for use among the clergy still adhering to the Irish system.<sup>46</sup> This work is no longer extant, but its sources may safely be assumed to have been Dionysius Exiguus, whose canons Theodore introduced at the Council of Hertford, Anatolius, whom Wilfred interpreted to the Irish at Whitby,<sup>47</sup> Proterius, and the other writers whom Bede used. Aldhelm was the most brilliant and productive pupil of Hadrian and Theodore. One of Aldhelm's *Enigmas* is on his books:

<sup>42</sup> *MGH, Auctores antiquissimi*, IV, 475 ff.

<sup>43</sup> A. S. Cook, "Aldhelm's Legal Studies," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XXIII (1924), 105-13.

<sup>44</sup> According to William of Malmesbury, Alfred held Aldhelm to be first in his time in knowledge of English minstrelsy (*De gestis pontificum* ["Rolls Series," No. 52], p. 336). Cf. K. Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, I, 86.

<sup>45</sup> M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur*, I, 137; K. W. Chambers, "Lost Literature of Medieval England," *Library*, 4th ser., V, 311, thinks that "we have probably lost little English prose literature prior to Alfred because there was little to lose," but that the old English poetry "had been written into books at a period before the great church destruction," since Alfred had a book of English poetry.

<sup>46</sup> *Bede Ecclesiastical History* v. 18.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* iii.25.

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### DE ARCA LIBRARIA

Nunc mea divinis complentur viscera verbis;  
Totaque sacratos gestant praeordia biblos;  
At tamen ex iisdem nequeo cognoscere quicquam.  
Infelix facto fraudabor munere tali,  
Nam demunt dirae librorum lumina Parcae.<sup>48</sup>

To conduct such a school as Aldhelm's studies imply, Hadrian and Theodore must have made large additions to the stock of books at Canterbury. The law books, the books on grammar and rhetoric, the Christian and classic poets, and the textbooks on mathematics were all new, not only to Canterbury but also to the British Isles. Certain extant manuscripts are supposed to have been Hadrian's books, namely, the *Juvenus* (Corpus Christi, Cambridge, No. 286), which was written in Italy in the seventh century, Cotton Vespasian A. 1, and Laud Greek E. 35, which Bede had already used.<sup>49</sup> The copy of St. Willibrord's Gospels, since it contains a Neapolitan calendar and perhaps some of the other Canterbury books, may have come from Hadrian's monastery Niridan, near Naples. Some were from Rome; and still others may have been acquired in France, at Marseilles, Arles, Meaux, or Paris. Not many could have come from Wearmouth, for apparently that house had few scribes. Bede wrote his own books,<sup>50</sup> and even in the eighth century an abbot could not supply requests for books.<sup>51</sup> On the contrary, Wearmouth borrowed from Canterbury.<sup>52</sup>

Aldhelm must have had access to a library while writing the books which were to make him the first English scholar with a Continental reputation. But the only book recorded as a gift to him from Canterbury is a Bible presented by Bertwald in 702.<sup>53</sup> He was, however, the center of an exchange of books and original compositions in

<sup>48</sup> T. Wright, *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists*, II, 544.

<sup>49</sup> See n. 34, above.

<sup>50</sup> Plummer, *op. cit.*, I, xx.

<sup>51</sup> MGH, *Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini aevi*, I, 406.

<sup>52</sup> Bede had Nothelm's Bible and the notes of Nothelm from the papal archives, besides Albinus' account of Kent.

<sup>53</sup> Hardy, *op. cit.*, I, Part I, 391.

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both prose and verse over a wide area. He addressed his *Epistola ad Acircium* to the king of Northumbria, who was himself a brilliant amateur in literary studies, the first owner of a private library in the British Isles, and presumably himself a poet of the Irish school as well as patron of Northumbrian poets.<sup>54</sup> He obtained books not only from Wearmouth and from Canterbury or Malmesbury but also from Iona, whose Abbot Adamnan dedicated to him his *De locis sanctis*. Aldfrith may also have sent books to Aldhelm. Other correspondents of the latter were Aethelwald, the king of Mercia, who sent his poems; Cellanus, an Irish monk at Peronne; Ehfrid, probably the abbot of Glastonbury;<sup>55</sup> and the nuns at Barking, to whom Aldhelm dedicated his *De laude virginitatis*.

At Iona the abbot, Adamnan, was to the Irish what Bede was to the English. His *Life of Columba*, based on an earlier work by Cumene, and his poems, like the *Ecclesiastical History*, bear the stamp of scholarship. His *De locis sanctis* was written from Arculf's account of his own travels in the Holy Land with additions from Jerome, Sulpicius Severus, and Hegesippus.<sup>56</sup> The *Vita Columbae* is believed to show knowledge of the Latin *Life of St. Anthony*, Sulpicius' *Life of St. Martin of Tours*, the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, Constantius' *Life of Germanus of Auxerre*, the *Gesta Silvestri*, Vergil, Juvenius, and possibly Hegesippus and Dionysius Exiguus.<sup>57</sup> Further, the commentary on Vergil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics* by "Adananus" has been dated seventh century (although it occurs only in manuscripts of the ninth) and attributed to Adamnan of Iona.<sup>58</sup> If it is his, it shows an extraordinary library at Iona, for it uses as sources books rare for the British Isles in the late seventh century. They include the commentaries of Titus Gallus, Gaudentius, and Junius Philargyrius of Milan, besides Plautus and Suetonius.

England, it would seem, was better provided with books from even before Aldhelm's time than is usually supposed. The growth of libraries from 670 to Bede's death in 735 must have been very

<sup>54</sup> A. S. Cook, "Possible Begetter of Old English Beowulf and Widsith," *Transactions, Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XXV (1922).

<sup>55</sup> A. S. Cook, "Who Was the Ehfrid of Aldhelm's Letter?" *Speculum*, II (1927), 369-73.

<sup>56</sup> Kenney, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 433.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 287.

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rapid. A recent scholar has maintained that so great had been the drain of English libraries upon the Continental stores that "it was becoming increasingly difficult to find in the libraries of western Europe books which the Anglo-Saxons did not already have."<sup>59</sup>

Thus, at the opening of the eighth century there were two great libraries in the British Isles—at Canterbury and at Wearmouth—and smaller ones at Hexham, Lindisfarne, Malmesbury and Sherborn, Barking, and Iona. Before Bede died, the great library of York was founded by Bishop Egbert.<sup>60</sup> The kings of Northumbria and Mercia had private libraries. There were learned prelates, such as the Greek scholar Tobias, who was bishop of Rochester, and may be supposed to have brought books. Bishops trained by Hilda were at York and Worcester; Putta, a chanter trained at Canterbury, had been bishop of Hereford. Cuthwini, bishop of Leicester, is said to have owned a beautifully illuminated manuscript purchased at Rome.<sup>61</sup> A copy of Jerome on Ecclesiastes was owned about 700 by a nunnery near Worcester in the time of Abbess Cuthsuiitha.<sup>62</sup>

These, then, are the libraries on which Boniface drew when he felt the need of books on the Continent; and his successor, Lull, followed his practice. On an early journey to Rome, about 725, Boniface carried a copy of the *Passiones martyrum* as a gift from Eadburga, abbess of Thanet.<sup>63</sup> In his correspondence after he became archbishop of Mainz are many requests for particular books. For example, he asked Eadburga, Abbot Duddo (of Winchester?), and Nothelm, archbishop of Canterbury, to send him certain biblical and patristic texts, and later he asked Hwaetberct, abbot of Jar-

<sup>59</sup> J. D. A. Ogilvie, "Books in England from Aldhelm to Alcuin," *Harvard Summaries of Theses* (1933), pp. 293-96.

<sup>60</sup> Manitius, *op. cit.*, I, 19; M. Roger, *L'Enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin*, pp. 316 f.

<sup>61</sup> A. S. Cook, "Bishop Cuthwini of Leicester (680-91), Amateur of Illuminated Manuscripts," *Speculum*, II (1927), 253-57. Cuthwini is associated with Paris Lat. 12,940, which contains the passage: "Quod ita ab antiquis intellectum testatur etiam pictura eiusdem libri, quem reverentissimus vir Chuduini, orientalium Anglorum antistes, veniens a Roma, secum Britannium detulit, in quo videlicet libro omnes paene ipsius apostoli passiones sive labores per loca oportuna erant depicta."

<sup>62</sup> MS Würzburg Mp. th. q. 2.

<sup>63</sup> *MGH, Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini aevi*, I, 264.

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row, for Bede's works. Of Daniel, bishop of Winchester, he requests the manuscript of the prophets which his old master, Winbert, had written in large clear letters. Such books, he complained, were not to be had on the Continent.<sup>64</sup> Similarly, Lull asked Master Dealwinus for the *Opuscula* of Aldhelm.<sup>65</sup> But there may also have been some movement of books from the Continent to England. In 755 Cinehardus, bishop of Winchester, wrote to Lull about books for Winchester library, asking him to send useful books the library lacked, works of secular learning, and works on ecclesiastical administration. He says incidentally that he had medical books, which he could not use for lack of the medicines.<sup>66</sup>

Of all the English libraries hitherto mentioned, York was destined to become pre-eminent. Little is known concerning the origin of its books, but they were probably assembled while the cathedral school flourished. Here Egbert, a pupil of Bede, taught Alcuin and made him a teacher. It is chiefly in Alcuin's writings that the record of the York library is preserved; in his *De pontificibus ecclesiae Eboracensis* is a description of a library which has been interpreted as a catalogue of the York books.<sup>67</sup> Whether or not this is true, we do know that Alcuin persuaded Charlemagne to send scribes from Tours to York to copy books which were not available in Gaul.<sup>68</sup> In time, as well as in quality, the York library was the culmination of its era of literary culture in England. At the very period of its highest development, decline had set in elsewhere. Early in the eighth century, laymen had begun to buy up the monasteries and operate them as abbots.<sup>69</sup> Inevitably monastic discipline degenerated. Bede's advice that Egbert educate in English clerics ignorant of Latin is highly significant.<sup>70</sup> For this purpose Bede himself undertook extensive labors in translation. At the time of his death he had made

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 328-29.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 338.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 403.

<sup>67</sup> Edward Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries*, I, 104-5; A. F. Leach, *Schools of Medieval England*, pp. 60-61.

<sup>68</sup> MGH, *Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini aevi*, IV, 177.

<sup>69</sup> Bede, *Letter to Egbert*, 12.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

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English renderings of selections of Isidor and was engaged on a translation of St. John's Gospel.<sup>72</sup>

While English culture was thus degenerating internally, a more tragic fate was preparing for it from without. Alcuin, by his Continental transcriptions from English codices, unconsciously prepared for the preservation of their texts. His action was taken on the very eve of the first of the Danish raids, which were to increase in number and scope until by 875 every English cultural center, even York and Canterbury, had been plundered.<sup>73</sup> In the general confusion the fate of the libraries cannot be traced. Apparently, most of the books were burned with the buildings that contained them; but sometimes, no doubt, the more magnificent codices were carried away with other plunder, to perish from neglect in the hands of their new and illiterate owners.<sup>74</sup> In a few cases whole libraries survived in religious houses of the south and southwest which escaped destruction. Elsewhere the cultural extinction was so complete that of formerly flourishing monasteries nothing was left but "the name preserved only as giving a title to the ownership of land."<sup>75</sup>

The history of England henceforth to the Norman Conquest was, as elsewhere in Europe, very largely a cultural recovery from the devastation wrought by the Scandinavian invaders. In Britain the great leader here was Alfred, who came to the throne in 871. His chief obstacle was, not lack of books, but the inability of the rude clergy and monks to read Latin. He therefore attempted gradual reform by educating the clergy in their native tongue. To this end he gathered a staff of scholars to help him, and about 894 began to translate the books "most needful for men to know,"<sup>76</sup> with a view

<sup>72</sup> Cuthbert, *Letter to Cuthbert*; Plummer, *op. cit.*, p. lxxv.

<sup>73</sup> Savage, *op. cit.*, p. 37; Hardy, *op. cit.*, II, 249.

<sup>74</sup> One volume, a beautiful manuscript of the Gospels, now in the Royal Library at Stockholm, is known to have survived this fate. It bears a note recording its purchase from "the heathen army in England in the tenth century." Cf. J. Stefánsson, "Western Influence on the Earliest Viking Settlements," *Saga Book of the Viking Club*, V, 289.

<sup>75</sup> *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs ("Rolls Series," No. 63), p. lxxxii, n. i.

<sup>76</sup> Preface to the *Pastoral Care*. On the date at which Alfred began the translations, see C. Plummer, *Life and Times of Alfred the Great*, p. 136.



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to placing a set of the translations in each bishopric.<sup>76</sup> The first translation, Gregory's *Dialogues*, Asser says was the work of Werferth, bishop of Worcester. Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, Orosius' *History*, and Augustine's *Soliloquies* followed. This is a scholarly selection and suggests more familiarity with libraries than Alfred himself would possess. Here, however, it is noteworthy that many of his chief helpers were foreigners—Asser, Welsh;<sup>77</sup> Grimbald, French; and John, German. Perhaps they selected the books and provided the manuscripts for him. In this case it may be that early manuscripts of St. Bertin's known to have been in England about 900 should be traced to Grimbald and Hyde, Corvey books of the same period to John of Old Saxony and Athelney, and Welsh books to Asser and Sherborne. It seems strange to us that Alfred should not have included the Bible among the books "most needful for men to know." Were the bishoprics already supplied with translations? Did Latin manuscripts with vernacular glosses suffice? Or did he have a translation made which, like Bede's version of St. John, has failed to survive?<sup>78</sup> In secular studies Alfred had some influence on historiography<sup>79</sup> and on native English poetry. For two centuries and more, vernacular verse had been accumulating. Just what he did in this field is not known; but about a century after his time, a large body of English poetry appears in manuscripts.

When Alfred established a strong English dynasty with Continental alliances, he opened up new channels of intercourse with the Continent. Before this time, the church had been the only medium

<sup>76</sup> E.g., The Cottonian manuscript of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, which, according to Chambers, *op. cit.*, pp. 312-13, seems to have been a copy used in the scriptorium of Winchester. A blank space is left for the name of the bishop whom Alfred greets, and a note had been made that Archbishop Plegmund had received his copy; so had Bishop Swithaelf (of Rochester) and Bishop Werferth (of Worcester).

<sup>77</sup> William of Malmesbury says that Asser translated Boethius' *Consolation* into Anglo-Saxon. Cf. *De gestis pontificum*, p. 177.

<sup>78</sup> Plummer, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146: "... All the manuscripts of the Chronicles up to 892 are traceable to a common original. From that point they diverge. The explanation is that at that point copies were made and sent to different religious houses, where they were continued to a large extent independently of one another."

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of communication. Henceforth, England was within the intellectual, cultural, and political circle of Europe. The English monastic reform of the late ninth century coincided with the reform in France and Flanders. Alfred's grandson, Athelstan (925-40), was a European monarch, making marriage alliances and exchanging gifts with his fellow-kings on the Continent.<sup>80</sup> By his brother-in-law, Emperor Otto I, he was given a codex of the Gospels, and possibly also a copy of the *Acts of the Council of Constantinople* and a Psalter in the Gallican version.<sup>81</sup> His Gospel book now at Lambeth Palace he had from MacDurnan, abbot of Armagh (888-929).<sup>82</sup>

He also owned Royal I. 18, and probably I. B. 7, and presented them to Canterbury with Tiberius A. II and the Lambeth Palace manuscript. He gave one book each to Bath and to Dubiensus, bishop of Bangor (d. 951), and one to Cuthbert's shrine at Chester-le-Street. It is noteworthy that every one of the surviving books which once belonged to Athelstan has a note showing that he gave it away.

It is said that Cotton Domitian A. I. is another of King Athelstan's gifts to Canterbury, on the evidence of the list of "books that were Athelstan's" on folio 55:<sup>83</sup>

This syndon tha bec the aethelstanes waeran. de natura rerum. persius. de arte metrica. donatum minorem. Excerptiones de metrica arte. Apocalipsin. donatum maiorem. alchuinum. glossam super catonem libellum de grammatica arte que sic incipit. terra que pars. sedulium [ ] et i. gerim. thaes alfwoldes preostes. glossa super donatum. dialogorum.

This record, from the handwriting, however, cannot be earlier than the eleventh century;<sup>84</sup> and the hand is distinctly later than the inscription of donation in Royal I. A. 18, which is an authentic gift of King Athelstan to Canterbury, as I am able to say from examina-

<sup>80</sup> S. Turner, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, II, 172.

<sup>81</sup> All three are now in the British Museum, Cotton Collection; MSS Tiberius A. II, Claudius B. V., and Galba A. XVIII.

<sup>82</sup> On fol. 4v, a minute states that it was given to Canterbury by Athelstan. The book is very small, measuring 4½×6½ inches. It contains the Four Gospels in Irish minuscule. It is a gem of calligraphic art, with remarkable ornamentation, but the miniatures are crude; cf. J. Bradley, *Dictionary of Miniaturists*, II, 245.

<sup>83</sup> M. R. James, *op. cit.*, p. lxix.

<sup>84</sup> A. S. Napier, *Old English Glosses*, p. xx.

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tion of the originals. Also, this Athelstan is not "Athelstan rex," as the king is styled in the royal inscription and in the charters. Further, it is not certain that the Domitian manuscript was written before King Athelstan's death, and the earliest evidence that it is a Canterbury book is a thirteenth-century inscription, on folio 2. This Athelstan was, therefore, not the king, but some eleventh-century churchman, possibly an officer of St. Augustine's Canterbury, where an "Elstan" was abbot from 1022 to 1042. The texts he had were commonly used in schools.<sup>85</sup>

In the tenth century the principal libraries which had survived the upheaval of the preceding century were Winchester, Worcester, and Canterbury; and it was at Winchester under Aethelwold, at Worcester under Oswald, and at Canterbury under Dunstan that the monastic reform was centered.<sup>86</sup> These men undertook to re-establish the Benedictine system, which required reading and study in the monasteries, and so brought about a revival of schools, scriptoria, and libraries. Outstanding in this revival were Worcester and its dependent abbeys at Westbury and Ramsey.<sup>87</sup> All three of these houses maintained a close connection with Fleury—at first through Oswald himself, who had been trained there, and later by the importation of books and teachers. Abbo of Fleury, while teaching for two years at Ramsey school, wrote a grammar there.<sup>88</sup> Most of the Fleury codices in England passed through Worcester or one of its daughter-houses.

The venerable abbey of Glastonbury, which had been founded by Ina of Mercia, was devastated by the Danes and restored by Dunstan and King Edmund. It was supplied with many and beautiful

<sup>85</sup> Cf. the twelfth-century Canterbury catalogue, published by James, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 ff.

<sup>86</sup> A sermon of Wulfstan, archbishop of York (1003-1023), addressed to the English nation in 1014, gives a vivid picture of the effects of the Danish conquest and the corruption of the monasteries. For editions of this sermon and its literature see C. Gross, *The Sources and Literature of English History* (2d ed.), No. 1433.

<sup>87</sup> Britferth, the foremost English mathematician of the time, wrote commentaries on Bede's scientific works at Ramsey. His notes indicate that in his time its library contained Ambrose, Augustine, Clemens, Eusebius, Horace, Hyginus, Isidore, Jerome, Juvenal, Lucan, Macrobius, Martianus Capella, Marcus Varro, Persius, Pliny, Priecian, Terence, and Vergil.

<sup>88</sup> B. ten Brink, *History of English Literature*, chap. ix.

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service books, according to William of Malmesbury.<sup>93</sup> A few of its books are extant from Dunstan's time: the Bodleian Ovid,<sup>94</sup> two Hatton codices, and, possibly, the *Sherborne Pontifical* at Paris. This *Pontifical*, however, may be from Canterbury, where Dunstan in his later life was archbishop. From this library, certainly, are two manuscripts in the British Museum,<sup>95</sup> as well as the imperfect letter from Fleury which requests the return of a *Commentum flori* which had been borrowed.<sup>96</sup> But Dunstan at Canterbury maintained closer relations with Flanders than he did with France; among his correspondents were Wido of Blandinium, Odbert of St. Bertin, and Count Arnulf. He went to Flanders when he was exiled. Indeed, Dunstan's earliest biography was found in the library of St. Vaast in Arras.<sup>97</sup>

At Winchester both school and scriptorium were prospering under the Benedictine Rule. The scribe Godeman wrote a *Benedictional* and *Tropary*, which in modern times were in the library of the Duke of Devonshire.<sup>98</sup> Bishop Aethelwold presented books to Peterborough which are in all likelihood representative of the Winchester Library:

beda in marcum, liber miraculorum, expositio hebreorum nominum, prouisio futurarum rerum, Augustinus de academicis, vita sancti felicitis metrice, sinonima isidori, vita eustachii, descidia parisiace polis, medicinalis, de duodecim abusuiis, sermo super quosdam psalmos, commentum cantica canticorum, de eucharistia, commentum martiani, Alchimi Auiti, liber differentiarum, Cilicius Ciprianus, de litteris grecorum, liber bestiarum.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>93</sup> "... tanta librorum pulchritudo et antiquitas exuberat" (*De gestis pontificum* ["Rolls Series," No. 52], p. 196).

<sup>94</sup> Auct. F. IV. 32. This is a composite volume which is famous as the oldest manuscript of an ancient classic written in the British Isles. It contains also a large portion of Eutyches' grammar, biblical extracts in Greek and Latin, a Paschal table from A.D. 817 to 832, an Anglo-Saxon homily, and some mathematical notes. And, finally, the interlinear Celtic glosses make it one of the earliest written specimens of the Welsh language. Cf. W. Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian*, p. 20; Sandys, *op. cit.*, I, 640; and, for facsimiles, E. Chatelain, *Paléographie des classiques latins*, Pl. 93<sup>a</sup>, and G. Hickes, *Linguarum septentrionalium thesaurus grammatico-criticus*, I, 144.

<sup>95</sup> Claudius A. III, *Privileges of Christ Church*; and Royal 10 A. 3, an exposition of the *Benedictine Rule* from Fleury.

<sup>96</sup> *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, pp. cx-cxiv, 376.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxvi.

<sup>98</sup> C. L. White, *Aelfric*, p. 40.

<sup>99</sup> M. R. James, *List of Manuscripts Formerly in Peterborough Abbey Library*, p. 19.

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Aelfric wrote his homilies at Cerne, but his books probably came from Winchester. He used Amalarius, Alcuin, Augustine, Basil, Bede, Cassian, Gregory the Great, Gregory of Tours, Haymo, Jerome, Ratramnus, Smaragdus, and Terentian, as well as Abbo of Fleury's *Passion of St. Edmund* and Servius' *Life of St. Martin*.<sup>96</sup>

Worcester library had some unusual books, including an eighth-century manuscript of Paterius, a Spanish manuscript of Jerome's commentary on Matthew, Werferth's autograph copy of the *Dialogues* of Gregory in English, a copy of the famous *Cosmographia* of Aethicus, besides many English books, Gregory's *Dialogues* and *Pastoral Care*, the *Rule of St. Benedict*, and the *Chronicle*, and may have owned a sister-manuscript of the Codex Amiatinus.<sup>97</sup> It is also believed to have possessed at some time the Vercelli manuscript.<sup>98</sup> An eleventh-century list enumerates:

ij engliscce dialogas (Hatton 76 and Otho C 1)  
oddan boc  
le englisca martirlogium  
ij engliscce salteras  
le englisca regol (CCCC 178, Rule of St. Benedict)  
Barontus<sup>99</sup>

In this period of Benedictine reform, the advancement of learning in England, as elsewhere, was chiefly in monastic hands; but credit must also be given to the noble and princely Englishmen who were patrons of Latin and vernacular letters.<sup>100</sup> The only surviving catalogue<sup>101</sup> of a private library in this period is that of Leofric, bishop of Exeter. He had a surprisingly large number of books in English, including the famous *Exeter Book* of Anglo-Saxon poetry.<sup>102</sup> The

<sup>96</sup> White, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-88.

<sup>97</sup> C. H. Turner, *Early Worcester Manuscripts*, Appen. I, pp. xli-xlii.

<sup>98</sup> M. Foerster, "Der Vercelli-Codex" *Festschrift für Lorenz Morsbach* (Halle, 1913), pp. 20-180.

<sup>99</sup> J. K. Floyer and S. G. Hamilton, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Chapter Library of Worcester*, p. 166, n. 3.

<sup>100</sup> B. Thorpe, *Diplomatarium Anglicum aevi Saxonici*, pp. 243 f., 428 ff., 512, 539, 550.

<sup>101</sup> Published in Wanley's catalogue, Vol. II of Hickes' *Thesaurus*, and in Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, II, 527.

<sup>102</sup> Published in facsimile, London, 1933, with introductory chapters by R. W. Chambers, M. Foerster, and R. Flower.

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hand of the *Exeter Book* suggests that the manuscript was written between 970 and 990, and its history goes no farther back than Bishop Leofric, who moved the see from Crediton, where it was exposed to the raids of pirates, to Exeter. He bequeathed his library to the minster at his death in 1072; but the body of the library was scattered in course of time, so that the *Exeter Book* alone is still in possession of the dean and chapter. However, nineteen volumes from Bishop Leofric's library can be traced—nine in the Bodleian, one in Cambridge, another in Lambeth (No. 149). The last is written in a hand strikingly similar to that of the *Exeter Book* and bears an inscription which records its presentation in 1018 to some unknown monastery by "Aethelvardus dux," who married a granddaughter of his namesake. The former Ealdorman Aethelweard is probably to be identified with the chronicler of that name, and, if this be the case, was of the royal lineage and a son-in-law of Brithnoth of Maldon, and a patron of Aelfric, the homilist. It has already been observed that a new literary movement sprang from the monastic-reform movement previous to the Norman Conquest. But again, one must not overlook the existence in this period of a group of lay nobles of royal blood, or connected by marriage with the West Saxon house, who were patrons of arts and letters and liberal benefactors of the church.

From this general survey of early British library history it will be seen that most of the older book stock was destroyed during the Danish invasions. The period from Alfred the Great to William the Conqueror was chiefly one of replacement and of the multiplication, by copying, of the few English books which did survive and of texts imported anew from the Continent. Thus, some of the oldest Anglo-Saxon compositions survive today only in late replacement copies. Indeed, the Canterbury manuscripts of the *Chronicle* and of *Caedmon* are both substitutes of this kind procured after the destruction of the monastery by fire in 1067.



## PART II

# The High Middle Ages

In otio, in negotio, et docemus quod scimus et addiscimus quod nescimus.

GERBERT *Ep.* xliv

Clastrum sine armario est quasi castrum sine armamentario.

GEOFFREY DE STE BARBE, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, ed.  
Martène and Durand, I, 511

Mens humilis, studium quaerendi, vita quieta, scrutinium tacitum,  
paupertas, terra aliena, haec reserare solent multis obscura legendo.

BERNARD OF CHARTRES, quoted by JOHN OF SALISBURY  
*Policraticus* vii. 13

Libri monachis bellico in procinctu pro tellis et armis.

HUGO OF WILHAM, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, ed.  
Martène and Durand, I, 511





## Introduction

**B**EFORE entering into a consideration of the particular history of the libraries of the high Middle Ages—that is to say, from the expiration of the Carolingian renaissance to the middle of the thirteenth century—it is desirable to make certain general observations. Nothing similar to Charlemagne's palace school is again met with, no official or lay promotion of literary culture occurs, except for the isolated instance of Alfred the Great in England; the so-called "Saxon renaissance" in Germany under the Ottos was not stimulated by the court.<sup>1</sup> Ecclesiastical influence wholly dominates scholarship and literary production. Private book collections are few. Almost all libraries are either cathedral or monastic. Few of the laity had any bookish inclination—indeed, not many of them could read and write.

The peak of this epoch was reached between 1150 and 1250, a period which has justly been called the "renaissance of the twelfth century." The surviving library catalogues show an increase in this period both of the number of libraries and the size of the collections. An analysis of Becker's *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* shows 25 catalogues before 900, 17 of the tenth century, 30 of the eleventh, and 62 of the twelfth.<sup>2</sup> It is apparent that this formation of new libraries involved an extensive multiplication of manuscripts. But in the increase there was a shrinkage of literature. In the first place, there was a decline of interest in the classics, until, in the twelfth century, as John of Salisbury deplored, classical learning reached its nadir.<sup>3</sup> Education spread after the year 1000, but no

<sup>1</sup> A. Ebert, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters im Abendlande*, II, 261.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. S. Beddie, "Libraries in the Twelfth Century," *Anniversary Essays . . . Charles Homer Haskins* (Boston and New York, 1929), p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> L. Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, II, 134; L. Friedlaender, "Das Nachleben der Antike im Mittelalter," *Erinnerungen, Reden und Schriften*, I, 272-391; H. O. Taylor, *The Medieval Mind* (2d ed.), II, chap. xxxi; also his "Antecedents of the Quattrocento," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1912, pp. 89-94; A. C. Krey, "John of

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new textbooks appear before the twelfth century. The same is true of theological works. Until the rise of Scholasticism, patristic theology reigned supreme. Moreover, the libraries were small. In 822 Reichenau had 415 books; Lorsch in the ninth century had 590; Murbach, 302. In the tenth century Bobbio had 666; St. Emmeram, 513; and Weissenberg's catalogue (1043) lists 171. Even in the twelfth century Corbie had only 342; St. Michaelsberg in Bamberg, 242. A Hirschau catalogue of 1165 enumerates only 37, but adds "et in summa valde multi libri quorum titulos et auctores nolui huc scribere." Cluny, with 500, and Durham, with 546, had large collections for the age; but in the former there were many duplicates. Through war, loans, fire, and theft in the later Middle Ages the total number of books in the monasteries actually decreased. To these factors must be added the intellectual decline of the monasteries. In Murbach in the thirteenth century the monks did not know how to write; and even an abbot of St. Gall in the same century was equally illiterate. In 1347 St. Emmeram had only half as many books as in the tenth century. At the beginning of the Reformation, Blaubeuren had only 50 books.<sup>4</sup>

The chief interest of book production was the transcription of theological works. There was little new composition even in this field. Not until we come to St. Anselm, about 1100, do we encounter any new theological thought.<sup>5</sup> The catalogue of St. Maximin at Trier,<sup>6</sup> which is of the eleventh or twelfth century, classifies the entire library under St. Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory, and Bede, although the works of other authors were included.<sup>7</sup> Not until late in the twelfth century do we meet with the works of new theo-

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Salisbury's Knowledge of the Classics," *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters*, XVI, Part II (1909-10); K. Bursian, *Geschichte der classischen Philologie in Deutschland*, pp. 62 ff.; E. J. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, I, 618-20.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. K. Loeffler, *Deutsche Klosterbibliotheken*, pp. 15-17; Beddie, *op. cit.*; G. Kohfeldt, "Zur Geschichte der Büchersammlungen und des Bücherbesitzes in Deutschland," *Zeitschrift für Kulturgeschichte*, VII (1900), 328 ff.

<sup>5</sup> A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, IV, 448.

<sup>6</sup> G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, No. 76.

<sup>7</sup> E.g., under "Bede" we find works of Gregory Nazianzen, Smaragdus, St. John Chrysostom, Orosius, Gregory of Tours, the *Gesta Karoli*, Cassian, Rabanus Maurus, etc.

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logical authors like Anselm and Hugh of St. Victor,<sup>8</sup> and even then it is exceptional.

The truth is that "for many religious houses the twelfth century was a period of stagnation or decline. The libraries of several such houses list in their catalogues the works of no author later than the Carolingian period."<sup>9</sup> After the ninth century the old Benedictine monasteries merely vegetated. Monte Cassino and Fleury are, perhaps, the only striking exceptions. From St. Denis, Fulda, Reichenaue, St. Gall, Bobbio, and a host of once famous abbeys, the glory had departed; and the "new" monasticism, represented by Cluny and Cîteaux, was not concerned with the promotion of scholarship. Cluny was interested in ecclesiastical reform. The Cistercians, on the other hand, were largely engaged in popular religious revivalism.<sup>10</sup> Both were inhospitable toward, if not actually hostile to, classical traditions and the cultivation of literature. Grammar and rhetoric were frowned upon, and "profane" studies condemned. The Cluniacs exercised such influence that the decadence of liberal studies is notable in the eleventh century, though the study of theology, canon law, logic, and dialectic is notably advanced. Hence the adage: "Quanto melior grammaticus, tanto pejor theologus."<sup>11</sup>

From about the year 1000 forward, we must look to the cathedral schools and episcopal libraries, not to the monasteries, for progressive ideas in education and the cultivation of new thought. Rheims, Chartres, Paris, in France; Liège in Flanders; Cologne, Hildesheim, Bamberg, Freising, and many other episcopal seats in Germany supplanted the monasteries in importance as intellectual centers.

The German monasteries were, for a long time, saved from the narrowness and illiberality of those of France; Clunyism did not ac-

<sup>8</sup> L. Schmidt, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Studien in Klöstern," *Neues Archiv für sächsische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, XVIII (1897), 201. The proposition is true for France also.

<sup>9</sup> J. S. Beddie, *op. cit.*, p. 6, where illustrations are given.

<sup>10</sup> See my *Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages*, chap. xxiv, and bibliog., pp 838-39; A. Hessel, "Odo von Cluni und das französische Kulturproblem im früheren Mittelalter," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXVIII (1923), 1-25; F. J. E. Raby, *History of Christian-Latin Poetry*, *passim*.

<sup>11</sup> H. Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge*, I, 481.

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quire a strong foothold in Germany until late in the eleventh century, and Cistercianism until the twelfth century. Moreover, the German conquest of Italy in 952 by Otto I, which was retained by his Salian and Hohenstaufen successors, gave Germany a more intimate contact with Italian culture than France possessed. And Italy, it must always be remembered, was not only deeper and older in its culture than the rest of Europe, but it was also the chief center of manuscript production. There, indeed, the making of books from antiquity down had always been more or less a commercial practice.<sup>12</sup> When Gunzo of Novara came to Germany in the reign of Otto I, he brought over one hundred books with him, among them Marcianus Capella, Plato's *Timaeus*, and some writings of Aristotle and Cicero.<sup>13</sup> In the same reign another scholar also from Novara, named Stephen, was persuaded by Otto I, who met him at Pavia, to come to Germany. He also brought a goodly collection of books and settled in Würzburg, to whose cathedral library the books were left.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, it is possible to overstress the influence of the German-Italian contacts. The instances of Gunzo and Stephen may be exceptions, and not the rule. For, undoubtedly, Italy's book trade with Germany fell off after the Carolingian renaissance, when it was at the peak.<sup>15</sup> In the eleventh century we do not find such certain evidence of it as in the tenth. In the remains of Reichenau library there are only two Italian manuscripts after 900.<sup>16</sup> Allowance must be made, however, for a certain quantity of books brought into Germany by German scholars who frequented the Lombard schools; and an occasional German bishop of scholarly inclinations engaged in military service in Italy, although positive evidence with regard to the latter is lacking. Not even Thangmar, the devoted and copious biographer of Bernward of Hildesheim, makes mention of any books which the cultivated bishop might have brought with him from Italy, along

<sup>12</sup> On this subject see an important article by R. Falk, "Italienisch-deutsche Kultur-Bezeichnungen in der Zeit von 900-1056," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, XV (1922), 161-211.

<sup>13</sup> Ebert, *op. cit.*, III, 370; Hauck, *op. cit.*, III, 331; W. Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter*, I, 316.

<sup>14</sup> Hauck, *op. cit.*, III, 328-29; Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, I, 317.

<sup>15</sup> Falk, *op. cit.*, p. 172 and nn. 4 and 5.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 173, citing A. Holder, *Die reichenauer Handschriften*, V, 340.

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with the art treasures and relics which are noted.<sup>17</sup> By the twelfth century, however, with the growing intellectual ascendancy of the French schools, Germany, as also England, increasingly looked to France for new works.<sup>18</sup> By that time the new theology, born of Scholasticism and logic, and the emotional sermons of St. Bernard were in the ascendant, and the old learning was on the wane.<sup>19</sup> In the twelfth century St. Bernard and Rupert of Deutz were "best-sellers."<sup>20</sup> When we reach the thirteenth century—what a change! Then the old theology had ebbed to the lowest point. Even Augustine and Gregory the Great had become passé. On the other hand, the works of St. Thomas Aquinas are to be found even in insignificant monasteries.<sup>21</sup> A monk in the monastery of Garsten, who spent his life in copying books, never transcribed a single patristic work. We find complaint that no one any longer read the old "standard" authors.<sup>22</sup>

In Italy, also, there are two periods of intellectual awakening in the feudal age. The first is that of the Carolingian renaissance, when the doors of monasteries and cathedral libraries were opened to an appreciation of secular knowledge. The epitaph, for example, of Abbot Sichard (d. ca. 840) is written in good verse and has echoes of Vergil, Ovid, and Venantius Fortunatus.<sup>23</sup> The second period coincides with the monastic reform of the eleventh century and the

<sup>17</sup> See Thangmar *Vita Bernwardi* i, vi, viii, ix, x, in *MGH, Scriptores*, IV, 758. Henry II seems to have been the donor of an Italian book to Corvey, for a tenth-century Corvey manuscript in Lombard script bears a later entry: "Heinricus imperator istum dedere noscitur librum" (*Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XII, 344).

<sup>18</sup> Falk, *op. cit.*, p. 174, n. 5; P. Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, I, 222.

<sup>19</sup> "The stock accumulated before 1200 of biblical, patristic and homiletical works, was sufficient for the needs of the libraries until the rise of scholasticism and the development of the canon law. In the thirteenth century the works of the schoolmen begin to flood in. With the early fourteenth century books on civil and canon law. France was the chief place of production of the scholastic literature, Italy of that of law. On the whole the salient facts are that the great classics of Christian and secular lore are accumulated in the twelfth century, the schoolmen in the thirteenth, and the law books in the fourteenth" (M. R. James, Introduction to A. T. Bannister, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Hereford Cathedral*, p. iii).

<sup>20</sup> For literature on Rupert see A. Potthast, *Bibliotheca historica medii aevi*, I, 990, and Hauck, *op. cit.*, IV, 419, particularly nn. 6-10.

<sup>21</sup> Hauck, *op. cit.*, V, 241, n. 5.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 241, n. 4.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. G. H. Hoerle, *Frühmittelalterliche Mönchs- und Klerikerbildung in Italien*, p. 54.

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"renaissance of the twelfth century." From the library catalogues of this epoch we get the picture of a stream constantly swelled by tributaries. Even so, secular literature—particularly philosophical, as distinguished from theological—was still backward, and the ancient classics were being eclipsed by the popularity of scholastic logic.<sup>24</sup> Only the richest and most influential monasteries were progressive. Most houses were small and indifferent to scholarship. Their libraries had few books, and those were traditional ecclesiastical authorities, with almost never a gleam of secular learning in them. In San Severino in Rome, amid a clutter of religious and theological works, lay a lone copy of Juvenal in the twelfth century.<sup>25</sup> San Giovanni di Carbonaria near Naples possessed a tenth-century Vergil and an example of Servius' *Commentaries*. With this paucity contrast Corbie in France, rich in legal works and the classics, including Terence, Caesar, Statius, Pliny, Vergil, Ovid, Sallust, Livy, Lucretius, Seneca, and Cicero's *De natura deorum*.

It is interesting that, even as early as the twelfth century, we detect signs of individual book-lovers and book-collectors. The last seen of such persons were the enlightened dukes of Naples in the ninth and tenth centuries<sup>26</sup> and Duke William V of Aquitaine (993–1030).<sup>27</sup> In the twelfth century, lay interest in things intellectual

<sup>24</sup> Cf. M. Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der scholastischen Methode*, II, 55–57. The compiler of the catalogue of Pomposa in 1093 found it necessary to defend the abbot for including secular and pagan works in the library: "Quibus respondendum apostolicis verbis, quia in domo potentis non solum vasa aurea et argentea sed et fictilia sunt (2 Tim 2, 20). Idcirco itaque hoc itaque egit, ut pro studio et merito suo habeat unusquisque, in quibus oblectetur et proprium exerceat ingenium. Hinc et ipsa Veritas dicit: 'In domo Patris mei mansiones multae sunt' (Io 14, 2). Credo ut quanto quis hic erit sanctior, tanto illic beator. Idem quoque gentilium commentum librorum, si ad puram intentionem intelligantur, aedificant. Quid enim aliud sonant quam saecularem pompam nihil esse? Unde Apostolus: 'Scimus, quoniam diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum' (Rom 8, 28)."

<sup>25</sup> B. de Montfaucon, *Diarium Italicum*, p. 312.

<sup>26</sup> In the ninth century Duke Sergius was so well versed in Latin and Greek that he could translate readily from either language; he presented the episcopal library at Naples with three copies of Josephus, *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum* (E. A. Lowe, *The Beneventan Script*, p. 54 and n. 6; cf. MGH, *Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI–IX*, p. 434). His son Gregory also was expert in both Latin and Greek (*ibid.*, p. 441). This tradition of culture was continued by Duke John (926–68) (Lowe, *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 82–83; B. Capasso, *Monumenta ad Neapolitani ducatus historiam pertinentia*, I, 339–40; M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur im Mittelalter*, I, 529–31).

<sup>27</sup> *Ademari Cabanensis chronicon* iii. 54 (ed. Chavanon, pp. 176–77).

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grew apace, albeit the interest was more in the new vernacular literature than in any form of Latin literature, whether medieval or classical.<sup>28</sup> But in Italy in the first part of the twelfth century we find Magister Moses of Bergamo, long a resident of Constantinople, where he was employed in the Byzantine imperial service, an eager collector of Greek manuscripts, which cost him three pounds of gold and were lost in the disastrous fire which consumed the Venetian quarter.<sup>29</sup>

It is to southern Italy and Sicily, however—in a word, to the court of the enlightened Norman rulers at Palermo—that we must look to find private lay libraries. “Within its limits, the intellectual movements at the court of King Roger and his son had many of the elements of a renaissance, and like the great revival of the fourteenth century, it owed much to princely favor.”<sup>30</sup> Here Greek, Arabic, Jewish, and Latin culture all meet on equal terms; and all were ardently cultivated. Unfortunately, no catalogue of the library of any of these gifted princes has come down to us. A codex now preserved in Venice (MS 313), Ptolemy’s *Almagest*, was brought to Sicily as a present to King William I from the emperor Manuel Comnenus about 1160. “Plainly,” as Professor Haskins says, “manuscripts from the imperial library must be taken into account, as well as ecclesiastical and commercial influences, in tracing the intellectual connections between the Greek Empire and the West preceding the fourth crusade.”<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> See C. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, and his “Henry II as a Patron of Literature,” *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Thomas Frederick Tout* (Manchester, 1925), pp. 71–77; K. J. Holzkecht, *Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1923); A. Phillipi, “Heinrich der Loewe als Beförderer von Kunst und Wissenschaft,” *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXVII (1922), 50–65.

<sup>29</sup> C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, p. 198 and n. 28; and his *Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, pp. 64, 273, 294, 298.

<sup>30</sup> Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, p. 190.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 164–65.



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## CHAPTER V

### Libraries of Medieval Italy

FROM the ninth to the thirteenth century Italy lagged behind France and Germany in literary creation. By this time the peninsula was already separated into three cultural areas: in the center and somewhat paradoxically, even at Rome, the classical tradition was weakest; in the south, Greek as well as Latin influences persisted; while in the north there was the strongest survival of Roman civilization, invigorated by Lombard genius.

Almost every Italian cathedral, every monastery, and even small churches harbored old books. This inherited store rendered possible a regular trade in both new and old manuscripts. As in the days of Cassiodorus, Italy was still the book mart of western Europe. The pre-eminence of Rome in this activity is clearly recorded. In 855 Lupus of Ferrières, appealing to Benedict III for better manuscripts than he could find in Frankish Gaul, requested a Cicero, a Quintilian, and Donatus' *Commentary on Terence*.<sup>1</sup> In the following century Liutprand's verse praises Rome for its calligraphy.<sup>2</sup> Gerbert, that passionate book-hunter, cites in order Rome, other parts of Italy, Germany, and "Belgium" as his sources of supply.<sup>3</sup> He also remarks on the large number of scribes in Italy in the country as well as in the towns.<sup>4</sup> Some of these we know were laymen.<sup>5</sup>

Surviving documents of the time indicate that books were more highly prized in Italy than elsewhere in Europe; they are mentioned

<sup>1</sup> *Ep.* ciii.

<sup>2</sup> W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter* (3d ed.), p. 253.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep.* xlv; *Lettres de Gerbert*, ed. Havet.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep.* cxxx.

<sup>5</sup> Rotland, a Lombard layman, in 1050 boasts of the many books he has copied. Cf. E. L. Dümmler, *Anselm der Peripatetiker*, p. 32.

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in wills as passing to regular heirs or as pious bequests to religious institutions.<sup>6</sup>

Little is known of the literary activity of the period, but it is apparent from the meager evidence that buds had sprouted which were to flower richly in succeeding centuries. Gunzo of Novara and his master, Stefano, were called to the imperial court by Otto I in 965 because of their erudition; the former in his *Epistola ad Augienses fratres* quotes Plato, Aristotle, Vergil, Horace, Persius, Juvenal, Salust, Terence, Cicero, Ovid, Lucan, Statius, Martianus Capella, Servius, Porphyry, Donatus, and Boethius.<sup>7</sup> Atto of Vercelli cites Plato and Aristotle and quotes Hesiod and Epicurus, as well as Vergil, Ovid, Cato, Cassiodorus, Origen, and Boethius. He also uses the Justinian and Theodosian law texts and even shows some knowledge of Greek in discussing biblical references.<sup>8</sup> Rather, bishop of Verona,<sup>9</sup> was himself a student and insisted that all priests should be well educated.<sup>10</sup> Bishop Liutprand of Cremona knew Greek and makes classical references. The anonymous court poet of Berengar I quotes Vergil in his *Carmen panegyricum*.<sup>11</sup> Equally noteworthy of a rebirth of literary taste are the *Vita S. Adalberti* by John of Canapara<sup>12</sup> and the *Versus Eporedienses* by an unknown writer. The latter combines a feeling for nature with echoes from classic authors.<sup>13</sup> The same promise is shown in the poems of Vulgarius,<sup>14</sup> a Neapolitan priest, and in certain notable rhythms of the period. The ancients were being studied for form and style as well as for words and figures.

From the nonliterary writings of the clergy it is possible to ap-

<sup>6</sup> L. Chiapelli, "La Formazione storica del comune cittadino in Italia," *Archivio storico italiano*, 7th ser., X (1928), 64 and n. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXXXVI, col. 1283. See also F. Novati, *L'Influsso del pensiero latino sopra la civiltà italiana del medio evo*, pp. 36 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Opera*, *passim*.

<sup>9</sup> A. Vogel, *Rather von Verona*.

<sup>10</sup> A. Ozanam, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire littéraire de l'Italie*, p. 14.

<sup>11</sup> Wattenbach, *DG2*, I, 311.

<sup>12</sup> *MGH, Scriptores*, IV, 581 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Dümmler, *op. cit.*, pp. 94 ff.

<sup>14</sup> E. L. Dümmler, *Auxilius und Vulgarius; MGH, Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, IV, 412 ff.

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praise the classical scholarship of the period. Vergil, Horace, and Ovid seem to have been universally known, and somewhat less generally Juvenal, Persius, Lucan, Statius, Plautus, and Terence. Of the late Latin poets, Venantius Fortunatus was the favorite, while Cicero took first place among the prose-writers. Sallust, Suetonius, Eutropius, Aulus Gellius, Boethius, and the Roman grammarians belonged to the curriculum, but Greek authors were probably known only in translation. Of these, Aristotle is the most often cited. Homer is mentioned by Benzo of Alba and is listed in the contents of the Monte Cassino library; but certainly in the second case, and presumably in the first, the reference is to the Latin abridgment, which went under the name of Pindarus Thebanus.

It is highly unfortunate that, since the classic Roman historians were not read, the clergy, as the recorders of contemporary events, had only inferior models to follow.<sup>15</sup> There is no trace of any real knowledge of ancient history. Benzo's *Panegyricus* is a mere hodge-podge of names. The later periods were better understood, for study in this field had a practical value in politics and in legal affairs, both ecclesiastical and secular. The books used for the purpose were mostly compilations or mere chronicles. Eusebius, Orosius, Isidore, Bede, Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Einhard, Paulus Diaconus, Erchempert, and Regino were 'all copied and studied. The frequent references to the *Liber pontificalis* show that special attention was given to papal history.

Even such scholarship as this implies that there had been developed a rather widespread system of schools and libraries. Schools were maintained at various monasteries, cathedrals, and churches. Of these, the most famous were those at Ivrea, Novara, Vercelli, Pavia, Milan, Cremona, Bergamo, Verona, Parma, Modena, Reggio d'Emilia, Ravenna, Rome, Naples, Salerno, Benevento, Bobbio, Farfa, and Monte Cassino. As this list shows, Lombardy was the greatest center of education. Indeed, Benedict of Clusa (before 1034) boasts that "Langobardia est fons sapientiae."<sup>16</sup> There are also some indications of schools in Tuscany, at Abrezzo, Siena, Pisa,

<sup>15</sup> A. Dredner, *Kultur- und Sittengeschichte der italienischen Geistlichkeit*, pp. 197-200.

<sup>16</sup> J. Mabillon, *Annales ordinis S. Benedicti*, IV, 666.

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Lucca, and Fiesole, but of none at Florence. Pavia was an educational center especially noted from the ninth to the eleventh century for its school of Lombard law, while Bologna early specialized in Roman jurisprudence. As the latter supplanted the former,<sup>17</sup> Bologna took the ascendancy, and in 1157 its school became a university.

There were also libraries at various cathedrals, churches, and monasteries. In the tenth century Bobbio possessed 666 volumes, Cremona 95; in 1093 Pomposa had 58; in the twelfth century S. Angelo ad Formas had 143 books and Nonantola 61. The collections of some churches and monasteries were much smaller: Lucca in the ninth century had 19 volumes; Monte Cassino in 1023 had 21; Ciconia, also in the eleventh century, had 26; Abbenata had 7; and Landepoldo had 27.

Among these books some classics are listed. Thus, S. Maggiore at Cremona in 984 had Vergil, Priscian, Donatus, Cassiodorus, and Boethius.<sup>18</sup> The distinguished collection at Bobbio included the works of Aristotle, Vergil with notes, some works of Cicero, Ovid, Terence, Martial, Persius, Juvenal, Pliny, Lucan, Valerius Flaccus, Cato, Orosius, Cassiodorus, and Boethius.<sup>19</sup> The collection of Novalesse was of a similar character, but it was scattered in 906, when the Hungarians attacked the monastery.<sup>20</sup>

Some of these collections were in the charge of regular librarians. The office is mentioned at Bobbio in 845.<sup>21</sup> Zealous abbots were constantly in search of books, and with some it was a ruling passion. The biographer of Benedict of Chiusa says that no prince or knight ever interested himself more in splendid weapons or powerful horses than Benedict in his many books. The librarian, Gerald, shared his abbot's passion and made many journeys to secure new volumes.<sup>22</sup> Hieronymus of Pomposa accumulated such a library for his abbey

<sup>17</sup> A. J. Macdonald, *Lanfranc*, p. 7; P. J. Merkel, *Geschichte des Langobardenrechts*, pp. 13-16 and notes, 45-48; F. K. von Savigny, *Histoire du droit romain au moyen âge*, II, 154-64; P. Haulleville, *Histoire des communes lombardes*, I, 234-35.

<sup>18</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 36.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 32.

<sup>20</sup> Dresdner, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

<sup>21</sup> L. A. Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae medii aevi*, V, 379.

<sup>22</sup> *MGH, Scriptores*, XII, 197.

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that his monks were scandalized by his extravagance.<sup>23</sup> Some clerics were also enthusiastic scribes. Pacificus, archdeacon of Verona, is said to have copied over two hundred manuscripts.<sup>24</sup> St. Nilus filled a quaternion daily, and, when his ink gave out, wrote on waxen tablets.<sup>25</sup> Benedict of Clusa also copied books.<sup>26</sup> But not many of the scribes of the time could write well; their copies were frequently unreliable, as well as ugly. At Pomposa many books were so badly written as to be illegible.<sup>27</sup> Since scribes sometimes damaged the volumes which they copied, prelates like Damiani, Benedict of Clusa, and Johannes of Lodi supervised their scribes and themselves corrected manuscripts.

From these general observations we may now pass to a more detailed discussion of the larger libraries of medieval Italy. Here, according to modern ideas, Rome deserves first notice, though actually in this period—indeed, until the Renaissance—the papal library was of slight importance. In literary remains Rome could not compete with the provinces. Documentary allusions to Roman libraries are astonishingly meager.<sup>28</sup> For centuries whatever books there were in the Lateran were kept with the papal archives. Under Hadrian I (772–95) the office of librarian was established, but until 1144 the incumbent was always also an official of the chancery and seems to have devoted himself almost exclusively to the latter office. The only bookish pope of this period was Hadrian III (d. 885), who carried books with him when he traveled. From 1023 to 1064 the Archbishop of Cologne was made titular librarian to the pope, without, however, affecting the procedure at Rome. There, from 1037 to 1063, with an exception in favor of Peter the Deacon, the double office of chancellor and librarian was attached to the suburbicarian see of Selva Candida; and one pope, Stephan IX (1057–58), held the triple title

<sup>23</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

<sup>24</sup> Muratori, *op. cit.*, III, 837.

<sup>25</sup> *Vita S. Nili* xv. 18–21; *Acta sanctorum*, Sept. VII, pp. 293 ff.

<sup>26</sup> *MGH, Scriptores*, XII, 200.

<sup>27</sup> Dresdner, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

<sup>28</sup> *Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, II, 152, 191; G. Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, III, I, 189.

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at the time of his election. In 1144 the archives and library were separated, each having its own chief official.<sup>29</sup>

In 1084, during the pontificate of Gregory VII, the Normans sacked Rome, and the accumulated archives and books in the Lateran were almost completely destroyed. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the conflict of emperor and pope was unfavorable to literary culture in the papal capital. Gregorovius thus summarizes the library history of Rome during these centuries:

Concerning the libraries of Rome at this period we are in utter ignorance. Nevertheless it is probable that measures may have been taken for their support, the series of librarians remaining unbroken during the eleventh century, while during the twelfth three only are mentioned, and during the thirteenth not a single librarian is known to us by name. The decay of learning cooled the ardour for the completion of the Lateran library, and scarcely any monks remained in Roman monasteries who understood the art of writing codices. Peter Damiani complains of the dearth of copyists, and that but few were capable of reading at sight that which had been written.<sup>30</sup>

Equally significant of the aridity of this period is the fact that the popes of scholarly interest are found only at its beginning and end. The first, Pope Honorius II (1124-30), seems to have been a man of more literary culture than either his predecessors or successors. Of him the Abbot of Monte Cassino said: "I do not know whose son His Holiness is. I only know that he is full of learning."<sup>31</sup> The second, Pope Clement IV (1265-69), Roger Bacon's protector and friend, ordered an inventory to be made of the "*gazophilacia antiquorum monasteriorum Romae*" and "*multos libros et privilegia ex papyro scripta ex litteris non intelligibilibus, nam figurae nec ex toto graecae nec ex toto latinae erant.*" These documents were written in ancient cursive and were indecipherable to the paleographers of the thirteenth century and even to the scholars of the Renaissance.<sup>32</sup> The only other bookmen of record in the thirteenth century at the papal court are two cardinals: Gualo Bicchieri, whose bequest of books to

<sup>29</sup> On all this see R. Lane Poole, *The Papal Chancery, passim*; and the literature cited in chap. i, n. 22, above.

<sup>30</sup> F. Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, IV, 304 f.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 406.

<sup>32</sup> This is the interesting testimony of the pope's physician, Simonis Sannensis, in his *Clavis sanationis* (Venice, 1514), p. 37.

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Vercelli will be discussed in our notice of that city, and Matthew of Acquasparta, whose library went to Todì.<sup>33</sup>

Although it is hard to believe that there were not earlier ones, the first known catalogue of the papal library is of 1295.<sup>34</sup> This was made in the pontificate of Boniface VIII. Some of the illuminated manuscripts mentioned must have been remarkable, for they were executed by Oderis da Gubbio and Franco Bolognese. Thirty-two Greek books are also listed, which it is now believed came to the popes from Sicily after the fall of Manfred.<sup>35</sup>

We know nothing of the contents of the libraries of the numerous monasteries in Rome. Yet, it must have been in these, rather than in the papal collections, that professional transcription was done. They were probably much richer than the Lateran in literary material. Of particular interest for the history of scholarship are the Greek houses in Rome which were founded by refugee monks from the East who sought asylum during the iconoclastic persecutions of the eighth century and brought Greek books with them.<sup>36</sup>

Outside Rome, one of the earliest developments of library activities during this period must have occurred in the school of law at Pavia, which reached its greatest fame between 997 and 1027. Unfortunately, nothing is recorded concerning its book collections. Likewise, Bologna must have seen some library development very early, for at the beginning of the eleventh century St. Guido, then bishop of Acqui, encouraged studies in that city.<sup>37</sup> Of the later university library, there is one notice from the thirteenth century.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, V, 611, saw "a portion of it lying thick in dust in the archives of S. Fortunatus." This was before 1870.

<sup>34</sup> F. Ehrle, "Zur Geschichte des Schatzes der Bibliothek und des Archivs der Päpste im vierzehnten Jahrhundert," *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, I (1885), 3, 21 ff.

<sup>35</sup> This suggestion was first made by T. L. Heiberg, and sustained by Cardinal Ehrle. Cf. B. Altener, "Griechische Codices in abendländischen Bibliotheken des XIII und XIV Jahrhunderts," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXXVI (1936), 32-35.

<sup>36</sup> P. Batiffol, "Librairies byzantines à Rome," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, VII (1887), 419 ff.; VIII (1888), 297 ff.

<sup>37</sup> F. Schupfer, "Le Università ed il diritto, in *Gli Albori della vita italiana*, III, 441 f.

<sup>38</sup> This is a letter of Frederick II "to the teachers and students of the university of Bologna," to whom he sends some works of Aristotle which he has had translated from Greek and Arabic

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In the cathedral at Cremona there was a collection of literary manuscripts, of which we have a list made in 984. In that year Bishop Odelric, discovering that several books had been stolen, ordered an inventory of the remainder.<sup>39</sup> The city at the close of the tenth century must have been something of an intellectual center. Its brilliant and witty bishop, Liutprand (d. 972), could read and speak Greek and knew the Latin classics.<sup>40</sup> Again in 1010 the canon Alderano was relieved from other duties to lecture on philosophy; students came from Germany and France to hear him.<sup>41</sup>

As early as the tenth century the cathedral library of Ivrea was distinguished for its theological and law books,<sup>42</sup> and in 1001 Bishop Warmund had many manuscripts transcribed for it.<sup>43</sup>

Not unlike Liutprand in his learning and personality was his contemporary, the grammarian Gunzo of Novara. When he went to the imperial court in 965 by order of Otto I, he took with him nearly one hundred volumes. Whether these manuscripts came from the cathedral of Novara or from a monastery is uncertain.<sup>44</sup> Later, with the revival of Roman law and theological studies, Novara's library became notable for its collections on both these subjects, as we learn

into Latin. "... as the books whose manifold . . . handwritings adorn our voluminous libraries were read with eager meditation . . . we encountered various writings of Aristotle and other philosophers with logical and mathematical contents, which had emerged from ancient times in Greek and Arabic words. The books written in the ancient languages . . . by no mean diligence . . . have been brought to the knowledge of the Latin tongue. As we have wished that these honorable and highly esteemed writings may find universal service among us also thru the mediation of the language, we have had them translated faithfully and, to preserve the original meaning, by selected men who had a knowledge of both languages (Greek and Arabic). . . . You, who wisely entice new waters from old cisterns and quench starving lips with wetness sweet as honey, gladly receive the books as a gift from your befriended emperor of philosophers who live anew in your words . . . (Petrus de Vincis, *Ep.* iii, 67).

<sup>39</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 36; T. Gottlieb, *Ueber mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, No. 543.

<sup>40</sup> Ebert, *op. cit.* (French ed.), III, 445.

<sup>41</sup> G. Salvioli, *L'Istruzione pubblica in Italia*, p. 79.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>43</sup> E. L. Dümmler, *Anselm der Peripatetiker*, p. 83.

<sup>44</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 31; Ebert, *op. cit.*, III, 397-99. His acrimonious conflict with the monks of St. Gall over the respective merits of Italian and German learning would seem to imply that Gunzo was a monk. It has been argued that Gunzo was French, but this opinion seems dubious.



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Although it is hard to believe that there were not earlier ones, the first known catalogue of the papal library is of 1295.<sup>34</sup> This was made in the pontificate of Boniface VIII. Some of the illuminated manuscripts mentioned must have been remarkable, for they were executed by Oderis da Gubbio and Franco Bolognese. Thirty-two Greek books are also listed, which it is now believed came to the popes from Sicily after the fall of Manfred.<sup>35</sup>

We know nothing of the contents of the libraries of the numerous monasteries in Rome. Yet, it must have been in these, rather than in the papal collections, that professional transcription was done. They were probably much richer than the Lateran in literary material. Of particular interest for the history of scholarship are the Greek houses in Rome which were founded by refugee monks from the East who sought asylum during the iconoclastic persecutions of the eighth century and brought Greek books with them.<sup>36</sup>

Outside Rome, one of the earliest developments of library activities during this period must have occurred in the school of law at Pavia, which reached its greatest fame between 997 and 1027. Unfortunately, nothing is recorded concerning its book collections. Likewise, Bologna must have seen some library development very early, for at the beginning of the eleventh century St. Guido, then bishop of Acqui, encouraged studies in that city.<sup>37</sup> Of the later university library, there is one notice from the thirteenth century.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, V, 611, saw "a portion of it lying thick in dust in the archives of S. Fortunatus." This was before 1870.

<sup>34</sup> F. Ehrle, "Zur Geschichte des Schatzes der Bibliothek und des Archivs der Päpste im vierzehnten Jahrhundert," *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, I (1885), 3, 21 ff.

<sup>35</sup> This suggestion was first made by T. L. Heiberg, and sustained by Cardinal Ehrle. Cf. B. Altener, "Griechische Codices in abendländischen Bibliotheken des XIII und XIV Jahrhunderts," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXXVI (1936), 32-35.

<sup>36</sup> P. Batiffol, "Librairies byzantines à Rome," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, VII (1887), 419 ff.; VIII (1888), 297 ff.

<sup>37</sup> F. Schupfer, "Le Università ed il diritto, in *Gli Albori della vita italiana*, III, 441 f.

<sup>38</sup> This is a letter of Frederick II "to the teachers and students of the university of Bologna," to whom he sends some works of Aristotle which he has had translated from Greek and Arabic

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In the cathedral at Cremona there was a collection of literary manuscripts, of which we have a list made in 984. In that year Bishop Odelric, discovering that several books had been stolen, ordered an inventory of the remainder.<sup>39</sup> The city at the close of the tenth century must have been something of an intellectual center. Its brilliant and witty bishop, Liutprand (d. 972), could read and speak Greek and knew the Latin classics.<sup>40</sup> Again in 1010 the canon Alderano was relieved from other duties to lecture on philosophy; students came from Germany and France to hear him.<sup>41</sup>

As early as the tenth century the cathedral library of Ivrea was distinguished for its theological and law books,<sup>42</sup> and in 1001 Bishop Warmund had many manuscripts transcribed for it.<sup>43</sup>

Not unlike Liutprand in his learning and personality was his contemporary, the grammarian Gunzo of Novara. When he went to the imperial court in 965 by order of Otto I, he took with him nearly one hundred volumes. Whether these manuscripts came from the cathedral of Novara or from a monastery is uncertain.<sup>44</sup> Later, with the revival of Roman law and theological studies, Novara's library became notable for its collections on both these subjects, as we learn

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into Latin. "... as the books whose manifold . . . handwritings adorn our voluminous libraries were read with eager meditation . . . we encountered various writings of Aristotle and other philosophers with logical and mathematical contents, which had emerged from ancient times in Greek and Arabic words. The books written in the ancient languages . . . by no mean diligence . . . have been brought to the knowledge of the Latin tongue. As we have wished that these honorable and highly esteemed writings may find universal service among us also thru the mediation of the language, we have had them translated faithfully and, to preserve the original meaning, by selected men who had a knowledge of both languages (Greek and Arabic). . . . You, who wisely entice new waters from old cisterns and quench starving lips with wetness sweet as honey, gladly receive the books as a gift from your befriended emperor of philosophers who live anew in your words . . . (Petrus de Vincis, *Ep.* iii, 67).

<sup>39</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 36; T. Gottlieb, *Ueber mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, No. 543.

<sup>40</sup> Ebert, *op. cit.* (French ed.), III, 445.

<sup>41</sup> G. Salvioi, *L'Istruzione pubblica in Italia*, p. 79.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>43</sup> E. L. Dümmler, *Anselm der Peripatetiker*, p. 83.

<sup>44</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 31; Ebert, *op. cit.*, III, 397-99. His acrimonious conflict with the monks of St. Gall over the respective merits of Italian and German learning would seem to imply that Gunzo was a monk. It has been argued that Gunzo was French, but this opinion seems dubious.

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from inventories made in 1175 and 1212; the first lists 60 items, the second 73.<sup>45</sup>

Strange as it may seem, Milan was not distinguished either for schools or libraries in the Middle Ages, although it was the most important archbishopric in Lombardy. Always a political and economic leader in northern Italy, it was indifferent to higher culture. The Ambrosian Library, today its glory, is of modern foundation.<sup>46</sup> On the other hand, near-by Monza, a favorite place of residence of the Lombard kings, was not without books. A thirteenth-century inventory has been preserved.<sup>47</sup> Treviso's cathedral library must have been small, for an inventory of 1135 does not distinguish between books and the other treasures of the church.<sup>48</sup>

Of the early library history at Vercelli, little is known. The oldest cathedral manuscript, the fourth-century Gospels, and one of the most important of all pre-Hieronymean texts,<sup>49</sup> is believed by some scholars to be in the handwriting of Eusebius, bishop of Vercelli, in 345. That the episcopal collection is equally ancient is doubtful. The first authentic library record of the city relates not to the cathedral but to the Augustinian church of St. Andreas founded by Cardinal Gualo Bicchieri, a native son and papal legate to England from 1216 to 1218. At his death in 1227 he left to the canons of St. Andreas his library of 98 volumes, of which the original classed and descriptive catalogue is still preserved. This divides the books into five groups: Bibles, 26; law, 14; liturgies, 9; patristics, 27; *varia*, 22. Since the books of the last category are not enumerated, perhaps because they were composite volumes, it would seem precarious to draw any conclusions concerning the cardinal's dominant intellectual

<sup>45</sup> Beddie, *op. cit.*, p. 5. In the first inventory Gregory's *Moralia* and the book of Proverbs were out on loan; in the second inventory of the same year they reappear in the catalogue—an early record of successful library administration.

<sup>46</sup> Tiraboschi, *op. cit.*, IV, chap. i, says that the metropolitan church of Milan was burned in 1075, with the library, and cites Arnulphus, *Gesta archiepiscoporum Mediolanensium* (925-1077) as authority. But I am unable to find any such statement in that work.

<sup>47</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 590; A. F. Frisi, *Memorie storiche della città di Monza*, II, 134-35.

<sup>48</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 679.

<sup>49</sup> P. C. de Labriolle, *History and Literature of Christianity*, p. 256.

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interests or his disregard for classical literature, as has been done.<sup>50</sup> It would be more legitimate to infer from the catalogue that Bicchieri was more of a collector than a scholar; several of his texts are duplicates, the more luxurious of the volumes are elaborately described, one is labeled "pretiossima," and, above all, the scripts are noted in many cases. The last feature makes this catalogue an important document for the history of paleography. The technical adjectives used to specify the *littera* or *scriptura* are: *Romana*, *Scottica*, *Tolentana*, *Parisiensis*, *Boloniensis*, *Anglicana*, *antiqua*, and *antiqua Aretina*. The first three are identified in modern terminology as Beneventan, Insular, and Visigothic, while *Anglicana* is probably Anglo-Norman, and *antiqua* Carolingian minuscule.

The most important manuscript in the library is the Vercelli Codex, a volume of 136 leaves containing 6 poems and 23 prose pieces in Anglo-Saxon.<sup>51</sup> This is in the cathedral collection. As this is one of the most important documents of the English language, a voluminous literature<sup>52</sup> has been developed concerning it since its discovery by Blume in 1828, and various hypotheses have been developed to account for its presence in Italy. It is variously held (1) that Cardinal Gualo Bicchieri obtained it in England; (2) that it came from Fulda or Würzburg in the eleventh or twelfth century, as another tenth-century manuscript at Vercelli certainly did; (3) that it was brought directly from Britain by some inmate of the Brigittine Ospedale degli Scotti which was united to S. Andreas in 1343; and (4) that it was acquired in Germany by some bishop of Vercelli during the sixteenth century. Unfortunately, none of these theories is capable of definitive verification.

No collection of manuscripts in western Europe rivals in antiquity

<sup>50</sup> A. Hessel and W. Bulst, "Kardinal Bicchieri und seine Bibliothek," *Historische Vierteljahrsschrift*, XXVII (1932), 772-94.

<sup>51</sup> Reproduced in facsimile, with Introduction by M. Foerster (Rome, 1913).

<sup>52</sup> Most important are M. Foerster, "Der Vercelli-Codex CXVII," *Festschrift für Ludwig Morsbach* (Halle, 1913), pp. 20-180; G. P. Krapp, *The Vercelli Book*; A. S. Cook, "Cardinal Gualo and the Vercelli Book," *University of California Library Bulletin*, No. 10 (1888); S. J. Herben, "The Vercelli Book: A New Hypothesis," *Speculum*, X (1935), 91 ff.

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and continuous history the cathedral library of Verona.<sup>53</sup> If Vercelli is a star, Verona is a constellation. Vercelli possesses two unique and precious manuscripts; Verona has a whole galaxy of them. Moreover, in no other collection is there so large a proportion of books of local origin. These characteristics in combination justify an extended discussion of the history and content of this library, which will give a more detailed and accurate understanding of literary culture, book production, and librarianship in medieval Italy than is otherwise available. The activities at Verona probably represent what was going on elsewhere, with due allowances for differences of scale and local modification. The chief difference is that in Verona the record has survived, while in other places it has perished.

Verona was an important provincial metropolis of the Roman Empire, the birthplace and early home of the poet Catullus. Some vestiges of the antique civilization must have survived here through the centuries of decline. Christian culture, too, was established early in the city, for by the fourth century it had a learned bishop,<sup>54</sup> and there may have been also a school to train the clergy. Next, Verona became a favorite residence of the barbarian conquerors, for it was situated on a great commercial and military highway at the outlet of the Brenner Pass and commanded both Venetia and Lombardy. The existence of a *schola sacerdotum* at the cathedral by the seventh century may be inferred from paleographical evidence, which will be discussed later. In 825 Lothar ordered that a public school (perhaps for laymen) be established in the city,<sup>55</sup> and from this time the

<sup>53</sup> The bibliography is enormous. For lists of manuscripts see F. B. C. Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts*; A. Reifferscheid, *Bibliotheca patrum Latinorum Italica*; H. Omont, "Les Manuscrits grecs de la bibliothèque capitulaire et de la bibliothèque communale de Verone," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, VIII (1891), 489-97; L. Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, I, 248-52; E. A. Lowe, "A Hand-List of Half-Uncial Manuscripts," *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle*, IV (1924), 58-60. On the history of Verona's library see G. B. C. Giuliani, "La Capitolare biblioteca di Verona e storia monumentale, letteraria, paleografica della stessa," *Archivio veneto*, X-XXXV (1875-88), *passim*. On the scriptorium see E. Carusi and W. M. Lindsay, *Monumenti paleografici veronesi*; M. Venturini, *Vita ed attività dello "scriptorium" veronese nel secolo, XI*; T. Venturini, *Ricerche paleografiche interne all'archidiacono Pacifico di Verona*.

<sup>54</sup> A. Beigelmain, *Zeno von Verona*.

<sup>55</sup> *Leges* i. 249. This statement is much exaggerated in the case of Verona at least. Learning was not wholly extinct there at this time, for the first half of the ninth century was made famous by the activity of the great book-collector, Archdeacon Pacificus.

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ecclesiastical school was prominent enough to have a history. The origins of the cathedral library are veiled in obscurity. Perhaps it started with some relics of a pagan public library, to which were gradually added liturgical manuscripts for choir use, religious books for clerical studies, and canonical acts and legal treatises for the guidance of the officials. Unfortunately, the process of growth cannot be determined from the later contents of the collection. The date of any particular manuscript is no index of when it reached its present home, unless, of course, the script or the textual content is specifically characteristic of local origin. With these limitations in mind we may enumerate some of the oldest manuscripts at Verona. A palimpsest (LV, 53) containing the *Didascalía apostolorum*<sup>56</sup> dates from the time of the Gothic invasion of Italy (*ca.* 489). The earliest definitely dated document in the collection is incorporated in the same manuscript; this is the *Fasti consulares* from 439 to 486, written in the latter year and continued to 494 in a later hand.<sup>57</sup> Another very early palimpsest is contained in the *Moralia* of Gregory (XL, 38). In this, Mai discovered in 1818 fragments of Vergil in square capitals with contemporary scholia anterior to those of Servius and Donatus;<sup>58</sup> and in 1867 Studemund found an early Latin version of Euclid, written in rustic capitals, while other pages contain Livy in uncial script accompanied by Greek scholia. Definitely of the sixth century are the *Homilies* of Maximus of Turin (LI, 49).<sup>59</sup> Of the same age also is a collection of canons (LIX, 57). Slightly later is the Justinian (LXII, 60) discovered by Bekker early in the nineteenth century, an uncial text whose scribe was more familiar with Greek than Latin, as scholia in the former language are frequent. Apparently of the seventh or eighth century is a second collection of canons (LX, 58), probably of African provenance.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>56</sup> *Didascalía apostolorum*, the Syriac version translated and accompanied by the Verona Latin fragments, by Dom R. H. Connolly (Oxford, 1929).

<sup>57</sup> T. Mommsen, "Veroneser Fastentafel von 439-494 n. Chr.," *Hermes*, VII (1873), 474-81.

<sup>58</sup> Giuliani, "La Capitolare biblioteca de Verona....," *op. cit.*, XX (1880), 14.

<sup>59</sup> Printed by A. Spagnolo and C. H. Turner in *Journal of Theological Studies*, XVI-XVII (1915-16), with a note by Turner, *ibid.*, XVII, 232-34.

<sup>60</sup> C. H. Turner, "Antonio Spagnolo," *Journal of Theological Studies*, XX (1919), 194.

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The library is famous for its palimpsests, some of which have been so often subjected to chemicals during the course of various attempts to decipher them that they have been rendered almost as illegible as the rolls of Herculaneum.<sup>61</sup> One of the worst sufferers is the Gaius (XV, 13), which has been well named an "illustrious martyr of paleography." Its discovery in 1817 by Niebuhr brought new fame to the library and inaugurated a new era in the study of civil law. This is the only copy of the text in existence, and the most complete specimen of classical Roman jurisprudence to survive. Gaius was one of the sources used by Justinian which were supposed to have been destroyed by his command as superfluous when his *Institutes* was completed. Gibbon<sup>62</sup> defended Justinian from this accusation. He was verified, and Justinian exonerated, by Niebuhr's discovery.

Traube<sup>63</sup> believed that many of these earliest manuscripts, except the Vergil, were of Veronese origin; but other scholars, like Keil and Beer,<sup>64</sup> attribute them to Bobbio and perhaps ultimately to Squillace. It would be difficult, indeed, to deny the similarity between intellectual conditions at Verona and Bobbio and the probability of some connection. Undoubtedly, the two scriptoria were of the greatest importance in Italy during the seventh and eighth centuries.<sup>65</sup> Blume, however, held another view of the origin of these manuscripts; because of the Greek scholia in the Justinian and the Livy, he held that some of them, at least, had been imported from the Orient.<sup>66</sup>

Verona is illustrious not only for its palimpsests but also for its collection of the oldest uncial, semiuncial, and minuscule manuscripts in existence. Different authorities give different figures for

<sup>61</sup> The chapter manuscripts also suffer damage from a fungus unless they are periodically disinfected; in 1924-28 over fifty of the best were taken to the Vatican by order of the pope and given treatment to save them from ruin. The list of those so treated is given by Carusi and Lindsay.

<sup>62</sup> Bury's ed., IV, 466.

<sup>63</sup> L. Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, I, 162, 171, 251; II, 126, 131.

<sup>64</sup> See chap. ii, n. 35, above.

<sup>65</sup> G. H. Hörle, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44, has summarized the evidence for this statement and stresses the stenographic evidence especially.

<sup>66</sup> *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, II (1828), 337.

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its holdings of these periods, but the latest investigation<sup>67</sup> states that 26 of them show clear evidence of having been in the collection at least since the eighth century. This authority also states that there are 29 manuscripts written before 800 and 28 of the ninth century, without including in either group fragmentary and scattered material. Among the most interesting of these early manuscripts are the following: No. I, containing a Greek version of the Psalter written in Latin uncials of the fifth or sixth century, and therefore a great rarity, if Renan was right in his observation that such transcriptions are usually of Carolingian date or of the twelfth century;<sup>68</sup> No. II, ten leaves of which contain the oldest extant list of Diocletian's provinces, copied, perhaps, in the seventh century from the original list made in A.D. 297; No. VI, a fine purple Gospel book in fourth- or fifth-century uncials, the ink being gold on the first page of each Gospel and also wherever the names Jesus and Lord occur, but silver elsewhere; No. XXXIX (37), with the only extant text of the *Complexiones* of Cassiodorus; No. LI, containing a sixth-century manuscript of a fourth-century collection of Arian sermons, with marginal notes in Gothic of the same date as the manuscript;<sup>69</sup> No. LXXXIX, containing the oldest dated manuscript in Visigothic script, a Mozarabic breviary written in Spain before 731-32 and perhaps before the Saracen invasion;<sup>70</sup> No. CLXIII, the oldest known manuscript of Claudian; and a few others, which will be discussed more fully later on.

Several famous manuscripts formerly at Verona are now elsewhere. One such, a palimpsest of portions of Pliny's *Natural History*, written in early uncials under a text of Jerome, was found by

<sup>67</sup> T. Venturini, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-68.

<sup>68</sup> *Archives des missions scientifiques*, I (1850), 402.

<sup>69</sup> B. Capelle, *Revue bénédictine*, XXXIV (1922), 83; XL (1928), 50. These notes, says Capelle, are among the most ancient Gothic texts extant where citations are made from Scripture. The manuscript is a relic from some heretical church, and shows no trace of the version of Jerome or of that of Ulfilas; it seems rather to indicate the use of an earlier version current in a Gothic community on the Danube.

<sup>70</sup> According to L. Schiaparelli ("Sulla data e provenienza del cod. LXXXIX della biblioteca capitolare di Verona," *Archivio storico italiano*, 7th ser., I [1924], 106, 111), the book was in Pisa in 731-32, having come thither from Toledo or Tarragona by way of Cagliari in Sardinia.



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Mone at St. Paul's, a monastery in Carinthia. This is known to have come from Verona.<sup>71</sup> Others are the oldest manuscript of Zeno, now in the chapter archives of Pistoia; the *Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, now in the Vatican;<sup>72</sup> and a collection of sermons by Egino, now in Berlin.<sup>73</sup>

Still other books of Verona have disappeared entirely. Notable among these was a Catullus. No complete ancient manuscript of this author now survives, though one was used by Bishop Rather of Verona in the tenth century, and three fourteenth-century scribes made copies, still extant, which were all derived from the same prototype. Whether this was identical with the volume which Rather read cannot be proved or disproved.<sup>74</sup> Another apparently lost manuscript is the copy of Cicero's *Letters to Atticus*, discovered by Petrarch at Verona.<sup>75</sup> Still a third is a Tibullus. Guglielmo da Pastrengo, who lived in Verona in the fourteenth century, cites, or rather paraphrases, a passage of Tibullus not found in any florilegium and supposed to have been derived from a manuscript once in the Verona chapter library.<sup>76</sup> Except for the Psalter written in

<sup>71</sup> See Preface to Mone's edition (Gotha, 1855). This manuscript came to St. Paul's in 1807 from the monastery of St. Blasien in the Black Forest, the monks of the latter monastery having been forced to migrate. There is proof, however, that the book once belonged to Reichenau. It may have reached Reichenau from Verona through the agency of Egino, but it failed to get to Karlsruhe with the other Reichenau codices. Possibly the monks of St. Blasien borrowed it from Reichenau and failed to return it.

<sup>72</sup> Vat. Lat. 1322. Claudius of Turin on Paul's Epistles (Vat. Lat. 5775) is said by Lindsay to have been written at Verona in 862 and given to Bobbio. Other Verona manuscripts in the Vatican may have reached there through the agency of some of the Maffei family, who moved to Rome in the fifteenth century and may have taken books with them. Scipio Maffei suspected this, but could not prove it (Giuliani, "La Capitolare biblioteca di Verona....," *op. cit.*, XII [1876], 289 f.).

<sup>73</sup> Phillips 1676. Of the same collection, Nos. 1831, 1885, and 1896, also of the eighth or ninth century, are considered by Lindsay to be of Veronese origin.

<sup>74</sup> B. B. Boyer, "On the Lost Codex Veronensis of Catullus," *University of Chicago, Abstracts of Theses*, "Humanistic Series," IV (1925-26), 255-58; H. Battenwieser, "The Distribution of the Manuscripts of the Latin Classical Authors in the Middle Ages" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, Department of Latin, 1930), p. 14.

<sup>75</sup> See R. F. Leighton's summary of the controversy, "The Medicean MSS of Cicero's Letters," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, XXI (1890), 59-87.

<sup>76</sup> B. L. Ullman, "Tibullus in the Mediaeval Florilegia," *Classical Philology*, XXIII (1928), 172.

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Latin letters already mentioned, none of the nineteen Greek manuscripts now in the library were there in the Middle Ages.

Nothing is known of the early organization and care of the cathedral library. Spagnolo records a fire in 1172 which destroyed many manuscripts.<sup>77</sup> The first known reference to a chapter librarian belongs to the thirteenth century, when Canon Guglielmo da Monzambano was appointed to the office and acted as custodian of the books used in liturgical services in the cathedral.<sup>78</sup> The fact that the same fund was drawn on to pay for lights and for the repair of books is indication of neglect of the library. There is also a reference to persons in charge of moving the sacred books from the library to the church.<sup>79</sup>

No medieval catalogue of the library survives—nor, indeed, is there any evidence that one ever existed. But Verona has always been unfortunate in the matter of catalogues. Even today, there is no complete printed catalogue of her great collection. In 1625 Canon Rezano made a handwritten list, and Maffei made another early in the eighteenth century; and from the latter, Masotti in 1788 compiled a third, in two folio volumes. But it dealt with only 543 items; and, when in the nineteenth century the library contained 1,084 manuscripts, Giuliani, the librarian at that time, drew up still another catalogue, which filled 8 folio volumes and had an elaborate index in 2 quartos.<sup>80</sup> None of these works has been printed. Certain

<sup>77</sup> A. Spagnolo, "Le Scuole accolitale in Verona," *Atti dell'accademia di agricoltura, scienze e lettere di Verona*, 4th ser., V (1904), 131.

<sup>78</sup> Giuliani, "La Capitolare biblioteca di Verona....," *op. cit.*, X (1875), 253, dates the document March 13, 1206; but M. Venturini, *op. cit.*, p. 117, n. 1, gives the date as April 18, 1212.

<sup>79</sup> Giuliani, "La Capitolare biblioteca di Verona....," *op. cit.*, XXVII (1884), 45, gives this document. In another paper he quotes Bianchini to the effect that certain documents exist to prove that the library received some money from the cathedral in the thirteenth century as well as a letter of Gregory IX of the year 1231, in which the pope excommunicated all those who in time of war had pillaged the church of Verona and taken books. This shows that the chapter library suffered losses from wars of the thirteenth century. Many other losses may have occurred, both then and at other times, without being recorded.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Giuliani, *ibid.*, XII (1876), 277. His history of the library was to have formed the introduction to this catalogue. According to C. H. Turner, *Journal of Theological Studies*, XX (1919), 199, Count Biadego stated that Spagnolo, who succeeded Giuliani, was invited by Cardinal Ehrle to prepare a catalogue of the Verona manuscripts for the series of publications being produced under the auspices of the Vatican Library officials, and Biadego thought that Spagnolo completed his work and sent the manuscript to Rome before he died.

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partial lists, however, have been published.<sup>81</sup> Maassen enumerated books of canon law; Reifferscheid, the patristics; Omont, the Greek; Traube, uncial manuscripts; Lowe, the semiuncial; and the Misses Venturini, those dating from the ninth to the eleventh century. It is apparent, however, that the collection consists chiefly of ecclesiastical literature and contains no such wealth of Latin classics as does the library of Monte Cassino. In its own field, however, it contains much important material still unpublished. Renan considered it the most valuable library in Italy from this point of view;<sup>82</sup> and Giuliani stated that he could fill several large volumes with such texts of sermons, biblical matter, moral works, liturgical works, hymns, history, and epistles.<sup>83</sup>

Although the chapter library was the most prominent one in Verona, it was not the only one. The city library possesses over thirteen hundred manuscripts; but few of them are of interest because of their antiquity—most date from the sixteenth century on, although two are of the twelfth century and seven of the thirteenth. Monastic and private libraries undoubtedly existed, though data to prove their existence are hard to find. But one manuscript still extant, No. 927 of the Palatine Collection in the Vatican, is known to have been made in the twelfth century by the monastery of the Holy Trinity on Monte Oliveto outside of the walls.

The manuscripts of the cathedral library at Verona, when studied paleographically and in connection with the documentary records of the chapter and its members, enable us to trace more clearly the line of cultural progress here than is possible in any other city. There is poetic justice in the contributions which paleography makes to the local history of Verona, for her treasures furnished the basis of the modern science, which was first established through the discoveries and studies of Marquis Maffei. The story is one of the most romantic in the history of scholarship.

Scipio Maffei (1675–1755), of noble Veronese birth, spent his life as a man of letters in his native city. Urged by his friends to pre-

<sup>81</sup> See n. 53, above.

<sup>82</sup> *Archives des missions scientifiques*, I (1850), 401.

<sup>83</sup> "La Capitolare biblioteca di Verona . . .," *op. cit.*, XXX (1885), 489.

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pare an adequate guide book of Verona, he had commenced to study local antiquities and was soon struck by occasional references to a library formerly well known there but seemingly no longer in existence. Ambrogio Traversari, for instance, told of having seen very many fine old manuscripts in the cathedral in the fifteenth century, but Mabillon was informed in the seventeenth that no books were to be found of the once most famous library.<sup>84</sup> The easy assumption that they had been lost or destroyed did not satisfy Maffei. He began to look for them, enlisting in his quest an aged canon, Carinelli, who was to search the remoter portions of the cathedral. In October, 1713, Carinelli summoned Maffei and, on his breathless arrival, led him to a gloomy room in the cathedral offices and pointed out a large bookcase of chancery documents. The top of this was made of very tall moldings, which formed, as it were, a huge chest open to the ceiling. With a ladder Maffei examined this space and found it filled with a veritable treasure-trove of manuscripts—the finest, oldest, and in some respects the most important collection of Latin codices in existence.<sup>85</sup>

Why and when the books had been placed where Maffei found them is not certain. Two explanations have been suggested. Documents of 1574 mention damage caused by the overflowing of the Adige, and the library was then on the ground floor off the cloister; so the books may have been piled on the tops of the cases for protection. Again, in 1625 extensive rearrangements of the chapter buildings were undertaken. The manuscripts may have been stored temporarily in this hidden space, awaiting transfer. But in 1630 the chapter was decimated by the plague, and thus all memory of them may have perished.

Unfortunately, Maffei left no record to distinguish these manuscripts from the rest in the present chapter library, but by his use of them the general character of the group is evident. The collection was of supreme importance to scholarship, not for its textual content, but as a rich series of the books produced by a single scriptorium over a period of many centuries. From it Maffei derived the

<sup>84</sup> J. Mabillon, *Museum italicum*, I, 23.

<sup>85</sup> Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, I, 44.

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idea of development which has become the basic principle of all modern paleographical study. Up to this time Mabillon's theory, published in his *De re diplomatica* of 1681, was universally accepted. This distinguished five kinds of book script—Roman, Gothic, Lombard, Merovingian, and Saxon—but regarded them as wholly independent of each other, the separate inventions of the different peoples. But Maffei's treasure-trove included such a wealth of intermediate forms that it demonstrated a developmental sequence as clearly as if it were a theorem in Euclid. The Verona series starts with square and rustic capitals, passes through uncials, semiuncials, and minuscule, in various stages, and ends with a fully developed national book hand, all related chronologically in both directions and the product of a single scriptorium. Maffei's own exposition of the process of development and differentiation has been corrected and extended by later workers, but it remains the substantial basis of modern paleography.<sup>86</sup> For this reason we shall examine in detail the history of Verona's scriptorium as the clearest extant record of medieval book production.

Verona was copying manuscripts before Monte Cassino was founded. It has a manuscript (XXXVIII, 36) which was evidently copied during the reign of Theodoric, before the old Roman culture had entirely disappeared. But Beer claims that this is merely an isolated relic of Theodoric's residence in the city and not proof of the existence of a regular scriptorium, as most paleographers have assumed. The first definite evidence of scriptorial activity in connection with the Verona Cathedral is from the year 517, when Ursicinus, a lector of the cathedral, finished copying Sulpicius Severus' *Life of St. Martin of Tours* and signed his work.<sup>87</sup> This manuscript is one of the earliest dated and signed manuscripts and one of the earliest examples of semiuncial script. It is also noteworthy for having been written not by a monk but by a member of the secular

<sup>86</sup> A. Spagnolo, "Il grande merito di Scipione Maffei nel campo paleografico," *Atti dell'accademia di Verona*, 5th ser., X (1909), 212 ff., and Traube, *Vorlesungen*, I, 24, 26, 43-47.

<sup>87</sup> For specimens of the script used, see Carusi and Lindsay, *op. cit.*, where the famous subscription of Ursicinus may be seen in Plate 5.

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clergy. Moreover, there are six other Veronese manuscripts<sup>88</sup> which are written in a hand so similar to that of Ursicinus as to make it very likely that they were produced in the same place and the same period as his. All seven of these sixth-century codices are written in semiuncial letter and achieve their beauty by the richness of their parchment rather than from ornament. They contain none of the red and yellow decorations so much used in later Veronese work.

There is little evidence of scriptorial activity in the seventh century; but in the eighth a great bookman emerges in the person of Bishop Egino, a German, who later founded Niderzell at Reichenau, where he died in 802. He took with him a supply of books, presumably written in the scriptorium of Verona, among them perhaps the palimpsest now at Carinthia. Whether or not Egino himself had had the Jerome written over the text of Pliny is uncertain, but it is possible. The most significant evidence of his literary activities is a manuscript formerly in the Philipps Collection (1676) but now in Berlin. This contains a collection of sermons from earlier sources, adapted by Egino himself, who thus preceded Paulus Diaconus in this field. He speaks of having consulted many volumes in preparing the work. It is dedicated to the cathedral church of Verona, probably on the eve of his departure. The manuscript is in eight different hands and shows such strong Merovingian influence in its decorations that Kirchner believes Frankish artists were summoned to Verona for this purpose. In the ninth century this codex was sent from Verona by Bishop Deoderich to the monastery of St. Vincent's in Metz, which he had founded.<sup>89</sup>

The many hands in Egino's sermon book is good evidence of a well-developed scribal school in Verona during his episcopate (772–

<sup>88</sup> Carusi and Lindsay, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–8. No. XXII (20), Jerome's *De viris illustribus*; No. XXXVII (35), Clement's *Recognitiones* in the version of Rufinus; No. LIII (51), Facundus Hermianensis in defense of the Three Chapters; No. LV (53), Isidore's *Libri III sententiarum*; No. LIX (57), fragments of a collection of canons on fourth- and fifth-century heresies, with canons of Greek councils in the version of Isidore; and No. 1322 of the Vatican Latin manuscripts, containing the acts of the Council of Chalcedon in the version of Rusticus. Specimens of the script of each manuscript are given by Carusi and Lindsay.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. V. Rose, *Verzeichniss der lateinischen Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, I, 77.

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99). All the eighth-century manuscripts of the library have been assigned to this time, though it seems more probable that they represent a longer period. Four of them are uncials, three semiuncial. Four others, which are more probably of Egino's time are pre-Carolingian minuscule, a script not yet fully developed. Three of them show a variety of foreign influences. The Isidore (LV, 53) has Visigothic elements, perhaps because it was copied from a Spanish manuscript or through imitations of a Mozarabic breviary (LXXXIX) in the library. The Cresconius (LXII, 60) shows Insular influences, again either from its prototype or from relations to Bobbio. The third, an Augustine (XXXIII, 31), has Merovingian traits. These foreign influences may have come in not only through foreign manuscripts but also through a certain amount of exchange of scribes and illuminators. Certainly, all this activity and variety of book production belies the contention of some writers that the eighth century was everywhere a period of cultural decline. Verona's scriptorium was certainly vigorous and progressive. That Claudian's *Epigrams* (CLXIII, 150) was being copied, also in pre-Carolingian minuscule, indicates some interest in even classical literature.

In the ninth century the scriptorium was so active that Archdeacon Pacificus, its head, is sometimes spoken of as the founder of the chapter library. He may have been a pupil of Egino and was fortunate in two things: his lifetime coincided with the Carolingian revival of culture, and his scribal labors were sympathetically supported by Radolf, bishop of Verona from 802 to 840. The latter, of German origin, like Egino, retired to Reichenau and there founded the monastery of Radolfzell in 847. Perhaps he also took Veronese books with him. His dated epitaph credits him with having "made" 218 manuscripts.<sup>90</sup> This number seems large for the output of one man's pen, and probably all the acquisitions of the library during his time are counted in this total.

By a minute paleographical study of the Verona manuscripts of the period, Teresa Venturini, in her work already cited, attempted to ascertain how many scribes were at work in the scriptorium during the ninth century, and believes she can distinguish about fifty

<sup>90</sup> MGH, *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, II, 655, No. 844.

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hands.<sup>92</sup> She also attempts to discover which of these hands is that of Pacificus himself. Though his signature to a document of 809 is still extant, this is too short and too personal a sample to be significant for identifying his formal book hand. He signed no codex as his own work, but as organizer and head of the scriptorium his handwriting is most likely to appear in addenda, corrections, and marginalia in manuscripts prepared by others. In eighteen of the ninth-century books and in fourteen earlier ones such notes appear to have been written by a single pen. Moreover, they were by a person who had a most extensive knowledge of the library and wide scholarly attainments, without doubt Pacificus. His script is Carolingian minuscule with some pre-Carolingian traits and some cursive elements so modified as to produce a characteristic style. In it are written four manuscripts (XIX, LXXV, LXXVI, CVI) and less certainly four others (XX, LIV, LXVII, XCII). Twenty other ninth-century manuscripts at Verona are close enough to his style to imply that they were produced by other scribes under his direction. This school used square capitals for initials and *incipits*; ornate, nonspontaneous uncials for rubrics, first lines of paragraphs, first pages of liturgies, and throughout manuscript VIII; and Caroline minuscule for most of the work. It used no semiuncial script whatever.

Other ninth-century manuscripts in the library seem to antedate the work of Pacificus' time or to be the work of older scribes surviving into his period. Some are transitional, combining pre-Carolingian and incipient Carolingian characteristics. One group of archaic Carolingian shows crowded and pointed letters; another, rounded and less pointed with occasional Insular elements. Apparently during the first half of the century there was a definite graphic development at Verona, just as there was elsewhere in about the same period. Just as the semiuncials of Ursicinus had given way to the pre-Carolingian of Egino, so the latter was modified by the cursive of the documentary chancery style to produce a new book hand. It is significant of the cross-influences of the two styles that in this period some documents are in a fine book hand and some books in a

<sup>92</sup> This number is comparable with Schiaparelli's conclusion that over forty were at work at the cathedral scriptorium at Lucca in the eighth and ninth centuries.



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careless chancery. According to E. A. Lowe, Vercelli and Novara possessed a minuscule based entirely on the cursive as early as the eighth century, while Verona, in spite of its glorious past and its incomparably rich collection of ancient uncial and semiuncial manuscripts,

.... did not manage to hammer out a minuscule of its own. It tried and tried. But the attempts based on cursive, as well as those based on half-uncial, remained mere essays. Its scribes possessed so little originality that they attempted to imitate French models, which had probably reached them from Reichenau or by way of Bobbio. When finally, in the ninth century, they succeeded in developing a minuscule, it was of the Caroline type, recalling vaguely the St. Gall and Reichenau variety. We know that their bishops Egino (d. 799) and Rothaldus (d. 840) had close relations with Reichenau. Archdeacon Pacificus (d. 844), through whom many new books came to Verona, was in touch with Corvey.<sup>92</sup>

Besides producing and directing the production of manuscripts, Pacificus probably collected some from outside sources. He may even be responsible for the use of some of them as palimpsests, but in the absence of positive evidence in regard to either of these matters conjecture is hardly worth while.

All of the ninth-century manuscripts are of an ecclesiastical nature. One of them gives evidence of the relations between Verona and Bobbio. It is Latin manuscript No. 5775 of the Vatican, containing a work by Claudius of Turin on Paul's Epistles; and it was written in Verona in 862, long after the death of Pacificus, and given to Bobbio.<sup>93</sup> Another indication of such relations may be seen in the famous *Lamentum refugae*, a prayer by a monk of Bobbio who had fled to Verona and begged St. Zeno of Verona to restore him to his monastery.<sup>94</sup> Almost no names of the Verona copyists have been preserved; but a document of 814 speaks of a certain "Agipertus presbiter et scriptor,"<sup>95</sup> and a note in MS XIII (11) reads: "Scribit antiquarius Eutalius."<sup>96</sup>

During the tenth century there was much ignorance and corrup-

<sup>92</sup> *The Legacy of the Middle Ages*, ed. G. C. Crump and E. F. Jacob, pp. 213-14.

<sup>93</sup> W. M. Lindsay, note on article by A. Spagnolo, "Abbreviature nel minuscolo veronese," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XXVII (1910), 549.

<sup>94</sup> *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, III, 688-89.

<sup>95</sup> V. Lazzarini, "Scuola calligrafica veronese del sec. IX," *Memorie del r. istituto veneto*, XXVII (1904), 5.

<sup>96</sup> Reifferscheid, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

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tion among the bishops and clergy of Italy. Simony prevailed, study was abandoned, and literary production diminished between 900 and 1050. The few exceptional cases where a moral tone was kept up and studies continued were chiefly in the monasteries, but Verona was far from decay. Cadolo, a member of its chapter, became bishop of Parma, which had one of the best episcopal schools in Italy. In order to attain such a position, he had probably acquired some learning in Verona. The early part of the century has to its credit the *Carmen Adalhardi*, which is classical enough to imitate Horace.<sup>97</sup> Still more filled with classical spirit is the *Gesta Berengarii*, a historical epic composed before 922. Its author may have been an ecclesiastical calligrapher who was also scribe in Berengar's chancery. At all events, he foreshadowed the humanists. Whole passages taken from Vergil and Statius are as much a proof of study of the classics as they are of lack of originality; and the work shows that its author had also read Juvenal, Silius Italicus, Prudentius, and Sedulius. Such a phenomenon is curious in a supposedly barbarous age. It is the first real proof of the existence of any classical manuscripts in Verona, with the sole exception of the early palimpsests and the eighth-century Claudian. But the former may be relics from other libraries, and the latter is an extremely late classic.

In an earlier chapter we have surveyed the obscure record of the monastic library at Bobbio during the seventh and eighth centuries. Here we shall resume the story, though the evidence for our present period is still far from clear and its chronology disputed. In 1714 Muratori visited Bobbio, where, though most of the manuscripts had already been transferred to Milan, a portion of them still remained. In this remnant he found an imperfect catalogue of the medieval library, lacking one or more leaves of its beginning; but it seemed an important document, and Muratori published it.<sup>98</sup> Since

<sup>97</sup> G. Ongaro, "Coltura e scuole calligrafica veronese del sec. X," *Memorie del r. istituto veneto*, XXIX (1925), 5-7.

<sup>98</sup> *Antiquitates Italicae medii aevi*, III, 817-24; Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 32.

The most exhaustive study yet made of the Bobbio catalogue is by M. Esposito, "The Ancient Bobbio Catalogue," *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXXII (1931), 337 ff., who says in part: "... the majority of the Bobbio manuscripts were removed to Milan and Rome early in the seventeenth century, but a considerable number remained in the monastery, and

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he transcribed it, the original catalogue has not been seen. Since a paleographical re-examination is thus impossible, we can check his dating and interpretation only by internal evidence, literary history, and a study of the extant codices which it mentions.

Muratori simply says that the catalogue is of the tenth century; he does not describe it in detail, and says nothing of its having been written by different hands at different times. His dating was not questioned until Gottlieb<sup>99</sup> stated that several of the extant manuscripts which correspond to entries in the catalogue were written in the eleventh century. Therefore, he said, the catalogue must be of that century or later. Traube, Manitius, and others have accepted his opinion.<sup>100</sup> In 1931, however, M. Esposito re-examined the whole

among these Muratori, on the occasion of his visit in 1714, discovered the Catalogue, which, notwithstanding the loss of the beginning and several illegible passages, is nevertheless one of the most interesting and important of the medieval catalogues in existence. Muratori attributed the manuscript, or fragment of a manuscript, from which he printed it to the tenth century. It was possibly one of the '21 fragmens d'antiques mss.' sold, along with many entire codices, charters, and printed books, for the trifling sum of 53 francs, by order of the French administration of the 'Departement de Marengo,' on the 18th of May 1803. Most of these manuscripts and charters turned up subsequently at Turin, but our fragment has unfortunately vanished. Muratori's date was disputed by Gottlieb on the ground that several of the manuscripts included in the Catalogue, and which are still extant, are to be assigned to the eleventh century. For this reason the Catalogue and the various donors of manuscripts mentioned in it, Dungalus, Benedictus, Adalbertus, Theodorus, Petrus, Boniprandus, Smaragdus, Fulgentius—must also be assigned to that century. . . .

"For the history of the Bobbio manuscripts see E. Martin (*Bobbio: l'ombre d'un grand nom in Mémoires de L'Acad. de Stanislas*, 6<sup>e</sup> série, t. iii 1906 pp. 260-329); C. Cipolla (*Codici Bobbiesi della Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino* i 1907 pp. 7 sqq., and in *Rivista storica benedettina* iii 1908 pp. 561-580); L. Grammatica in *La Scuola Cattolica*, 6 ser., II (1923) pp. 533-549; and De Marinis (*Enciclopedia Italiana* t. vii 1930, art. Bobbio.) Ratti, *Le Ultime Vicende della Biblioteca e dell'archivio di S. Colombano di Bobbio* Milano 1901.

"... Fresh light is desirable on the mysterious transactions by which Amedeo Peyron and the Sardinian Government were enabled to secure the Bobbio collection for Turin (cf. Cipolla *Rivista storica benedettina* iii 1908 pp. 561-580). We know from a document printed by Ratti (*loc. cit.*) that at the sale in 1803 the entire collection was purchased by a certain 'citoyen Buthler.' This personage has been shown by Cipolla (*loc. cit.*, pp. 572-573) to have been an Irish medical man, Edward Butler, who took his degree at the University of Pavia and resided at Stradella. In 1816 he received a public honour from Bobbio. We have, so far no information as to why and how he disposed of his purchase, but it is quite possible that but for the expenditure of fifty-three francs by this obscure Irish physician a considerable number of the Bobbio MSS and charters would have been irretrievably lost."

<sup>99</sup> T. Gottlieb, "Ueber Handschriften aus Bobbio," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, IV (1887), 443.

<sup>100</sup> L. Traube, "O Roma nobilis," *Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil.-hist. Kl.), XIX (1892), 336; Manitius, *op. cit.*, I, 374.

It is highly desirable that some expert should make a systematic study of the extant

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question and not only rejected Gottlieb's theories but satisfied himself that Muratori's document was "a tenth-century copy of an index drawn up in the second half of the ninth century." His paper is a model of critical method in the field of bibliographical history. Its chief arguments are (1) that no author or writing later than the middle of the ninth century is mentioned in the catalogue; (2) that the eleventh-century dating of the crucial manuscripts is not decisive, other scholars not always being in agreement with Gottlieb and his chief authority, Reifferscheid; and (3) that six extant manuscripts of Bobbio bear records that they were given to the monastery by Agilulfus, and none of them are mentioned in the catalogue. If, as is probable, their donor was the abbot of that name who ruled from 883 to 896, the list must antedate his gift.

An entry in the Muratorian catalogue shows that it was based upon an earlier one, two books being mentioned with the note "quas non reperimus." Whatever its date, its content gives us a vivid picture of the wealth of the library. The books are listed in two sections. The first, apparently, contains all the volumes copied in Bobbio itself or acquired by exchange and purchase; they are listed by their subject matter following the standard medieval classification.<sup>101</sup> The second part is of gifts entered according to their donors.

The first section undoubtedly began with biblical works and liturgies, followed by the works of the Church Fathers arranged by author. As Muratori found the catalogue, it began abruptly in the works of Augustine; the earlier leaves covering all of the first two classes and part of the third were lacking. Class IV (177-94) is canon law. Class V (195-264) is the works of later ecclesiastical writers, biblical commentaries, works against heresy, homilies, Cassian's rules for monks, Orosius' *Chronica*, Egesippus' *De gestis Gothorum*, and, very curiously, Pliny's *Natural History* and the *Institutes* of Justinian. The next class is anonymous commentaries and homilies (265-95), followed by hagiography (296-355). Here, again,

Bobbio manuscripts (about 180), to fix as closely as possible their date and pa-  
characteristica. The charters have already been admirably illustrated and edited by C. Cipolla  
in his posthumous *Codice diplomatico del monastero di S. Colombano di Bobbio* (Rome, 1918).

<sup>101</sup> Occasionally the order is broken by irrelevant titles presented in composite volumes.  
The method of analytic entries had not yet been invented.

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there are intrusions not to be accounted for by accidents of binding, including monastic rules of Columban and Basil, Lombardic laws, seven mathematical and astronomical works, and seven glossaries. Most interesting of all, however, is the final class of secular *varia* (356-479); and here, most unfortunately, the cataloguer makes his briefest entries, naming some authors without specifying titles, and merely stating the subject matter of twenty volumes. Perhaps he felt that nonreligious books were unworthy of a monastic library. Yet we find Cato, Cicero, Claudian, Dracontius, Val. Flaccus, Horace, Juvenal, Lucan, Lucretius, Martial, Ovid, Persius, Pliny, Seneca, Terence, and Vergil. Latin translations of Greek authors included Aristotle's *Categories*, Demosthenes, Porphyry's *Isagoge* and other works, and Theophrastus' *De nuptiis*.<sup>102</sup>

The list of grammatical, orthographic, and metrical works would be very full were the titles in the twenty anonymous volumes given. It is through Bobbio manuscripts that most of our texts of such ancient works of ancient Rome have been preserved.<sup>103</sup> Seven Christian poets are also included here—Arator, Ausonius, Juvencus, Licentius, Paulinus, Prudentius, and Sedulius. Evidently their writings were regarded as more literary than religious. Mathematical and scientific works are: Boethius' *Arithmetic* and *Astronomy*.<sup>104</sup> Priscian on numbers, books of alchemy, and the *De ruralibus* of Septimius Serenus. Last, there are the two histories of Troy by Dictys and Dares, and a biography of Alexander the Great, as well as several of the spurious writings attributed to him.

The second section of the catalogue (480-666) is a list of gifts enumerated under their donors. Some of these books duplicate the texts listed in the classified collection; but others seem to have been

<sup>102</sup> Several writers have cited these works as proof that Greek was studied at Bobbio; for example, R. Welsh in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, II, 606, writes: "It appears that Irish monks of Bobbio read Aristotle and Demosthenes in the original tongue." To me this position is quite untenable. There is no reason to believe that these were Greek originals, but rather the translations of Boethius and others.

<sup>103</sup> R. Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli XIV, e XV*, I, 164.

<sup>104</sup> Fragments of this manuscript, which is from the sixth or seventh century, are found in Turin, Theca F IV.

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important additions to the library, such as the works of Bede,<sup>105</sup> Einhard, Alcuin, Josephus, Cassiodorus, and Martianus Capella, and several mathematical works by Macrobius, Dionysius, Anatolius, Victorius, and Colman. Finally there are a lapidary and what is perhaps an early bestiary.

Altogether these 666 volumes make a very impressive showing of the stores of Christian and classical knowledge which was thus accessible in tenth-century Italy. Practically every known branch of knowledge, divine and human, was represented; and most of them—religion, church history, law, classical literature, grammar and rhetoric, poetry, philosophy, music, mathematics, chronology, and astronomy—were well represented.<sup>106</sup>

In the present uncertainty concerning the chronology of the catalogue it would be precarious to attempt a reconstruction of the history of the library on the basis of the list of donors and the character of the manuscripts they presented. It must even remain an open question whether the first benefactor, Dungal, who gave 29 volumes, was not the Irish scholar of that name, the correspondent of Charlemagne, who was later sent by Lothar to rule over the school at Pavia in 825. The most interesting of his gifts are: a Psalter, sometimes identified as the famous *Antiphonary of Bangor*, which came to the Ambrosian library from Bobbio; a book on the Irish language in Latin; and the book of Dungal against the perverse opinions of Claudius. Of these 29 volumes, 7 are extant (or 8 if we accept the identification of the *Antiphonary of Bangor*). The third on the list, *Origen on the Epistle to the Romans*, has this inscription on the last folio: "To thee, O holy Columban, did Dungal, a Scot and inmate of thy monastery, give this book, that the hearts of the brethren might thereby be blessed. Thou, therefore, who readest this, pray that God may be the recompense of his donation."<sup>107</sup>

<sup>105</sup> Biblical commentaries, his *Martyrology*, and his works on meter and on arithmetic.

<sup>106</sup> I have been unable to identify any medical work in the catalogue.

<sup>107</sup> Our text is taken from M. Stokes, *Six Months in the Apennines*, p. 215, which seems to misinterpret the sense of the Latin. The original reads:

"Sancte columba tibi scotto tuus incola Dungal  
Tradidit hunc librum quo Fratrum corda beentur.  
Qui legis ergo, Deus pretium sit muneris, ora."

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The history of the library at Bobbio is a complete blank between the Muratorian list and the catalogue of 1461,<sup>108</sup> but during the interval there was evidently a serious decrease in the size of the collection. The extent of the loss cannot be measured by merely subtracting the 280 items of the second catalogue from the probable size (much more than 666) of the first. The two lists represent different methods of enumeration and are not comparable. In the identifiable items, 94 volumes of the second catalogue correspond to 336 of the first one. The difference is due both to the former's use of collective entries and to the production of composite volumes by rebinding. On the other hand, new manuscripts had been added to the library during the interval.

The Benedictine monastery of S. Silvestro di Nonantola, six miles northeast of Modena, was founded in 752 by St. Anselm, former duke of Forum Julii, who gave up his worldly power to serve God. The house was richly endowed by Aistulph, king of the Lombards, and by the tenth century it was considered the richest and most magnificent monastery in Italy. It remained an imperial foundation until 1083, when Matilda of Tuscany forced submission to papal control. During the Middle Ages, Nonantola was prominent for its schools of law and music. As early as 853 a "Hilaeradus iuris magister" is mentioned in the monastic documents. In Verona there is a fragmentary legal manual from Nonantola containing a very precious example of the *Concordia*.<sup>109</sup> Some historians regard this Romanized school of Lombard law as a point of departure for the origin of the University of Bologna. The school of sacred music was equally important in its field, for it was the prototype of the school of Solesmes.

The library of Nonantola<sup>110</sup> is almost as old as the monastery. Several of the books which Anselm acquired for the monastery are still extant, among them a Eucherius of Lyons, *Libri formularum*

<sup>108</sup> The inventory of 1461 was published in 1824 by A. Peyron in the Preface to his edition of Ciceronian fragments found in Turin manuscripts from Bobbio (*M. Ciceronis orationum fragmenta* [Stuttgart, 1824]).

<sup>109</sup> G. Manacorda, *Storia della scuola in Italia*, Part II, p. 311.

<sup>110</sup> I. Giorgi, "L'antica biblioteca di Nonantola," *Rivista delle biblioteche e degli archivi*, VI (1895), 54-60.

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*sive institutionum* (an uncial of the sixth century), in which is twice inscribed, first in a tenth-century hand and later in an eleventh, "Hic codex adquisitus est per domnum Anselmum abbatem." Most of the manuscripts which are older than the abbey were probably brought by Anselm from Monte Cassino, where he took refuge when he was exiled by the Lombard king, Desiderius. The chronicler of Nonantola tells us that, while Anselm was at Monte Cassino, he acquired many books for his monastery, as also did Vigilantius, who was acting abbot during his absence.<sup>111</sup>

The successors of Anselm were no less solicitous for the increase of the library. Abbot Peter (804-21) was sent by Charlemagne as a special envoy to Constantinople in 813.<sup>112</sup> His fellow-envoy on this mission was Amalarius, archbishop of Trier. Early in 814, after his return, Peter wrote Amalarius requesting two of his works, a tract on the Mass and another on baptism, the former of which had been composed during their sea voyage together. The archbishop sent not only these works but also several other expositions which he had written for Charlemagne.<sup>113</sup> Ansfrid (821-37), the third successor of Anselm,<sup>114</sup> acquired a beautiful manuscript containing the *Retractiones* of St. Augustine and a work of St. Jerome. Abbot Leopardus (895-907) secured another codex of St. Jerome and of Alcuin's *De laude psalmorum*, now also in Rome (Cod. Sessor. 71). The largest addition to the library was evidently made by the eleventh-century abbot, Rodulfus (1003-1035). Besides three extant manuscripts which bear the inscription stating that they were acquired in his time (Cod. Sessor. 44, 45, 56), there exists in Bologna a list of 32 manuscripts which he caused to be copied for the library of Nonantola.<sup>115</sup> There was a considerable need of such a large number of new manuscripts because of the misfortunes which the library had

<sup>111</sup> MGH, *Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum*, p. 571.

<sup>112</sup> *Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum*, ed. P. Jaffé, IV, 443.

<sup>113</sup> Jaffé cites both letters in his *Monumenta Corbeiensia*, pp. 442 ff.

<sup>114</sup> Codex 38 in the Sessoriana Collection of the Vittorio Emanuele Library in Rome.

<sup>115</sup> This list was written in an eleventh-century hand on the blank pages of a codex found buried in the wall of the abbey church in the time of Benedict XIV (1740-58). It is now in the library of the University of Bologna (Giorgi, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 58).



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suffered. In 899 the Hungarians burned the monastic buildings, killing many monks and destroying many manuscripts. Not all of the books were burned, however, since some of those acquired by abbots Anselm and Ansfrid remain even today. This catastrophe was followed by a fire in 1013, which again destroyed the monastery. A second time some of the books were saved, but it was probably after the second fire that Abbot Rodulfus ordered the 32 volumes.

Besides the manuscripts which were procured by the abbots or copied in the scriptorium, Nonantola fell heir to some books belonging to Pope Hadrian III, who died in a villa near the monastery in 885 while on his way to France. He was buried in the abbey. The monks kept the pope's vestments and his small traveling library. It is almost certain that the *Liber diurnus pontificum Romanorum* now in the Sessoriana Collection was one of these books, and there was also probably a sacramentary and a volume of saints' lives.<sup>116</sup> The *Diurnus* is older than the one in the Vatican. From it were copied formulas by the eleventh-century brother of Nonantola who wrote the fabulous life of Hadrian III. The monks of Nonantola were anxious for the canonization of this pope, whose remains they had; but they knew little about him, and so the hagiographer simply attributed to him events in the life of Hadrian I, which were of the desired sanctity, invented some miracles, and added the facts of his death at Spilamberto or S. Cesario near Nonantola and his burial in the abbey. Thus the two popes were merged into one, much to the confusion of contemporary readers and even to posterity.<sup>117</sup>

The oldest manuscripts of Nonantola present an interesting paleographical problem still unsolved, which Mr. E. A. Lowe has formulated in these words:

A number of them were written in a type of minuscule so like early Beneventan as to be practically indistinguishable from it. This may of course be explained as a simple migration of MSS from the south to the north. There is some historical support for this theory: For Anselm, the first abbot of Nonantola, when exiled by

<sup>116</sup> A. Gaudenzi, "Il monastero di Nonantola," *Bullettino dell'istituto storico italiano*, No. 30 (1909), p. 270, n. 1. Cf. review by R. Lane Poole in *English Historical Review*, XXXIII, 558.

<sup>117</sup> Gaudenzi, *op. cit.*, pp. 265, 270. The scribes of Nonantola between the tenth and thirteenth centuries were experienced in the art of fabricating documents. With the destruction of the monastery twice by fire, most of their archives were lost, and the monks undertook, as did others in that uncritical age, to reconstruct their charters and records.

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King Desiderius (d. 774) is said to have gone to Monte Cassino, whence he brought back many books. But the *Chronicle* of Monte Cassino does not record his visit and the manuscripts of Nonantola are, on the whole, so much superior to South Italian products of the same time as to make it seem unlikely that they come from the same school. Moreover, the uncial manuscripts of Nonantola nearly all show features which are distinctly North Italian. . . . They were written either at Nonantola or at some other North Italian centre.<sup>118</sup>

It is impossible for us to get an accurate idea of the contents of the monastic library of Nonantola during the Middle Ages because there is no complete catalogue of its library, and less than 50 volumes from it are extant. There is an incomplete list of 1166 which gives 60 ecclesiastical works, most of them the works of Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory, and Bede.<sup>119</sup> In Rodulfus' list two histories of Rome are mentioned. The other works are religious. We know that there were law books in the library, one of which is now in Verona. There may have been grammatical works for the school, but of classical literature there is no trace. That there were many more volumes in the library than the 60 mentioned in the partial catalogue of 1166, we know from the fourteenth-century catalogues and from the *Chronicle* of Salimbene, in which, under the year 1287, is related the interesting story of a Minorite brother, Guidolinus, who went over to the Benedictine order at Nonantola. He was so popular there that he would have been made abbot had not the incensed Minorites whom he had left prevented it. But the monks of Nonantola, who had spent considerable sums in their unsuccessful campaign for his election, would choose no other; and they made him "master of the abbey," so that he became abbot in all but name. To reconcile the still unfriendly Minorites, he promised that they could always keep two scribes at the monastery's expense in the cloister, where there were "so many books" to copy.<sup>120</sup>

The little monastery of Novalesa, founded in 726 near Susa in the foothills of Mont Cenis, possessed a library of which we know tantalizingly little. In 906 the abbey was sacked by the Saracens, who had

<sup>118</sup> *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXIX, 31.

<sup>119</sup> This catalogue is correctly cited by Giorgi, but Becker (No. 101) copied Mai's inaccurate transcription.

<sup>120</sup> *MGH, Scriptores*, XXXII, 625.

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then been for many years in occupation of Provence, whence they made raids through the mountain passes into Piedmont. The monks took refuge in Turin, whither, we are told by a chronicler writing over a century later, they successfully removed their treasure and library of six thousand volumes.<sup>121</sup> About 1027 the monastery was restored. The sole glimpse we have of the library is in the continuation of the original *Chronicon* to about 1050. In this the unknown author cites the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards*, a large portion of the *Carmen de Walthario*, and Terence's *Andria*, though he had no perception of the ancient meter. Presumably all these works were in the new library, except possibly the last, for classical quotations from florilegia were common in the Middle Ages.

The cultural revival which so stimulated Europe north of the Alps between 1050 and 1200 had slight influence in Italy, save as a new interest in Roman law. The abbey of Pomposa, near Ravenna, however, was an exception. Abbot Jerome (1079-1100) was an indefatigable book-collector, even of classical works with their pagan tradition, and kept fifteen copyists at work in the scriptorium. When he took office he found many books in such bad writing that he ordered them recopied. By 1093, when a catalogue was compiled,<sup>122</sup> the library contained 75 books. The collection, though large for that age, had few classical writers. There was no Cicero, Vergil, or Ovid; but there were Pliny, Seneca, Livy, and Eutropius.

The monastery of Farfa, in the Sabine territory, was long regarded, next to Nonantola, as the most beautiful monastery in Italy. It was destroyed by the Saracens in 897 but rose from its ashes thirty years later to rival Monte Cassino. Two brief eleventh-century book lists

<sup>121</sup> C. Cipolla, *Ricerche sull'antica biblioteca del monastero della Novalesa*; his article in *Memorie della r. accademia della scienza di Torino*, L (1901), 127; and his *Monumenta Novaliensis vetustiora*, pp. xix, 425-32. The impossible statement of six thousand books occurs in *Chronicon Novaliensis* (iv. 26), which a little later says that the monks were compelled to pawn many books for food and shelter and that the greater part of them were never recovered.

<sup>122</sup> See the vivacious account of Henricus the cataloguer, prefixed to the catalogue. He boasts that no other church, not even Romè, had so many books as Pomposa. The catalogue has been twice published, first by Montfaucon (reproduced by Migne and Becker), then by Morbio. But the only exact edition is that of G. Mercati, from the original manuscript now in the library of Modena, "Il Catalogo della bibliotheca di Pomposa," *Studi e documenti di storia e diritto*, XVII (1896), 39 ff.

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are preserved, one of them a record of books out upon loan, with the names of the borrowers.<sup>123</sup> Farfa's golden period came after 1060, when its scriptorium was very active. It even developed a type of script to be distinguished from the Beneventan so widely current in central and southern Italy.

Our information concerning Farfa's close neighbor, the abbey of Subiaco, founded by St. Benedict even before he established Monte Cassino, is very meager. Its chronicle merely states that the abbots took care to provide for the library.<sup>124</sup> The few manuscripts which are preserved show that Farfa and Subiaco together formed a little school of writing and illumination in central Italy.<sup>125</sup>

The Cistercian abbey of S. Maria of Morimondo near Rosate, in the diocese of Milan, was founded in 1135 and was named after an earlier foundation in France.<sup>126</sup> No catalogue of its books was known until Dr. Joseph Martini, of Lugano, discovered such a list written on the verso of the last leaf of a twelfth-century *Lectionarium de festis*, which had once belonged to the Renaissance historian, Paolo Giovio (1483-1559), who came into possession of many of the books of this monastery. It was printed in Martini's trade catalogue XXII, page 12.

Until the end of the ninth century Monte Cassino<sup>127</sup> was the most brilliant monastic house of central Italy. But on October 22, 883, its quiet precincts were invaded by ruthless Saracens, who cut down

<sup>123</sup> Dom Bruno Albers, *Consuetudines Farfenses*, p. 184. For a history of Farfa, with much bibliographical information, see E. Carusi, "Cenni storici sull'abbazia di Farfa," *Paleographia Latina*, III (1924), 52 ff.

<sup>124</sup> L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, XXIV, 932.

<sup>125</sup> Geneva H. Drinkwater, "History of the monastery of Subiaco to 1500" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, Department of History, 1931). See also E. Carusi, "Cenni storici sui monasteri Sublacenese," *Paleographia Latina*, III (1924), 60-62.

<sup>126</sup> L. Janauschek, *Originum Cisterciensium*, I, 331; G. Porro, "Alcune notizie sul monastero di Morimondo," *Archivio storico lombardo*, VII (1891), 626-28.

<sup>127</sup> From the tremendous literature on Monte Cassino a few monographs are selected: *Bibliotheca Casiensis seu codicum manuscriptorum qui in tabularia Casiensi asservantur series*, I-IV (1874-94); Dom A. Caravita, *I Codici e le arti a Montecassino* (Monte Cassino, 1869-71); Dom M. Inguanez, *Codicum Casinensium manuscriptorum catalogus* (Monte Cassino, 1915-28); E. A. Lowe, *The Beneventan Script* (Oxford, 1914); G. Minozzi, *Montecassino nella storia del rinascimento* (Rome, 1925); Dom L. Tosti, *Storia della Badia di Montecassino* (Rome, 1888-90); and numerous papers in the serial publication *Casinensis*.

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Abbot Bertharius and several of his monks, plundered the abbey's buildings, and burned them to the ground. There were only a handful of survivors. Snatching up whatever they could of the monastery's muniments and treasures, they fled for their lives to Teano, near Capua.<sup>128</sup> Naturally, they did not leave behind them the most precious of all their possessions—the manuscript of the *Rule* which St. Benedict had written, as they believed, with his own hand. To these refugees we owe the preservation of the Cassinese tradition. Prominent among them was the archivist Erchempert, the continuator of Paul the Deacon. His writing is the chief record of this tragic period. Thirteen years later, misfortune again befell the exiles, when fire destroyed the house which the brethren had established at Teano, and with it the revered autograph of the *Rule* and most of the abbey's charters of grants and privileges conferred by emperors and princes since the foundation of the order.

It is difficult to reconcile the accounts of this double catastrophe with present facts; nowhere in the chronicles is there mention of books being saved from the Saracens and the fire; yet there exist today at Monte Cassino and in other libraries certain manuscripts produced in its scriptorium before the ninth century. Were they out on loan, and so preserved during the fourteen years of misfortune, or did they escape the fury of the Saracens and lie intact to be recovered from the ruin? Either possibility seems more probable than to suppose that they were carried away by the refugees and saved from the second disaster. By some means, certainly, nine of the earlier Cassinese manuscripts were preserved and are still extant.<sup>129</sup> These are: (1) Origen's *Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul*, the oldest codex now at Monte Cassino; (2) a late eighth-century manuscript now at Paris (Lat. 7530), containing Varro's *De lingua Latina*, Servius' *De metris Horatianis*, Isidore's *Etymologiae*, and grammatical treatises; (3) the *Sermons* of the martyred abbot Bertharius; (4) an eighth-century copy of Isidore's *Sentences*; (5) Augustine's *Soliloquia*; (6) his *Enchiridion*, with Prosper's selection of *Sentences*; (7)

<sup>128</sup> Leo Marsicanus, *Chronica monasterii Casiensis*, ed. W. Wattenbach, in *MGH, Scriptores*, VII, 610.

<sup>129</sup> Possibly there were others also which were later destroyed or used for palimpsesta.

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Master Hilderic's grammatical treatise; (8) a ninth-century Galen and Julian of Toledo; and (9) Alcuin's *De trinitate*.<sup>130</sup>

From Teano the little band of exiles took refuge at Capua and there reorganized their monastic routine. Under Abbot John I (915-34) they resumed their scribal labors, first replacing the *Rule*, under which they lived, and the liturgical texts necessary for their religious services. From these they went on to more literary texts, the *Lombard Laws* and Martianus Capella. Even in this period some original literary work was accomplished. Abbot John has been credited with the last *Chronicle*, of which Leo Marsicanus, the monastery's eleventh-century historian, made such excellent use.<sup>131</sup>

While adversity may chasten, it is quite as likely to demoralize; and it appears most probable that the monks at Capua were no more successful than popes, parish priests, and other monastic foundations in escaping the all-pervading moral degeneration of the tenth century. After the death of Abbot John I (A.D. 934), when they were harassed by the greedy feudality of Capua, many of the monks became discouraged and began to lead worldly lives. The monastery's great historian observes a discreet silence on this point, to be sure; but from another source<sup>132</sup> we learn that in the time of the great Abbot Odo of Cluny the monks of Monte Cassino were subjected to the reformed discipline of the younger foundation. Odo himself placed over them his pupil Baldwin, who was succeeded by another of Odo's pupils, Aligern (949-86). At the command of Pope Agapetus this abbot led the monks back to Monte Cassino and laid there the foundations for a new blossoming of monastic life.

Now, it has been observed that in the history of the great medieval abbeys a period of disciplinary reform was invariably followed by a renewal of activity in the scriptorium.<sup>133</sup> Monte Cassino was no exception. For some time, however, this activity was on a modest scale,

<sup>130</sup> In the case of all these manuscripts I have accepted the dates given by E. A. Lowe in his *Beneventan Script*.

<sup>131</sup> *Epistola fratris Leonis ad dominum Oderisium sanctissimi monasterii Casinensis*, ed. W. Wattenbach in *MGH, Scriptores*, VII, 575. Cf. Petrus Diaconus, *De viris illustribus Casinensis coenobii*, ed. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CLXXIII, col. 1024.

<sup>132</sup> E. Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser*, I, 112-13, and n. 1, p. 113.

<sup>133</sup> W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter* (3d ed.), p. 441.

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and was confined, for the most part, to the copying of scriptural, devotional, and liturgical works. And yet, even in this early period, there are evidences of a broadening of cultural interests within the abbey. Two Greek manuscripts may be only souvenirs of St. Nilus of Grottaferrata's friendship for Abbot Aligern and his monks; but such accessions as Lucan's *Pharsalia*, Ovid's *Fasti*, and the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius evince a renewal of interest in classical and Christian poetry alike. Some reading in canon law and history, too, is indicated by copies of the Isidorian *Canons* and Josephus' *Wars*, while the copying of such works as Bede's *De temporum ratione*, a *Treatise on Animals*, the *Botany* of Dioscorides, the *Herbarium* of Pseudo-Apuleius, the *Prognostics* and *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates, and medical writings of Aurelius, Scolapius, and Galen (in Latin) may reveal an awakening curiosity on the monks' part in purely natural phenomena, as well as simply a decent observance of St. Benedict's rule for the care of the sick.

And yet, even so late as 1022, there was still, so Monte Cassino's chronicler complains, a great scarcity of books at the monastery. But the election in that year of Abbot Theobald marked the beginning of a more splendid era in the abbey's intellectual life. Trained in monasticism by John III, Theobald, as provost of San Liberatore, had emulated his preceptor not only in building but also in promoting the production of books. Under his direction sixty works had been copied.<sup>134</sup> He continued this praiseworthy activity when he returned to Monte Cassino, and in the thirteen years of his rule over twenty manuscripts were produced there.<sup>135</sup> Most of the New Testament was copied now, and much of the Old, and commentaries by St. Augustine, Venerable Bede, and Claudius of Turin; while the need for theological and devotional works was supplied by Augustine, *On the Trinity*, *On Christian Discipline*, and *True Religion*, the *Confessions* and the second part of the *City of God*, as well as Gregory's *Magna moralia* and *Homilies*. Theobald's special predilection for his-

<sup>134</sup> The San Liberatore list is given by E. A. Lowe, *Beneventan Script*, pp. 79-80.

<sup>135</sup> For the list of manuscripts copied by order of Theobald at Monte Cassino see Leo Mar-  
sicanus, *op. cit.* (ed. cit.), p. 662; Tosti, *op. cit.*, I, 394; Lowe, *op. cit.*, p. 80, gives other  
references.

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tory and travel (he had made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem) was shown by copies of such works as Josephus' *Antiquities*, the Pseudo-Hegesippus on the *Destruction of Jerusalem*, Paulus Diaconus' *History of the Lombards*, the *Chronicles* of Eusebius, together with Jerome's complete *Martyrology* and an *Itinerary* of the whole world. The arts and sciences received attention in a copy of Hrabanus Maurus. Nor was canon or civil law neglected: a new copy of the Lombard code was made now, and a *Collection of Canons*, Cresconius' *Concordance*, and the *Decretals*. A *Roman Pontifical* and two hymnals for use in choir were among the service books copied.

Unfortunately, when Theobald died in 1035, he was succeeded by Basil I, a tool of Pandulph, prince of Capua. Basil complacently allowed his patron to plunder the abbey's lands, and spent so much time at Capua in his service that the monks bitterly said of him that he was Pandulph's bailiff rather than their abbot. Basil's rule was brief, however, and its epilogue happy. When Emperor Conrad II crossed the Alps in 1038 and descended on Milan, he was waited upon by a delegation of Cassinese monks, who lost no time in filling his ears with the tale of the injuries which were being wrought against St. Benedict's house. The emperor decided to go to Monte Cassino and order matters himself. At the news of his coming, both Pandulph and Basil fled; and Conrad, yielding to the entreaties of the monks, now appointed for them a new abbot, a masterful German, Richer, who had presided over the monastery of Leno, near Brescia. In 1056 another German, Frederick of Lorraine (later Pope Stephen IX), was chosen abbot of Monte Cassino. So the years 1038-58 have been aptly characterized as the period of German ascendancy at the abbey. As Richer brought to the monastery a new zeal and discipline and Frederick a wide learning in the liberal arts as well as in theology, it is strange that the abbey's chronicle mentions neither of these abbots in connection with the copying of manuscripts. Luckily, paleography supplies history's defect to a certain extent. Various theological codices have been credited to the Cassinese scribes of this time, while the hypothesis of Dr. Lowe, which assigns the Widukind's *Saxon Chronicle* to the period of Richer, seems a reasonable one. Immeasurably more important, however, and even more con-



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vincing is the same savant's contention that the famous manuscript of Tacitus preserved today in the Laurentian Library at Florence was copied at Monte Cassino because of this German abbot's "interest . . . in the author who had written about his forebears."<sup>136</sup> Had that copy perished, Books xi-xvi of the *Annals* and Books i-v of the *Histories* would have been irretrievably lost. Bound with the Tacitus and copied in Monte Cassino at about the same time is a manuscript of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and the *Florida*, or excerpts from Apuleius' public speeches—our only source for both these works. Thus Monte Cassino deserves to be ranked among the most celebrated centers in Europe for the preservation of manuscripts of the classics. But the classicists are not alone in their debt to Cassinese copyists. The same patient toil also preserved an abundance of patristic and medieval material.<sup>137</sup> Liturgiologists owe to their zeal Etheria's account of her pilgrimage to Jerusalem at the end of the fourth century, the *Peregrinatio Aetherae*,<sup>138</sup> which is one of the earliest sources extant for the liturgy of the early church. Theologians and historians also are indebted to them for such texts as the unique manuscript of St. Hilary of Poitiers' *Book of Mysteries*, Julian of Eclanum's *Commentary* on Job, St. Jerome's *Treatise against Origen*, one of the most valuable manuscripts of St. Augustine's *Sermons*, and the *Register* of John VIII,<sup>139</sup> the second oldest papal register extant.

The accession of Abbot Desiderius in 1058 ushers in a period which some writers delight to call the "golden era" in the history of Monte Cassino. Probably at no other time has the house enjoyed such great resources: broad and rich lands, papal confidence and support, the veneration of the Normans, and the friendship of both the Eastern and the Western emperor. The intelligence and personality of its new abbot insured that effective use should be made of these re-

<sup>136</sup> E. A. Lowe, "The Unique Manuscript of Tacitus' Histories," in *Casinensia*, I (1929), 268.

<sup>137</sup> On this subject, see Dom M. Inguanez' *L'Opera conservatrice degli amanuensi cassinesi*.

<sup>138</sup> I follow Monseigneur L. M. O. Duchesne's dating of Etheria's pilgrimage. See his *Christian Worship*, pp. 490 and 591. Today the manuscript of the *Peregrinatio* is at Arezzo, in the library of the Fraternità di S. Maria, where is also to be found the manuscript of Hilary's *Liber mysteriorum*.

<sup>139</sup> Today in the Vatican Archives.

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sources. Desiderius, at the time of his election, had been a member of Monte Cassino for only three years. Of noble Beneventan birth, endowed with every native gift of personality, taste, and intelligence, he moved in the highest circles of his age until, at forty, he turned to scholarship and pursued his first studies in grammar and rhetoric,<sup>140</sup> spent a year in the University of Salerno, where the teachings of his gifted young teacher, Alphanus, established him permanently on the course of humanistic interest and thus saved him in his future administration from the trend of the period to excessive asceticism under the influence of Peter Damiani.<sup>141</sup>

As abbot, Desiderius was active in reconstructing the shattered monastery, both physically and spiritually. He erected new buildings, he restored observance of the Rule, and he refounded the library, which now had not only a little edifice<sup>142</sup> of its own but a program of book production on a scale never before and never afterward equaled in the abbey's history. Seventy of the books copied at this time are listed by Peter the Deacon in his chronicle. Naturally, theological, scriptural, and liturgical works figure most prominently in this catalogue; but geography, medicine, mathematics, and law are not neglected; works of history occupy an important place, and the numerous copies of the classics are conclusive proof that Desiderius did not consider a decent familiarity with the rules of Donatus incompatible with the strict observance of the Rule of Benedict. Beginning with theology, we find that, as usual, works of Augustine head the list, Ambrose's treatise *On Faith and Sermons* follow, and likewise the *Sermons* of Leo the Great and Severianus. Even two of the Greek fathers—Gregory Nazianzen, and John Chrysostom—are catalogued. Several biblical books were copied, a Psalter, the Pauline Epistles, Proverbs, and, in one volume, Acts, the Canonical Epistles, and the Apocalypse. These were accompanied by numerous commentaries in prose and verse by such writers as St. Augustine,

<sup>140</sup> Amatus, *L'Ystoire de la Normant*, ed. M. Champollion-Figeac, p. 106.

<sup>141</sup> J. A. Endres, "Petrus Damiani und die weltliche Wissenschaft," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, ed. C. Baeumker, VIII (1910), 34-35.

<sup>142</sup> This is the more remarkable in an age when, as the late Professor Haskins says, "library" meant not even a special room much less a special building (*The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, p. 71).

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St. Jerome, Origen, Bede, Berengar, Sedulius, and Juvenius. Liturgical volumes include a bishop's ordinal, a passionary, and antiphonaries for both day and night use in choir. Works such as Gregory of Tours's *History of the Franks*, Josephus' *Wars of the Jews*, Jordanes' *History of the Goths*, Erchempert's continuation of the *History of the Lombards*, the *History of Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, *Lives of the Fathers*, and St. Augustine's *Letters* reveal an interest in general, as well as in local, history. Such archival material as the *Registers* of Pope Leo I and Pope Felix was also copied. Also, several additions were made to the library's already impressive collection of Latin classics: Cicero's *De natura rerum*, *De legibus*, and *De divinatione*; a Vergil; a Terence; a Horace (the only copy noted in the catalogues of Italian libraries in the eleventh century); Seneca's *Dialogues*; Ovid's *Fasti*; Justinian's *Institutes* and *Novels*; Cornelius Nepos; Dares' *History of the Trojan War*; the *Eclogue* of Theodorus; Corippus' *Johannes*; and the *Grammar* of Donatus. Besides, there was copied the religious verse of Arichis and Paulinus of Nola. A geometry and a medicinal complete Peter's catalogue. Elsewhere in the monastery's *Chronicle* we learn that Desiderius also caused to be copied most carefully a book containing the lives of St. Benedict, St. Scholastica, and St. Maurus; a manuscript of the *Rule of St. Benedict*, magnificently illuminated and bound in silver; and several beautiful service books for use in the monastery's new church.

A recent authority has observed that to determine correctly the number of books in a medieval library one should multiply the number given in the catalogues by four, because several works were commonly bound in the same volume. It is very unlikely that the *Chronicle* of Monte Cassino has recorded the complete list of all the wonderful books which Desiderius offered St. Benedict. Unlisted in Peter's catalogue are several important Cassinese manuscripts, variously dated by paleographers as of the second half of the eleventh century or as of the period 1070-1100, whose contents seem to justify their inclusion among the manuscripts of the Desiderian era and whose presence in the library at this time certainly deserves to be noted. These include several famous theological and controversial treatises by St. Augustine, Lactantius' *Divine Institutions*, St. Ambrose's

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*Commentary on the Psalm beati immaculati*, Hrabanus Maurus' *On the Book of Kings*, Cassian's *Collations* and *Institutes*; canonical collections, including the *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms and another compiled from Anselm and Dionysius; such historical works as Justin's *Summary of Trogus Pompeius* and the *Lausiac History* of Palladius; philosophy and science in St. Augustine's *Contra academicos*, Aristotle's *De interpretatione*, his *Arithmetica*, and Gerbert's treatise on *The Division of Numbers*, Porphyry's *Introduction to the Categories of Aristotle*, Paulus of Aegina on the *Care of the Whole Body*, and the Roman geographer Solinus' *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*; such classics as Cicero's *Pro Cluentio*, Macrobius' commentary on the *Dream of Scipio*, a new copy of Varro's *Treatise* on the Latin language, and the Christian poetry of Arator.

The range of the books written under Desiderius suggests a pertinent question. Where did Abbot Desiderius procure the exemplars from which all these copies were made? The exact answer to this question—so far as it may be given—must come from the paleographer rather than the historian; and when it is forthcoming, it will obviously be a contribution of importance to our knowledge of the cultural history of the eleventh century. Unfortunately, the monastery's historians shed little light on this problem, our most important evidence occurring in an acrostic poem written by a Cassinese monk at this time in honor of Desiderius, in a manuscript now in Rome (Vat. Lat. 1202). It tells us that "from regions so various and numerous as the hillsides covered with leaves by the North Wind did he bring various books."<sup>143</sup> Moreover, we know from notes written in some of the Cassinese manuscripts that monks who entered Monte Cassino sometimes brought books with them to the monastery, and that during the rule of Desiderius candidates came from all parts of Italy. Indeed, echoes of the intellectual revival which Monte Cassino was now enjoying were heard even in faraway Hungary and

<sup>143</sup> Neither the prosody or the latinity of this anonymous bard are comparable to his poetic fancy.

"Boreas solet ardua quotquot  
foliis iuga spargere, tot tot  
titulos tulit hic variorum  
varia ex regione librorum."

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Sardinia, and it is not at all improbable that so interesting a manuscript as the eleventh-century Monte Cassino *Vergil* with Servius' *Commentary*, written in script of the Bari type, may have been brought from any one of several Dalmatian centers which are known to have had contacts with the abbey in this period and in which this type of script was common.<sup>144</sup> In view of Desiderius' reputation as a collector of books, some manuscripts may very well have been among the "handsome gifts"<sup>145</sup> which were sent to the monastery in his time by divers kings and nobles in Italy, beyond the Alps, and across the seas. Emperor Henry II is known to have given the abbey a magnificent Gospel book. We also know from Leo Marsicanus that, when "led, as another Queen of Sheba, by the desire of seeing another Solomon and another temple," the pious empress Agnes, mother of Henry IV, paid the monastery a long visit in 1073 and also presented to St. Benedict, among other gifts, a beautiful book of the Gospels with gold and silver binding. Berteaux mentions gifts of similar books to the abbey from Emperor Romanus IV and the citizens of Amalfi.<sup>146</sup> It has also been conjectured by Lowe that two of the monastery's Visigothic manuscripts which have Arabic annotations and which were certainly in southern Italy in the eleventh century may have been presented to the abbey by Normans, who got them from the Saracen scholars of their court.

No small number of accessions to the abbey's library, however, were the results of the literary efforts of certain of the Cassinese monks themselves. Particularly was this the case during the rule of Desiderius. With the notable exception of Leo Marsicanus, the most important of these literary monks came to Monte Cassino as mature men, who were either won over to the monastic life by Desiderius personally, like Alphanus of Salerno, or attracted there by reports of the new abbot's zeal for both sacred and profane studies, like Alberic the Deacon, Amatus, Guaiferius, Pandolf of Capua, and Constantine the African. To these men Monte Cassino was indebted for a rich collection of writings in both prose and verse on such di-

<sup>144</sup> G. Funaioli, "Il Virgilio di Montecassino," in *Casinensia*, II (1930), 388.

<sup>145</sup> Leo Marsicanus, *Chronica monasterii Casinensis* (ed. cit.), p. 722.

<sup>146</sup> E. Berteaux, *L'Art dans l'Italie méridionale*, I, 162.

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verse and numerous subjects as rhetoric, grammar, theology, hagiography, history, mathematics, astronomy, medicine, music, and dialectic. In this literary activity, as in everything else, Desiderius set his monks the example. It appears that he had been abbot for nearly ten years when he studied grammar and rhetoric for the first time; and, fresh from his studies, he composed a chant in honor of St. Maur that was at once a treatise on grammar and music. In the main, however, Desiderius' literary activity was bound up in his cloister. At the request of the brethren he wrote a *Dialogue*<sup>147</sup> in four books on the miracles which, within his own recollection and that of the oldest monks, had been worked at the monastery by St. Benedict. Influenced by his example, Guaiferius and Alphanus<sup>148</sup> composed hymns and accounts of martyrdoms; and even Alberic the Philosopher wrote several works of edification. But this author's writings have still a much wider range. Petrus Diaconus ascribes to him, also, a work on *Astronomy*, a *Dialogue on Music*, and a *Book on Dialectic*. He was, furthermore, a noted controversialist, composing a pamphlet against Henry IV in defense of the election of Gregory VII. Just before the Roman Synod of 1079 he turned his thoughts to theology, and in the space of a week composed a treatise *On the Body of the Lord*, which gave the deathblow to Berengar's ideas, which were considered heresy at the abbey. He likewise wrote a *Dictamen*, which is the best known of the earliest treatises on this new art, and a work on barbarisms, solecisms, tropes, and figures.<sup>149</sup> His other work on rhetorical ornament, *Flores rhetorici*, shows a remarkable background of classical reading. As Haskins has pointed out, Alberic's prose examples are drawn chiefly from Cicero's *In Catilinam* and *Pro Milone* and Sallust's *Catiline* and *Jugurthan War*. These works, it is true, are not listed among the manuscripts of Monte Cassino at this time; but the poetical illustrations which are by far the more numerous are taken mainly from Vergil, Ovid, Lucan, Horace, and Terence, and, as we have seen, Monte Cassino already possessed works of all these

<sup>147</sup> Manitius, *op. cit.*, III, 76.

<sup>148</sup> For the literary activity of Guaiferius, see Petrus Diaconus, *Chronica monasterii Casinensis* (ed. cit.), p. 746. For Alphanus see Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CLXXIII, cols. 1030-31.

<sup>149</sup> C. H. Haskins, "Albericus Casinensis," in *Casinensis*, I (1929), 122.

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authors. There is some evidence, then, that the classics were read, as well as copied, at Monte Cassino in this period; and these copies, too, may reasonably be regarded as the sources for the numerous classical and mythological allusions which are scattered through the elegant verses of Alphanus and Guaiferius.

Other Cassinese monks who took an active part in the intellectual and literary life which blossomed under Desiderius were Amatus, an excellent poet and a gifted prose-writer, who composed a lengthy *History of the Normans*, which he dedicated to Abbot Desiderius, and Pandolf of Capua, who represents the monastery's interest in astronomy and mathematics. He is the author of numerous scientific writings, including treatises on leap year, the four seasons, calculation, and the indictions.

But, of all the Cassinese writers of this period, easily the most arresting figure is that of Constantine the African. Indeed, he is so colorful that he seems to belong to legend rather than to history. Fully imbued with philosophic learning, he was master of the knowledge of both the East and the West, and Petrus Diaconus calls him a "second and splendid Hippocrates." If he really was educated, as Peter says, at Baghdad in the grammar, dialectics, geometry, mathematics, and medicine of the Chaldeans, Saracens, and Egyptians (to say nothing of their music and magic) and had afterward spent years of postgraduate study in India and Ethiopia, then he was surely the wonder of the Western world in his time. Since in Italy he first sojourned at Salerno, he may possibly have been recommended to Desiderius by Alphanus, who was now archbishop of that city. At any rate, he was warmly welcomed into Monte Cassino sometime after 1060; and it was now that he undertook, with the aid probably of two other Cassinese monks, Atto and John, his pupils, the translation "of a great many books from the languages of divers peoples." Since Petrus Diaconus ascribes over twenty works to him, Constantine must have brought with him to Monte Cassino a great many books, although perhaps not exactly seventy-six, as one writer claims.<sup>150</sup> At least some of these were Arabic manuscripts. Thus he translated into Latin, under the title *Pantegni*, the theoretical part of Ali ben Abbas'

<sup>150</sup> C. R. Creutz, *Der Arzt Constantinus Africanus, von Montekassino*.

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encyclopedic treatise on medicine, while the surgical section was continued by his disciple John the Saracen.<sup>151</sup> Petrus Diaconus also states that Constantine translated a work on fevers from the Arabic. Furthermore, in the Preface to his treatise on *Urines*, Constantine states that, finding no satisfactory study of this subject in Latin, he has translated from the Arabic the work which the Jewish physician Isaac had compiled from the ancients.<sup>152</sup> Whatever the ultimate fate of these manuscripts, they did not remain long in Monte Cassino, for after Constantine's death, about 1087, his pupil John took all his master's books to Naples. In the twelfth century the only work of Constantine that appears in the Cassinese catalogue is the treatise *On Surgery*, and the *Pantegni* is not listed until the century following.

While, with the death of Desiderius in 1087, the abbey's "golden age" may be said to come to an end, the subsequent history of Monte Cassino's library is far from a record of decline. In spite of the abbey's adherence to antipope Anacletus II in 1130 and its subsequent loss of prestige when Innocent II finally triumphed, and despite the attacks and plunderings to which it was subjected as an imperial fief from hostile kings of Sicily, Desiderius' influence long persisted in the literary interests of his successors. Monte Cassino continued to be the center of active and distinguished literary production until the middle of the twelfth century; and even then, when the monks ceased to write, the catalogues bear eloquent witness that they continued to read. Oderisius, the immediate successor of Desiderius, commissioned Leo Marsicanus, a monk who had been reared in the abbey, to relate the deeds of all the abbots of Monte Cassino from St. Benedict to his own day, but especially the deeds and times of his glorious predecessor Desiderius. Undoubtedly, Oderisius also intended that this work should serve to support the monastery's claims to the many grants and privileges which had been bestowed by emperors, dukes, and princes during its long career. The result, as is well known, was the greatest literary work produced at Monte Cassino, and indeed one of the best chronicles written in the whole of the Mid-

<sup>151</sup> G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, II, 65, 135.

<sup>152</sup> L. Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, p. 750.



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dle Ages, unrivaled in its Latinity and in its rich material concerning the history of medieval art. For Oderisius, Leo Marsicanus also composed a *Life of St. Menatis*. The learned Bruno of Segni, abbot of Monte Cassino from 1107 to 1111, contributed several volumes of commentaries on Scripture, besides sixty-nine sermons and one hundred and fifty-five homilies.<sup>153</sup> At the order of Abbot Girard (1111-23) the Cassinese priest Guido committed to writing the *Vision* of Alberic the Monk, a work which strikingly anticipates the *Divine Comedy* of Dante; while abbots Oderisius II, Seniorectus, Cardinal Raynald, and Wibald all employed the literary talents of Petrus Diaconus, who has been called "the last striking figure in the literary annals of Monte Cassino." He was an uncommonly productive writer. Many of his works are hagiographical or devotional in character. But he also wrote much on classical antiquity: a *History of Rome*, a *Catalogue of the Kings, Consuls, Dictators and Emperors or the History of the Trojan Race from Noah* to his own times. Even natural science claimed his attention, and his works in this field include *Of Precious Stones*, dedicated to Conrad III, and an *Astronomy*, which he compiled from older writers. He is also the author of a writer's manual, the *Liber notarum*. But, of all his writings, by far the most important are the *Continuation of Leo Marsicanus' Chronicle of the Monastery of Monte Cassino*, undertaken by order of Cardinal-Abbot Raynald, the *Book of Famous Men of the Monastery of Monte Cassino*, and his *Registers* of Cassinese documents.

So voluminous were Petrus' writings, and so many sided, that they may explain why so comparatively few older or contemporary works were copied at Monte Cassino in the twelfth century. Altogether the library has only forty such manuscripts of this period, and yet a record of their titles adds much that is interesting and important to Petrus' account of Cassinese culture at this time. Thus, if we except the Bible and the works of St. Augustine and Gregory the Great, few writings exerted a greater influence on the intellectual life of the twelfth century than the *Code of Justinian*, Gratian's *Decretals*, and Peter Abelard's *Sic et non*. Monte Cassino's possession by the first half of the century of at least the first two of these works affords

<sup>153</sup> Petrus Diaconus, *Chronica monasterii Casinensis* (ed. cit.), p. 777.

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some ground for the assumption that, even if the monastery had fallen from its position of leadership in the world of thought, it was still keeping itself abreast to a certain extent with the chief intellectual currents of the times. Furthermore, these accessions, together with new copies of the *Decretals*, an *Epitome of Canons*, and the *Laws of the Lombards*, are interesting witnesses that the great monastic foundations, no less than the imperial, papal, and episcopal courts, were looking more and more to the law, whether Roman, canon, or local, not only to defend their property rights but also to define and maintain their ecclesiastical prerogatives. Apart from this fact, if we also remember that the Abbot of Monte Cassino was a great prince, administering justice even in criminal cases, retaining advocates to defend the monastery's rights, and appointing local judges in the lands of the abbey, a utilitarian motive can be seen in the acquisition of a strong legal library.

On the other hand, only one book of theological *Sentences* is listed throughout the century. That the "New Theology" should be so late in arriving at the monastery is an occasion for some surprise, as such literature was passing from France into Italy as early as the second decade of the twelfth century.<sup>154</sup> Still, the old Benedictines were never destined to play an important role in the history of Scholasticism, and the theological tastes of the Cassinese of the twelfth century were especially conservative. They still preferred to read the older authors. Yet, more recent writers, such as Bruno of Segni and Peter Damiani, were not wholly neglected; and the monks even possessed a copy of Gilbert de la Porrée's *Concordance of the Epistles of St. Paul*. Save for Peter's treatises, no new scientific works are listed; but a continued interest in history, general as well as local, is indicated by the recopying of such excellent works as Bede and Leo Marsicanus and an anonymous *History of the Recovery of Jerusalem*.

The presence of a *Greek Lexicon* among the abbey's twelfth-century books is hardly proof by itself that the study of Greek engaged the attention of the monks, though it might denote a growing curiosity as to the contents of such few Greek manuscripts as they pos-

<sup>154</sup> C. H. Haakins, *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*, p. 174.

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sessed. But ample evidence of their continued interest in the literature of ancient Rome is to be found in such notable accessions as Lucan's *Civil War*, the twelve books of Statius' *Thebaid*, Cicero's *Philippics*, *Scipio's Dream*, the *O Roma nobilis*, Vegetius, and Frontinus. Here mention should also be made of Petrus Diaconus' copies of Cicero's *Synonyma*, of Solinus' *On the Marvels of the World*, as well as of his *Summary of Vitruvius on Architecture*.

Of the new service books and biblical manuscripts three are especially worthy of remark—the beautiful *Breviary*, which compares favorably with the best manuscripts of the Desiderian scriptorium, the fine Bible by the scribe Ferro, and the same monk's *Gloss on Exodus*, written in the time of Abbot Theodinus (1167).

In the great struggle for supremacy between popes and Hohenstaufen which filled so much of the thirteenth century, Monte Cassino was caught in the impossible situation of the servant with two masters. Although the abbey was an imperial fief, from the outset most of the monks were uncompromising in their support of the papacy, and in consequence the monastery was severely punished. Monte Cassino was looted by Frederick II's troops in 1224; the monks were expelled in 1239; and Manfred and Conrad used it for a fortress. There is little reason to doubt Abbot Bernard Ayglerius' description of it at the time of Charles of Anjou's conquest as a "den of thieves."<sup>155</sup>

Still, for half the century, perhaps, conditions at Monte Cassino were not unfavorable to the copying of manuscripts, and this is proved by the fact that exclusive of registers, some one hundred and thirty-five volumes were added to the library in this period. The Abbey had undergone a reformation in 1215; the new abbot, Stephen I. (1215-27), was a lover of letters no less than of virtue.<sup>156</sup> The excellence of the monastery's school up to the expulsion of 1239 is shown not so much by its attraction of the sons of the great Sicilian nobles as by its ability to count among those who had "been introduced to the Latin tongue by the writings of St. Gregory, St. Jerome,

<sup>155</sup> A. Caravita, *I codici e le arti a Montecassino*, I, 318.

<sup>156</sup> "Vir non minus studii quam honestatis amator." On Abbot Stephen, see *Ryccardi de S. Germano chronica priora adiectis eiusdem Ryccardi chronicis posterioribus*, ed. A. Gaudenzi, p. 89.

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and St. Augustine and covered the classic road of the trivium" such distinguished alumni as Richard of San Germano and Thomas of Aquino.<sup>157</sup> Theological studies, especially, prospered under the instruction of Monk Erasmus,<sup>158</sup> the "most eminent theologian of the Cassinese school," whose reputation for learning in sacred science was such that he was called to the chair of theology in the University of Naples about 1240. Furthermore, after the French conquest, monastic discipline was effectively restored by Bernard Ayglerius (1269-82), one of the greatest abbots of Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages.<sup>159</sup> Himself a scholarly theologian, on cordial terms with the followers of St. Dominic, a friend and correspondent of Thomas Aquinas, it is not surprising that the monastery's collection of thirteenth-century manuscripts should reveal a keen interest in Scholasticism. The notable accessions to the abbey's collection of legal works probably reflect less the efforts of the house to regain its sequestered possessions than its deep interest in one of the chief intellectual preoccupations of the age.

But no branch of learning was really neglected. Natural science was represented by the remarkable versified *Bestiary* of Bishop Theobald, Erasmus *On the Properties of Light*, medicine by Serapion and William of Piacenza, and logic by Petrus Hispanus. Interest in the classics, too, was maintained. Tacitus was read,<sup>160</sup> a new copy was made of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, and a second copy of Statius' *Thebaid* is listed, while Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* now appears for the first time. Christian Latin poetry appears in writings by Prosper and Peter Riga.

A review of the library's fortunes in the fourteenth century will conclude our story. The period was glorious in the history of Italian art and literature, but Monte Cassino had small share in this glory. Whether we accept the account of Boccaccio of how he had found

<sup>157</sup> Guillaume de Tocco, *Saint Thomas d'Aquin, sa vie*, ed. Pègues and Maguart, p. 29.

<sup>158</sup> M. Grabmann, *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben*, p. 251.

<sup>159</sup> Dom M. Inguanes, "Chronologia degli Abati Cassinesi del secolo XIII," *Casinensia*, II (1930), 435.

<sup>160</sup> On the interest in Tacitus at Monte Cassino in the thirteenth century see E. A. Lowe, "The Unique Manuscript of Tacitus' Histories," *Casinensia*, I (1929), 270.

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the library open, grass growing through the windows, the books and benches piled high with dust, or take the more modern view that this story is an apologetic fiction to justify his theft of the precious manuscripts of Tacitus and Varro, other evidence is not wanting to show that the library suffered greatly in the course of this century from its visitors, if not from the monks themselves. Twice the abbey was sacked, once by the soldiery of Ludovic of Hungary and again by the bandits of Jacopo di Pignatoro. In a bull of February 17, 1367, Pope Urban V lamented the sacrilegious spoliation of the monastery and the looting of its library; and ten years later Gregory XI, too, inveighed against those who had presumed and still did not fear to carry off the monastery's books.<sup>161</sup> Furthermore, on September 9, 1349, there occurred at Monte Cassino a great earthquake;<sup>162</sup> the magnificent structures erected by Desiderius in the eleventh century were completely destroyed, the library among the others, and the manuscripts must for some time have been exposed to great danger.

Still, in spite of all discouragements, the monks continued to copy or otherwise acquire books, for Monte Cassino today has over one hundred manuscripts of this century.<sup>163</sup> Most of these were apparently for the use of the monastery's oblates in their studies of the trivium and quadrivium as well as of philosophy and theology. At such intervals of peace as the abbey enjoyed toward the end of the century—thanks to the efforts of Pope Urban V, Pope Gregory IX, and Abbot Peter de Tartaris (1374–95)—the study of grammar must have flourished, for six grammatical treatises are numbered among the Cassinese manuscripts of this period. Natural science, which at this time included physics and metaphysics and such a related subject as medicine, also engaged the attention of the monks. For the first time the “natural books” of Aristotle appear in the abbey's library, although his right to a halo and his heavenly inspiration had long since been admitted. Raymond Lull's *De anima rationali* was also read, and on medicine a treatise of Galen. Mathematics was

<sup>161</sup> Minozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

<sup>162</sup> Caravita, *op. cit.*, II, 136–37.

<sup>163</sup> For a list of the monastery's fourteenth-century manuscripts see *ibid.*, pp. 367 ff., and Minozzi, *op. cit.*, pp. 78 ff.

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represented by the thirteen books of Euclid's *Elements*, while legal studies continued popular as ever, and the classics were not neglected. In the first half of the fourteenth century Giovanni Cavellini de Cerroni, papal scribe and canon of Santa Maria Rotonda at Rome, affirmed that at Monte Cassino were also to be found the book of Livy *On the First Punic War* and the six books of Tully *On the Republic*.<sup>164</sup> Significant at a time when renewed interest in the literature of ancient Greece was being manifested by humanists like Petrarch and Boccaccio is the presence of the 24 books of Homer's *Iliad with Scholiasts*. Nor may we pass over Monte Cassino Codex 379, written in the hand of a copyist of the north of France, as French manuscripts preserved in southern Italy are not numerous. Besides the poem of *Barlaam and Josaphat*, it contains some of the most beautiful French moral poetry of the thirteenth century, the charming *Symbolism of Flowers* and a *Miracle of the Virgin* done into old French by Gaultier de Coincy from the Latin of Vincent of Beauvais.

It is clear that, in addition to his other functions, the Abbot of Monte Cassino himself was the head librarian in the fullest sense of the word. He not only encouraged original writings and commissioned the copying of books, but he had charge of the building which housed them and he accepted gifts of books on behalf of the community. Furthermore, while the other monks might not have any possessions, the abbot could and did have books of his own, also the power to dispose of them as he saw fit. To the custom of making marginal notes we are indebted for some valuable information on the abbey's library. Codex 57 contains a list of the books copied by order of Theobald, and Codex 390 an incomplete list of the library. One item in this list written in a thirteenth-century hand shows that the custom of lending books at Monte Cassino dates at least from this period.

Southern Italy, since Justinian's conquest of the peninsula, was a bicultural and a bilingual land. Though the Byzantine Empire had soon lost control of central and northern Italy, it held possession of southern Italy until the Norman conquest in the eleventh century. Here Hellenism, through Greek civil and military officials and Greek

<sup>164</sup> Cited by Minozzi, *op. cit.*, I, 73, n. 4.

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monks, had been imposed upon the earlier Latin culture. In the ninth century Duke Sergius I of Naples was able to translate from Greek into Latin, and vice versa.<sup>165</sup> He must have been a bookish man, and the tradition of his family had run that way for several generations. In 942 Archpresbyter Leo of Naples was sent as ambassador by Duke John and Duke Marinus to Constantinople. Apparently, he was also commissioned to look for Greek books, for he returned with the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, the old Alexandrian romance, as well as Hegesippus and Dionysius the Areopagite. Later Leo translated the Alexander story into Latin, and his manuscript is now in the cathedral library of Bamberg.<sup>166</sup> We have no other information concerning books at the Neapolitan court after the time of Duke John. The library history of Lower Italy henceforth belongs solely to the Greek monasteries in the south until the establishment of Norman power there in the eleventh century.

By the twelfth century Norman Italy and Sicily vied with France in intellectual culture. Here Latin, French, Greek, and Arabic currents of thought met. Unfortunately, while we know much of the intellectual history of Norman Italy,<sup>167</sup> there is little positive information about its libraries. But Roger II (1130-54) received an education far superior to that usually given other princes in western Europe at this time,<sup>168</sup> and he must have possessed a library of some dimension. From Roger II to Frederick II the Sicilian kings were, without exception, praised for their intelligence and education. Yet no catalogue is known even of Frederick II's library. However, science, philosophy, contemporary literature, and law, but apparently few or no classics, must all have been represented in Latin, Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, Italian, and French. A copy of Ptolemy's *Almagest* was brought to Sicily as a present from the Byzantine emperor, and we know that both the Byzantine court and that at Palermo were deeply interested in astronomy and astrology. Early manuscripts on al-

<sup>165</sup> *Vita Athanasii* in MGH, *Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum*, p. 441.

<sup>166</sup> O. Hartwig, "Die Uebersetzungsliteratur Unteritaliens in der normannisch-stauffischen Epoche," *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, III (1886), 164.

<sup>167</sup> C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science*, p. 190.

<sup>168</sup> E. Caspar, *Roger II und die Gründung der normannisch-sicilianischen Monarchie*, p. 38.

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chemy mention Emperor Manuel; so it seems probable that they were brought to Sicily during his reign. A celebrated letter of the emperor Frederick II speaks of the treasures of ancient lore which were in his library.<sup>169</sup> The fate of this precious collection is unknown. Frederick II's crown, treasure, and some of his books were captured before Parma in February, 1248. Among the manuscripts which disappeared was his own copy of the *De arte venandi*, of which he was the author. The major portion of the collection probably was the spoil of Charles of Anjou in 1268. Some of the Greek books, as we have seen, perhaps formed the nucleus of the Greek collections of the Vatican. Charles of Anjou, like Frederick II and Manfred before him, maintained a staff of copyists, illuminators, bookbinders, etc., and, like them, was primarily interested in science, especially in medicine. The names of his librarians can be established, but not the titles of many of his books.<sup>170</sup>

<sup>169</sup> C. B. Jourdain, *Influence d'Aristote et de ses interprètes sur la découverte du nouveau monde*, p. 156. On Frederick II see H. Niese, "Zur Geschichte des geistigen Lebens am Hofe Kaiser Friedrichs II," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CVIII (1912), 473 ff. As an example of Frederick II's wide intellectual interest, it may be said that he caused a book to be compiled upon the prophecies of Merlin in French literature, which was then turned into Arabic and sent as a present to the sultan of Egypt.

<sup>170</sup> O. Hartwig, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-88. Two codices in the Vatican—Urbjn. Lat. 237 and 239—are Books i-xi and xiv-xxv of the *Elhawi* of Rasis, which Faragut is said to have translated from Arabic into Latin for Charles of Anjou. Cf. L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, II, 757, n. 1.



## CHAPTER VI

### Libraries of Medieval Germany

MEDIEVAL Germany had over a thousand monasteries, many of which possessed at least a few books. Most of these monastic libraries declined; in the course of three centuries St. Emmeram lost more than half its books, and Blaubeuren about three-fourths.<sup>1</sup> The glory of the first great monasteries in Germany—Fulda, Reichenau, St. Gall, Corvey—departed when the Carolingian renaissance faded. An interest in education and scholarship still continued in the Saxon and Salian period (919–1125); but few new books were acquired, and fewer original works were written. For the most part, monks were content with what was already in their library. The explanation of this decline is not wholly to be ascribed to their poverty.<sup>2</sup> With few exceptions, as Corvey under Widukind, Reichenau under Hermann the lame, and St. Gall under Ekkehard IV and Ekkehard of Aura, the monasteries had ceased to be intellectual centers; in this they were increasingly supplanted by the episcopal schools.

The German monasteries profited little from their revived contacts with Italy.<sup>3</sup> What sort of books the monk of Fulda was sent to Rome in 1054 to transcribe it is impossible to say definitely, but it

<sup>1</sup> For a brief summary see G. Kohfeldt, "Zur Geschichte der Büchersammlungen und des Bücherbesitzes in Deutschland," *Zeitschrift für Kulturgeschichte*, VII (1900), 325–88.

<sup>2</sup> For the *Klosterpolitik* of Henry II and Conrad II, by which enormous tracts of land were taken from the monasteries, see my *Feudal Germany*, pp. 62–72.

<sup>3</sup> "In Italy there never ceased to be schools conducted by laymen for laymen, where instruction in matters profane and secular was imparted and received for the sake of its profane and secular value, without regard to its utility for the saving of souls. There was no barbaric contempt for letters, nor did the laity fear them as a spiritual peril" (H.O. Taylor, *The Medieval Mind*, I, 249 f.).

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may be inferred that they were title deeds or canons, and not literary sources.

Although we lack a library catalogue, internal evidence in the works of authors who were inmates of Corvey<sup>4</sup> justifies us in concluding that Corvey did not succumb to sloth and indifference to the degree that Reichenau and St. Gall had. Saxon Germany was energetic in the high Middle Ages. Just before the great raid of the Hungarians in 919<sup>5</sup> Abbot Bovo (900–916) composed a treatise on meter, based upon Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae*, Macrobius' *Somnium Scipionis*, and Servius' *Commentary on Vergil*, so that these works must have been in the library. He was distinguished for his knowledge of Greek and aroused general astonishment when he was able to interpret a Greek writing when Konrad I visited the monastery, probably in 913.<sup>6</sup> By the time of Otto the Great (936–73) Corvey had largely recovered.<sup>7</sup> Widukind, the first Saxon historian, writing about 968, evidently knew Bede, Paul the Deacon, Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, and Einhard, besides Sallust, Livy, Lucan, and Josephus.<sup>8</sup> Henry II (1002–24) presented to Corvey, Eutropius and Vegetius in Beneventan script, which doubtless were fruits of his third Italian expedition. Another evidence of book relations with Italy is the eleventh-century Monte Cassino text of Widukind's *Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum*, manifestly transcribed from a Corvey example. Whether the copious theological collection which Paschasius Rotbertus had used in the ninth century survived after the Hungarian invasion cannot be determined. Perhaps it did, for about 1075 Adam of Bremen quoted from Bovo's *De sui temporis actis*, his *Vita S. Rimberti*, and the old *Annals of Corvey*.

<sup>4</sup> F. Behrend, "Corvey im Spiegel seiner Büchersammlungen," *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, N.F., XV (1923), 11 ff.; P. Lehmann, "Corveyer Studien," *Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil.-hist. Kl.), XXX (1919), Abh. 5; W. Weinberger, "Beiträge zur Handschriften II," *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, 1909; K. Loeffler, "Die Bibliotheken von Korvei," *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, N.F., X (1918–19), 136 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Monumenta Corbeiensia*, ed. P. Jaffé, I, 35.

<sup>6</sup> W. Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, I, 255.

<sup>7</sup> *Vita Meinweri* xlix; *MGH, Scriptores*, XI, 40.

<sup>8</sup> J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, I, 505.

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For the latter part of the eleventh century there are several references to books at Corvey. In 1085 the *Liber canonum* of Bernhard of Constance was available there, though the manuscript had probably been transcribed at Hildesheim. In this period Corvey espoused the Hirsau (Cluniac) monastic reform and probably acquired a good deal of propagandistic literature.<sup>9</sup> Abbot Markward in 1086 sent a monk named Windolf to reform Pegau near Merseburg, "plurimis etiam necessariis donatur est ac inter cetera his libris: antiphonario et graduali, libello missali, regula et psalterio, quae usque hodie apud nos perdurant."<sup>10</sup>

In the first quarter of the twelfth century Ekkehard of Aura completed the great *Chronicon universale* and gave a copy to Corvey.<sup>11</sup> Ekkehard also persuaded his friend Rupert of Deutz to present his *Commentary on the Minor Prophets*.<sup>12</sup> Abbot Wibald (1146-58) encouraged scholars to visit Corvey. To one correspondent he wrote, inviting him "to look through and to read through not only our books, but also the single sheets and fragments we have. I wish that we might share this pleasure with one another in peace, quiet and leisure. For is there any greater happiness in life?"<sup>13</sup> Wibald was interested in the classics and asked Reinald of Dassel to lend some works of Cicero from the library at Hildesheim. In reply Reinald wittily wrote:

Though you desire to have the books of Tully, I know that you are a Christian and not a Ciceronian. You go over to the camp of the enemy, not as a deserter but as a spy. I should, therefore, have sent you the books of Tully which we have, *De lege agraria*, *Philippics* and *Letters*, but that it is not our custom that any books should be lent to any person without good pledges. Send us, therefore, the *Noctes Atticae* of Aulus Gellius and Origen *On the Canticles*.<sup>14</sup>

To this Wibald rejoined that Cicero was intended as a mere intellectual recreation, and sent him Origen and, in the absence of Aulus Gellius, a book on tactics. Like so many other of the older German

<sup>9</sup> See my *Feudal Germany*, pp. 119-22.

<sup>10</sup> Lehmann, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>11</sup> *Epistola ad Erkembertum Corbeiensem abbatem*, in *MGH, Scriptores*, VI, 10.

<sup>12</sup> A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, IV, 419.

<sup>13</sup> Loeffler, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

<sup>14</sup> *Monumenta Corbeiensia*, I, 326.

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monasteries, Corvey faded out of the picture in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. In the late Renaissance it suddenly flared into prominence with the discovery, in 1509, of the first six books of Tacitus' *Annals*.<sup>15</sup>

Fulda<sup>16</sup> in the great days of Rabanus Maurus had filled all Germany with light, but the glow faded toward the end of the ninth century, and thereafter the information concerning its library is meager.<sup>17</sup> For the twelfth century there is a brief list of 85 books of routine ecclesiastical literature, without a single classical work. The library must have lain almost unused and neglected for generations until the manuscript-hunteres in the fifteenth century exploited its treasures.<sup>18</sup> Abbot Johann von Merlan took a considerable number of books with him to the Council of Constance in 1415, which apparently were not returned. Later, the Peasants' War, in 1525, further damaged the collection.

Not nearly so many tenth-century manuscripts from Fulda sur-

<sup>15</sup> Sandys, *op. cit.*, I, 663.

<sup>16</sup> P. Lehmann, "Fuldaer Studien," *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil.-hist. Kl.), 1925, Abh. 3; 1927, Abh. 2. These articles contain the latest material on the library of Fulda. F. Falk, in "Beiträge zur Rekonstruktion der alten Bibliotheca fuldensis und Bibliotheca laureshamensis" and "Der fuldaer Handschriften-Katalog aus dem 16. Jahrhundert," ed. C. Scherer, *Beihefte zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XXVI (1902), has the best general description of the founding of Fulda monastery and the development of its library.

<sup>17</sup> Arnulf of Carinthia, who deposed Charles the Fat in 887, was wholly illiterate; yet he once borrowed a copy of the Gospels from Fulda library, which Abbot Huggi had difficulty in recovering (E. L. Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, III, 477). Apparently he borrowed it to have it copied. Conrad I later borrowed a copy of the Gospels from St. Emmeram in Regensburg which Arnulf had given to it (MGH, *Scriptores*, IV, 551). The *Adversaria* attributed to Liutprand of Cremona, from which A. Ruland ("Die Bibliothek des alten Benedictiner Stifts zu Fulda," *Serapeum*, September 30, 1859) copiously cites, is, according to Loeffler and Falk, a seventeenth-century forgery and, like the *Chronicon a. 606 ad 960*, probably a fabrication of the Spaniard Geronimo Roman de la Higuera. The list of works cited by Marianus Scotus in his *Chronica* is little more reliable, for, although Marianus worked for a time at Fulda, most of his study was pursued at Mainz. His *Chronica*, therefore, is a better reflection of the Mainz library than that at Fulda. Brower has listed these books in Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXLVII, col. 623. Cf. M. Manitius, *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XXXVI (1911), 755 ff.

<sup>18</sup> K. Loeffler, "Die fuldaer Klosterbibliothek," *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, N.F., X (1918), 194-202. The Fulda books are now widely scattered. Some of the most precious are in the Laudian Collection in the Bodleian, others in the Harleian Collection in the British Museum; cf. P. Lehmann, *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, April 20, 1930, p. 166.

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vive as ninth-century ones, and most of them are service books. In Bamberg there is the Gregorian *Sacramentarium* with miniatures like those of the Göttingen Codex, the most important in Germany. At Karlsruhe there is a collection of the *Letters of Boniface*; and in Cassel, a Donatus manuscript. In Rome there is a *Sacramentarium* and two copies of the *Martyrologium Benedictinum Fuldense*; in Vercelli since the twelfth century, an interesting *Sacramentarium* which Abbot Erkambald (997-1011) lent Bishop Heinrich von Würzburg. There are also a few eleventh-century service books in other libraries. Of classical works, Cassel has a twelfth-century Fulda copy of Cicero's *De inventione* and Boethius' *De differentiis et de divisione*, and a thirteenth-century fragment of Cicero's *De officiis* in a beautiful minuscule hand. According to most writers, the Fulda catalogue of the sixteenth century (*ca.* 1561)<sup>19</sup> is really a medieval list with the addition of a few later books.

The history of Reichenau library<sup>20</sup> in the feudal age is less inglorious than that of Fulda, but there is nothing notable in it. Reichenau lay directly on one of the most frequently traveled pilgrim routes to Rome; and there was probably no lack of Irish monks, even though they have left no memorials.<sup>21</sup> In the tenth century there was a school of illuminators in the scriptorium, but they worked only on service books. In 1006, under Abbot Immo, part of the library, at least, was destroyed by fire. But evidently reparation was soon made, for under Abbot Bern (1000-1048) "many beautiful books" were made. He himself wrote three works on music and the art of singing, also a *Vita Oudalrici*. He borrowed Cicero's *Philippica* and a commentary on his *Topica* from St. Gall, offering to lend, in return, Cicero's *Rhetorica* and the *Commentary of Victorinus*. The learned works of Hermann Contractus (d. 1054) show that Reiche-

<sup>19</sup> Published by C. Sherer in Falk, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-112. This has already been discussed briefly in chap. iv, and further notes on its content are given by M. Manitius, "Zu Johannes Scottus und zur Bibliothek Fuldas," *Neues Archiv der deutschen Geschichtskunde*, XXXIV (1908-9), 759-62.

<sup>20</sup> A. Holder, *Die reichenauer Handschriften*; K. Beyerle (ed.), *Die Kultur der Abtei Reichenau*; W. Brambach, *Die Handschriften der grossherzoglich badischen Hof- und Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe*, I, 18-19; K. Loeffler, *Deutsche Klosterbibliotheken*, pp. 105-17.

<sup>21</sup> Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, I, 286.

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nau must have had a substantial library in the eleventh century; but the only list is that of Egon, which is of liturgical books in expensive bindings. Apparently, there was no effective librarian. For later history we have only occasional information. Two books of St. Augustine were lent to St. Gall in the twelfth century, and there was an exchange of books with Constance in the thirteenth. Careless administration of the library is shown by the fact that the memorandum of this loan was made on the flyleaf of a manuscript of Augustine. It reads:

Iste est Sancte Maria Virginis in Augia maiori prestitus fratribus Sancti Augustini in Constancia et VI alii videlicet':

Liber missalis et

Plenarium veteris scripturae et

Origines super Exodum Genesim et Leviticum et

Rabanus super Ieremiam

Ieronimus super Matheum et

Graduale usuale.

So far as we know, these books were never returned.

The history of the old Irish foundation of St. Gall<sup>22</sup> in the feudal age is better documented than most of the other ancient Benedictine houses in Germany, though we have no longer the copious catalogues of the ninth century.<sup>23</sup> Its history, however, was not fortunate. In 924 Bavaria and Swabia suffered from an inroad of the Hungarians. Abbot Engelbert saved the library by sending it to Reichenau; but when the danger had passed, Reichenau, while it returned the same number of volumes, in many cases did not return the same books. Presumably, it retained the more valuable of the manuscripts.<sup>24</sup> Another misfortune was fire. On April 25, 937, an angry student set

<sup>22</sup> F. Weidmann, *Geschichte der Bibliothek von St. Gallen*; J. M. Clark, *The Abbey of St. Gall as a Centre of Literature and Art*.

<sup>23</sup> In 1840 there was published in *Serapeum* a transcript of a ninth-century library catalogue then in possession of the German scholar Lassberg. This was supposed, on its first publication, to be the catalogue either of the cathedral library at Constance or of St. Gall. Since then, Blass has pointed out that it cannot have come from either of these places (though Manitius still speaks of it as the Constance catalogue), nor even from Reichenau. Yet, features of the catalogue connect it with the neighborhood of St. Gall and Constance. The real importance of the catalogue is that it shows that Statius' *Silvae* was known in the ninth century in the region where Poggio in the fifteenth century recovered this author.

<sup>24</sup> Ekkehard IV *Casus S. Galli* 3.

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fire to the library, and many books were destroyed.<sup>25</sup> Emperor Otto II (973-83), who was an educated man, once borrowed several books from St. Gall, which he later returned when requested to do so by Ekkehard IV, the historian.<sup>26</sup> St. Gall exerted influence elsewhere; its provost Notker became bishop of Liège in 972; two Ekkehards went from St. Gall to Mainz. There was much intercourse with Weissenburg in Alsace and with Strassburg, especially under Bishop Erchenbald (965-91). The latter had a scholarly education, wrote verses, and was zealous on behalf of the library, for which he had books copied.<sup>27</sup> Most active in promoting the library in this period was Abbot Burkhard II (1001-22). Under him a number of standard works, including the Bible and some of Aristotle, were translated into German. To him also were due the acquisition of Horace, Lucian, Sallust, Ovid, Juvenal, Boethius' treatise on Cicero's *Topica*, Haimo of Halberstadt's *Commentary on Isaiah*, and some splendidly executed liturgical books.

After the death of Abbot Norbert, in 1072, and the outbreak of the war of investiture, St. Gall declined intellectually. The rival parties fought for the abbatial office and seized the monastery lands, reducing the inmates to penury. The valuable library dwindled; it suffered from theft and neglect and finally was stored in an attic.<sup>28</sup> A melancholy relic of this decadence is probably found in the Vulgate Gospels, still at St. Gall.<sup>29</sup> This little vellum book of about A.D. 500, in a semiuncial hand of unusual legibility, has had a varied history. It is much older than St. Gall itself, like the fourth-century Vergil<sup>30</sup> in capital letters. We do not know how or when it and the many other treasures once in St. Gall came there. Some reforming librarian, more interested in the covers of his books than in their contents, con-

<sup>25</sup> This may be erroneous, however. Pius Kolb says that the armarium was burned but the books were saved. With this T. von Arx (*Geschichte des Cantons St. Gallen*, I, 217) agrees.

<sup>26</sup> Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, I, 258.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 398-99.

<sup>28</sup> W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, p. 493.

<sup>29</sup> *The Oldest Manuscript of the Vulgate Gospels*, deciphered and edited, with an Introduction and Appendix, by C. H. Turner (Oxford, 1931).

<sup>30</sup> See Sandys, *op. cit.*, I, 635; for facsimile see E. M. Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography*, p. 185.

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ceived the idea of rebinding the collection, and unfortunately used some of the oldest and most valuable relics of antiquity in his library for flyleaves. But at the end of the eighteenth century another librarian, "noticing that many of the MSS under his charge had guard-leaves of the same ancient type . . . made it his business to detach them from their surroundings, to mount them, and to arrange them in their original order in a volume now catalogued under the number St. Gall 1395." Even so, the precious Vergil is only a fragment. Traube found two leaves in Carinthia, where they remain; and possibly others may be discovered elsewhere in books of St. Gall scattered after the rebinding.

The thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries were a period of darkness in St. Gall. Abbot Rumo von Ramstein (1274-81) could not even write.<sup>31</sup> The only two abbots of the thirteenth century who exhibited the slightest intellectual interest were Ulrich VI (1204-20) and Conrad von Bussnang (1226-39), under whom Cicero's *Rhetorica*, Ovid, and a commentary on Horace's *Poetics* were transcribed. Other acquisitions were chiefly biblical and liturgical works. One of the most beautiful codices still preserved at St. Gall—it is of the thirteenth century—was neither written there nor acquired in the Middle Ages. It is one of the three best texts of the *Nibelungenlied* and contains also Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* and other early German poetry. It once belonged to the eminent Swiss historian Tschudi and came to St. Gall in 1768 among other manuscripts. How he came into possession of this precious codex is not known.<sup>32</sup>

The Bavarian monastery of Tegernsee, founded in 756, had not been remarkable during the Carolingian period or in the ninth century.<sup>33</sup> In the early tenth century much of its land was secularized, and the house was burned by the Hungarians. Nevertheless, the institution continued courageously. The *Letters* of Wigo<sup>34</sup> (d. 980)

<sup>31</sup> Von Arx, *op. cit.*, I, 471.

<sup>32</sup> G. Scherer (ed.), *Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek von St. Gallen* (Halle, 1875); H. Brauer, *Die Bücherei von St. Gallen und das althochdeutsche Schrifttum* (Halle, 1926).

<sup>33</sup> Loeffler, *Deutsche Klosterbibliotheken*, p. 183.

<sup>34</sup> Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXXXVII, cols. 9-16.



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show that the monks sometimes lacked food and clothing. Naturally, also, there were few books. But Wigo borrowed them. Prosperous days came with the Ottos. In 982 Gozbert, from St. Emmeram in Regensburg, began to revive learning and to collect books for the library.<sup>35</sup> Statius, Persius, Horace, Cicero's *Letters*, Boethius, and Priscian were read and copied.<sup>36</sup> Grammatical and theological studies flourished under Wolfgang, who died as bishop of Regensburg in 994. In the next century came two distinguished scholars, Othloh and Froumundus, the former a mystic and the latter a lover of the classics.<sup>37</sup> We find Froumundus on one occasion writing for a copy of Horace, and at another for Statius, apparently in order to check or to complete his own copies, and referring to Juvenal and Persius.<sup>38</sup> His motto was: "Discere decrevi libros aliosque docere." A number of manuscripts in his hand exist with signed *incipits*. Froumundus became a teacher in the monastery and was one of its first important authors and poets.

Tegernsee was especially noted for its collection of folk legends and songs. In the library was a small German book of Count Ernest which contained many selections from the *Ruotlieb*. From the time of Froumund the scriptorium became the center of regular commercial trade. Its parchment and ink were especially good; so kings and bishops frequently ordered books copied there. Ellinger, afterward abbot (1019-56), was a skilled copyist and illuminator. Another famous scribe was Othloh, who says of himself:

While I was yet a boy I worked so hard at writing there that I nearly lost my sight. . . . Then after I came to be a monk in the monastery of St. Emmeram I was soon induced . . . to occupy myself so much in writing that I seldom got any rest except on festivals and at such times as work could not be performed.<sup>39</sup>

The abbot Seifried (1048-68) wrote Bishop William of Utrecht that the books he asked for could not be copied because the scribes were

<sup>35</sup> G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, No. 39; Hauck, *op. cit.*, III, 380.

<sup>36</sup> Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* was copied by Froumund in Cologne; glosses to Priscian were copied in Feuchtwangen and in St. Pantaleon (Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, I, 403).

<sup>37</sup> Taylor, *op. cit.*, I, 312-23. <sup>38</sup> *Epp.* ix, xi and xiii; Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXLI, col. 1288.

<sup>39</sup> S. R. Maitland, *The Dark Ages*, pp. 418-19.

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occupied on an order for Henry III.<sup>40</sup> Frederick I also had service books transcribed at Tegernsee.<sup>41</sup>

The classical interest at Tegernsee is the most creditable fact in the intellectual history of Germany in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Outstanding in this field were abbots Godehard (1001-2) and Eberhard (1002-4); Beringar (1004-12), who placed many books in the library; and finally, Ellinger (1017-26 and 1031-40), a pupil of Froumund and the reformer of Benediktbeuern, as well as a noted artist. He illustrated a number of Bibles and Pliny's *Natural History*. Under Abbot Eberhard II (1068-91) a monk by the name of Reginfried entered the monastery, bringing a very important collection of books.<sup>42</sup>

In the mid-twelfth century Tegernsee was almost granted as a fief by Henry IV but was saved by Abbot Seifried (1046-68), who asserted that "enslaved" monks could not write and thus learning would be destroyed. His protest carried, and learning became more important than ever in the monastery. He assembled monks skilled as painters, writers, sculptors, goldsmiths, and makers of stained glass. Thus, throughout the twelfth century, when other German monasteries were too poor or too worldly to be interested, culture at Tegernsee reached its highest point. Many men without any intention of becoming monks came here to study. Under Abbot Rupert (1154-86), Wernher III, the "scholastic," directed the school and encouraged study of the classics. He complained of the poor Latinists of the time, who copied the style of writers like Alberic of Monte Cassino instead of classical examples. He composed a *Regula rhythimimachiae*, which evidently was known in other monasteries, for Becker reprints a letter to Tegernsee asking for it.<sup>43</sup> Another letter shows that in this period there was quite a lively book trade.<sup>44</sup>

Poetry seems to have been more popular in Tegernsee than in

<sup>40</sup> Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, II, 2, and n. 2.

<sup>41</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 91.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 57.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 92.

<sup>44</sup> . . . Quapropter obsecratione efflagito carissime, ut glosas super Macrobius mihi per aliquem fidelem transmittere non graveris, et si quae super georgica apud vos sint, cognatum meum, quatenus transmittat, rogo deprecereis" (*ibid.*, No. 93).

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other monasteries. Wernher, or one of his students, with a considerable dramatic ability, wrote the *Ludus de antichristo*. In imitation of Vergil and Horace, as well as Boethius and Prudentius, a Tegernsee monk by the name of Metellus wrote his *Odae Quirinales* and *Bucolica Quirinalis*.<sup>45</sup> Ovid was studied and used as a model, and introductions to almost all of his writings and commentaries on them were written for the monastery library during the twelfth century.

There is no catalogue of the Tegernsee library before the fifteenth century, but in writings composed at the monastery<sup>46</sup> there are a number of references to books which suggest its content. Although the abbey still flourished during the early thirteenth century, it suffered a decline in prosperity and energy. Finally, under Markward (1287-1324), only six monks were left.

In the Salian epoch the ancient monastery of Lorsch was reduced to utter poverty, and in 1340 it became a Premonstratensian house. But after the tenth century it had ceased to play any role in history.<sup>47</sup> Three catalogues of the library have come down to us, all now in the Vatican and the last a fragment.<sup>48</sup> The other two are seemingly of the tenth century, though one may be of the ninth. All in all, this well-stocked library shows, besides the inevitable theological works, a series of handbooks, especially on grammar and computation, and a notable list of classical authors, although Terence, Ovid, and Sallust do not appear among them. Lorsch was not far from Murbach, and it is safe to assume that copies of most of the works existing in either monastery found their way into the other.<sup>49</sup>

In the Carolingian era, Salzburg, under Bishop Arno, had been the chief point of intellectual light in its district; but late in the tenth century St. Emmeram in Regensburg became the intellectual center

<sup>45</sup> Quirinus was one of the patron saints of Tegernsee (Sandys, *op. cit.*, I, 636).

<sup>46</sup> Listed by T. Schmeller, "Ueber Büchercataloge des XV. und früheren Jahrhunderts," *Serapeum*, September 15, 1841, p. 267.

<sup>47</sup> F. Falk, *Geschichte des ehemaligen Klosters Lorsch* (Mainz, 1866).

<sup>48</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, Nos. 37 and 38; T. Gottlieb, *Ueber mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, Nos. 108 and 109.

<sup>49</sup> H. Bloch, "Ein karolingischer Bibliothekskatalog aus Kloster Murbach," *Strassburger Festschrift z. LXVI. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner* (Strassburg, 1901), p. 279.

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of Bavaria, as Freising was to be in the twelfth. Between 975 and 1000 Abbot Romwold strove to increase its library as a means to spiritual awakening of the monks.<sup>50</sup> No less than 513 works are enumerated in the surviving catalogue,<sup>51</sup> but the collection was not a distinguished one. A gift of 121 manuscripts in 994 by a monk named Walter is to be noted.<sup>52</sup> The outstanding manuscript in the library, the Codex Aureus, had been badly dilapidated but was carefully restored under Romwold.<sup>53</sup> After 1163 there is a memorandum of 15 books at St. Emmeram, the only interesting item being *Sermones ad populum teutonice*.<sup>54</sup>

Our only information about Passau in the tenth century is a list of 56 works dated 903.<sup>55</sup> Many of them are Latin classical works, belated evidence of the persistence of the Carolingian renaissance.

There might be more to write of Hersfeld, which Lull had founded in 770, if misfortune had not overtaken the records of the monastery: the ancient *Annals* used by Lambert (1056) and his own larger *History of Hersfeld* are both lost, together with the library.<sup>56</sup> All that we have is the tantalizing statement that Abbot Gozbert (970-84) formed a "copious library."

One of the few German Benedictine houses whose library long survived was Weihestephan, near Freising in Bavaria. An eleventh-century catalogue<sup>57</sup> shows such recent acquisitions as writings of Peter Damiani, as well as medieval Latin romances like Apollonius' *Historia regis Tyri*. Among classical authors were Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and two copies of Persius.

The last of the old Carolingian monasteries still to be noticed is

<sup>50</sup> Aside from the catalogue of his time, we have other evidence in the Preface to his *Homilies* printed in *Neues Archiv*, X, 398: "Nos . . . intus et foris omnia necessaria nostri monasterii vestro rogatu reparare studemus, maxime in librorum cultibus, quorum doctrina poene constat omnis mundus."

<sup>51</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 42.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 44.

<sup>53</sup> H. Janitschek, *Geschichte der deutschen Malerei*, p. 44; Hauck, *op. cit.*, III, 377.

<sup>54</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 102.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 23.

<sup>56</sup> This disaster occurred as late as the seventeenth century; cf. O. Holder-Egger's edition of Lambert of Hersfeld, p. xiii.

<sup>57</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 73. Most of the manuscripts are now in Munich.

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Benedictbeuren, which had been founded in the eighth century by the Frankish queen Gisela. She gave the library 13 books. A long eclipse ensued until about 1250, when we find a catalogue of some dimension but without any notable books.<sup>58</sup>

The multiplication of new monastic orders in the high Middle Ages is impressive; and the two greatest of these were the Cluniacs, whose period of power was the eleventh century, and the Cistercians, whose high peak was reached in the middle of the twelfth century.

The Cluniacs were interested in church reform but cared little for education or classical literature. They were even indifferent to the new scholastic theology. On the other hand, they did produce many magnificent service books. The German base of the order was at Hirsau in the Black Forest; and offshoots of this were the neighboring St. Blasien, another St. Blasien near Göttingen, St. Fides at Schlettstadt in Alsace, and Blaubeuren.<sup>59</sup> Unlike the older Benedictines, each of whose houses was a separate institution, the Cluniac houses were closely related. Hence, there was a considerable exchange of books among them, and the older monasteries gave books to the younger houses as seed for a library.<sup>60</sup> Hirsau excelled in illumination and in its great days under Abbot William (d. 1091) boasted of 12 *scriptores optimi*.

Little of importance can be said of these libraries. The catalogue of St. Fides drawn up in 1296 enumerates 103 works and is typical of a monastic library.<sup>61</sup> That of St. Blasien is similar but larger.<sup>62</sup> There are two catalogues of the other St. Blasien, near Hordheim; but they are very fragmentary. The most substantial catalogue is that of Blaubeuren made between 1085 and 1101, the nucleus of this collection being derived "ab Hirsaugia." It was almost wholly patristic and pre-Carolingian except in the particular that it had an unusual number of classical authors: among these were Cicero's *De amicitia*

<sup>58</sup> G. F. Klemm, *Zur Geschichte der Sammlungen für Wissenschaft und Kunst in Deutschland*, pp. 22-23. Becker (*op. cit.*, No. 144) notices it but does not print it.

<sup>59</sup> For French influence in the Hirsauer movement see my *Feudal Germany*, p. 119.

<sup>60</sup> J. Marx, *Geschichte der Erzstifts Trier*, IV, 554.

<sup>61</sup> J. Géný and G. C. Knod, *Die Stadtbibliothek zu Schlettstadt*.

<sup>62</sup> Loeffler, *Deutscher Klosterbibliotheken*, pp. 216-17.

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and *De senectute*, Macrobius, Sallust, Statius, and Homer, doubtless in a Latin version. Medieval secular literature is represented by a *Trojana historia*, and the inevitable Priscian and Donatus are found. The last item but one eccentrically unites in one binding a *Life of John the Almoner*, a *Vita Oswaldi regis*, and the *Gesta* of Charlemagne by the Monk of St. Gall.

Klosterneuburg, in the diocese of Passau, was given to the secular choristers in 1037; but, owing to their flagitious way of living, it was transferred in 1137 to the regulars. In the deed of transfer Duke Leopold IV mentions the presentation of a Bible and a missal purchased in Passau. There is also a catalogue of Klosterneuburg dating from the second half of the twelfth century in which 16 items are listed, no one of which is notable. In 1263 we find the first librarian mentioned, Albert Saxo, of Hunoldsburch, who undertook the rearrangement of the books. In this period the library was much enlarged.<sup>63</sup>

The Cistercian order was not given to learning (Otto of Freising being the best scholar among them), and the value of the libraries was never great. It was sufficient if they contained the works of Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, and, among the moderns, St. Bernard. The libraries of Zwettl and Heiligenkreuz in the twelfth century were duplicated by those of Lilienfeld and Hohenfurt in the next. "This single-mindedness," as Professor Beddie had written, "is to be noted in all the twelfth century catalogues of the Cistercian houses."<sup>64</sup> They were never tinged with classicism or medieval philosophy. Two of the best German Cistercian monasteries, Altzelle and Pforte, had nothing in their libraries to make them distinguished.<sup>65</sup> The library of Marienfeld in Westphalia, founded in 1185, illustrates the equipment of a daughter-house with the limited number of books regarded as necessary. As the surviving catalogue of 75 manuscripts does not list any writer after 1185, it evidently is the one made when the monastery was founded. This "ready-made" collection was probably

<sup>63</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, Nos. 130, 177, 178, 179, 189.

<sup>64</sup> J. S. Beddie, "Libraries in the Twelfth Century," *Anniversary Essays . . . Charles Homer Haskins* (Boston and New York, 1929), p. 22.

<sup>65</sup> L. Schmidt, *Neues Archiv für sächsische Geschichte*, XVIII (1897), 210.

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duplicated many times in other newly established Cistercian houses. A second hand records a few additions of the thirteenth century, notably Alanus de Insulis (d. 1203) and the *Derivationes* of Hugo Pisanus (d. 1210). Mariensfeld's was not a notable library, but the methodical way in which the catalogue has been drawn up is to be remarked.<sup>66</sup>

There are no records of the origin and disappearance of Weingarten library,<sup>67</sup> the favorite monastery of the Guelf dukes, founded in 1053. Abbot Kunos von Waldberg (1109-32) copied Augustine's *Commentary on John* there, and about 1170 the *Chronicon de Guelfis* was continued at Weingarten as the *Annales Weingartenses Guelfici*. A transcript believed to have been made by Abbot Wernher (1181-88) survives, and seemingly indicates that the archivist and librarian were one. But if deficient in books, Weingarten excelled as a school of illumination in the twelfth and thirteenth century, and was, perhaps, the most distinguished monastic center of this art.<sup>68</sup> An urge for books did not actuate Weingarten until the fourteenth and especially the fifteenth century, and even then the manuscripts are more distinguished for their miniatures than for any other quality. In 1433 the *Imitatio Christi* was copied by an unknown monk; between 1437 and 1455 Abbot Eberhard Fridank transcribed the *Summa* of St. Thomas Aquinas and the *Catholicon*. Before 1500 Weingarten possessed 843 books.<sup>69</sup> Only 25 of these date from the twelfth century, and all of them were written at Weingarten. The monastery seems to have had little contact with other houses. The authors are typical—Ambrose, Augustine, Bede, Jerome, Gregory, Isidore, Chrysostom, six examples of canons, sermons, and *Vitae* of Anskar and Willibrord. Further analysis reveals 51 Bibles; 115 commentaries; 83 homiletical

<sup>66</sup> H. Degering, "Der Katalog der Bibliothek des Klosters Mariensfeld," *Beiträge zum Bibliotheks- und Buchwesen*, Paul Schwenke zum 20 März 1913 gewidmet, pp. 53-64.

<sup>67</sup> What follows is derived chiefly from K. Loeffler, "Die Handschriften des Klosters Weingarten," *Beihefte zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XLI (1912), 1-10.

<sup>68</sup> See Meta Harssen, "The Countess Judith of Flanders and the Library of Weingarten Abbey," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXIV (1930), 1-13.

<sup>69</sup> We know this from two catalogues compiled by the librarian Johannes Albert Bommer, who died in 1785. These were long believed to have been lost, but were found in Stuttgart. Cf. K. Loeffler, "Stuttgarter handschriftliche Kataloge der weingartner Klosterbibliothek," *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen*, XXVII (1910), 141-58.

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works; 60 on dogmatics; 110 liturgical books; 53 in history; 78 law books, including the *Schwabenspiegel*; 65 on theology, mostly of the fifteenth century; 115 miscellanea, including works on natural science, medicine, dictionaries, and German poetry. Finally—all written in the fifteenth century, under the influence of dawning German humanism—we find Aristotle, Cicero, Euclid, Juvenal, Sallust, Seneca, Terence, and Vergil.

Before the end of the eighth century German expansion down the Danube had extended as far as the Enns. In this the monastery was often a form of colonization. St. Florian-bei-Linz was established, only to pay the penalty of a frontier post by suffering destruction by the Avars. After Charlemagne's defeat of this people and the erection of the Bavarian Ostmark in 803, protection was assured and St. Florian was re-established. But a century later, in 900, it was again destroyed, as was Lorsch, by the Magyars, whose defeat in 955 by Otto I again gave security to the eastern border. Presumably the few books St. Florian possessed perished in these raids. The oldest codex<sup>70</sup> preserved, although of the ninth century, could not have originated here and must have belonged to the nucleus of the third library when the monks renewed the cloister after 955. The tenth century has left few and valueless fragments. But in the eleventh century St. Florian's library increased. Among the books were a beautifully written grammar of Alcuin; a collection of axioms for students; the *Pharsalia* of Lucan with numerous annotations; the *Ruotlieb*; a *Physiologus*, or animal book; the Hebrew, Greek, and Norse alphabets; Boethius' *Consolatio philosophiae* in a number of copies with glosses; the Old and New Testaments; commentaries; excerpts from patristic writers; Lanfranc's *Contra Berengarium*; Augustine's *Rule* and *Soliloquia*; the Aachener statutes for the regular choirmasters; and Amalarius. From the twelfth century 35 volumes survive, many of them biblical, and 37 from the thirteenth.

<sup>70</sup> A parchment strip no broader than the hand, with Matt. 8:11-13, inscribed upon it. There are also a ninth-century *Liber profetarum* and Gregory's *Regula pastoralis*. The former is written in 184 pages in Carolingian minuscule, and Jeremiah is curiously annotated with musical notes. The latter, 23 pages, is bound up with an Alcuin grammar of the eleventh century. The writing is an upright minuscule containing many cursive elements. Cf. A. Czerny, *Die Bibliothek des Chorherrnstiftes St. Florian*, pp. 3-6.



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Kremsmünster and St. Polten were even more backward. The earliest list of the former is of the year 1012.<sup>72</sup> Of St. Polten's library in this period nothing is known. The eastern frontier of central Europe, through Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland, did not reach the stage of higher culture until the last centuries of the Middle Ages. All the evidence shows that there were few books in any of the monasteries in colonial and non-German lands until late.<sup>73</sup>

Turning, now, to the monasteries of Lorraine, we find their intellectual activity in the tenth century remarkable. No other region was more inspired by the Saxon renaissance.<sup>74</sup> Among the monasteries, Gorze had taken the lead from Prüm, which, during the Carolingian period, had been pre-eminent. The monastic reform in this region is described in the *Vita Johannis Gorziensis*.<sup>74</sup> This work, unfortunately, stops abruptly in the middle of a passage in its only surviving form, but whether any more was ever written, is uncertain. Once, in 978, the author interrupted his work, and the exhortations of bishops Dietrich of Metz and Folkmar of Utrecht were necessary to induce him to continue it; whether he ever actually finished it is doubtful, since he died before 984.<sup>75</sup>

The loss of the books of Gorze is a lamentable event in library history. This powerful abbey was first ruined and then secularized in the religious wars of the sixteenth century, and scarcely a vestige of the library can be traced.<sup>76</sup> Fortunately, there survives an eleventh-century catalogue.<sup>77</sup> The collection was substantial, and its exhibit

<sup>72</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 102.

<sup>73</sup> M. Kintner, "Die Bibliothek des Stiftes Raigern," *Archiv für Bibliographie*, I (1926), 204.

<sup>74</sup> See my article in *Isis*, XII (1929), 189 ff., on "The Introduction of Arabic Science into Lorraine."

<sup>75</sup> *MGH, Scriptores*, IV, 337-77. It was John who was sent to the Caliph Abderrahman III at Cordova in the year 953 for Otto I.

<sup>76</sup> Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, I, 370.

<sup>77</sup> Only 5 manuscripts today are identifiable as once belonging to Gorze. Cf. F. des Robert, *Deux codex mss de l'abbaye de Gorze* (Nancy, 1884), to which may be added two others now at Epinal: a breviary of the fourteenth century and an *Ordo antiquus* of the twelfth century (Nos. 97 and 71 of the catalogue of 1861). The fifth example is a codex of the ninth or tenth century bearing scholia of the *Maxims* of Gregory Nazianzen, now in the Bibliothèque mazarine (catalogue of 1885, No. 561).

<sup>78</sup> *Revue bénédictine*, XXII (1905), 1-14.

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of classical authors is impressive. Here are found Aristotle's *Categoriae et commentum Boetii in uno codice*; four books of Livy, "et quintus imperfectus," Vitruvius, Juvenal, Persius, Quintus Curtius, Plato's *Timaeus*, Terence, Lucan, Macrobius, Statius, Horace, a "liber Cyceronis," and, of course, Vergil. Unfortunately, there is no trace of the Arabic manuscripts which John of Gorze must have brought back with him from his four years' sojourn in Mohammedan Spain.

The next most important Lotharingian library was St. Maximin in Trier, whose catalogue is of the eleventh or twelfth century.<sup>78</sup> The 150 items listed form a typical old-fashioned theological collection containing nothing written after the Carolingian epoch. Unlike so many libraries, it escaped spoliation in the later Middle Ages and even in modern times. A unique codex was Wicbold's *Quaestiones in Pentateuchum ad usum Caroli Magni*. A more important collection was that of St. Evre-les-Toul of 270 volumes, catalogued before 1018.<sup>79</sup> Its classical writers included Sedulius, Prudentius, Origen, Rufinus, Arator, Smaragdus, Vergil, Horace, Statius, Ovid, Aesop, Priscian, Porphyry, Martianus Capella, Sallust, Macrobius, Euclid's geometry, and Palladius on agriculture.

The history of the most important monastic libraries of medieval Germany has now been traversed. It would be tedious and unnecessary to attempt to notice others, whose collections were neither large nor notable. Life was much the same in every medieval abbey. Church services involved mass books and liturgies; the monastery school required the customary textbooks of the time; furthermore, the Bible, the Fathers, some sermons, martyrologies, and monastic statutes formed the chief content of every library. The classics, florilegia, grammars, and dictionaries were more often used for textbooks than for general reading.

The library history of the cathedrals of medieval Germany is more significant. Mainz, founded by Boniface in 747, who was succeeded as archbishop by his favorite disciple Lull, reflects but faintly the intel-

<sup>78</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 76.

<sup>79</sup> R. Fawtier, *Mémoires de la société d'archéologie de Lorraine*, 4th ser., XI (1911), 126-56; Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 68; Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 406.

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lectual and literary interests of these great scholars. The library served only the two primary needs of worship and education. There was no lack of writing at Mainz, but it is not possible to distinguish the work of its scriptorium as one can that of Cologne.<sup>80</sup> When Rabanus Maurus moved from Fulda to Mainz, he was worse off for books. Still he found a Lucretius there, presumably the copy now at Leyden.<sup>81</sup>

Cologne, whose library was built up so well by the archbishops of the Carolingian era, later became the chief intellectual center in Germany. Archbishop Bruno (953-65), younger brother of Otto I, was leader of the so-called "Saxon renaissance." His biographer relates that his books followed him everywhere. He was "librorum varietate elegantissimus," trained in the seven arts; read history, poetry, rhetoric, philosophy, theology, and medicine; and had some knowledge of Greek.<sup>82</sup> But apparently he relied upon the collection formed by his predecessors—Hildebald, Willibert, and Hermann. None of the 208 old codices still in the Dombibliothek can be definitely identified as his, though one of them (No. 143) was executed by order of Archbishop Ebergar (984-99). Another (No. 113) was written in the time of Archbishop Herbert (999-1022). It is apparent that the bookish tradition was continued at Cologne.

The two old Franconian sees, Speyer and Worms, were favorite cathedrals of the Salian emperors—indeed, Henry IV began the present edifices; but neither was ever of great intellectual importance. Of the two, Speyer had the more substantial collection of books.<sup>83</sup>

Of the triad of Lotharingian bishoprics—Metz, Toul, and Verdun—the first two had reputations for letters and science in the tenth

<sup>80</sup> F. Falk, *Die ehemalige Dombibliothek zu Mainz*, pp. 1-12, 310. No catalogue is known. Although it was plundered by the Swedes in the Thirty Years' War, even as late as the eighteenth century Mainz's library still contained a large collection of manuscripts. Two eleventh-century books, *Codex capitularium regum Francorum* and Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, found their way to the ducal library in Gotha in the eighteenth century (Klemm, *op. cit.*, p. 19).

<sup>81</sup> Sandys, *op. cit.*, I, 631.

<sup>82</sup> Ruotger *Vita Brunonis* i. 4-6; R. Lane Poole, *Illustrations of Medieval Thought*, pp. 74-76.

<sup>83</sup> P. Lehmann, "Die mittelalterliche Dombibliothek zu Speyer," *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1934), p. 4; L. Grünwald, "Die Bücher und MSS des alten Speierer Domstiftes von 650-1803," *Mitteilungen der historischen Vereins der Pfalz*, L (1932), 1-64.

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and eleventh centuries and, like Gorze, followed the Saxon renaissance. In these hospitable centers foregathered scholarly monks and clergy, with now and then a visitor from England, Ireland, Scotland, or Calabria.<sup>84</sup> Books were available—more so in Metz and Toul than in Verdun. Bishop Abraham of Freising (957–94) stocked his library with transcripts secured from these cities,<sup>85</sup> as did his successor, Bishop Gottschalk. Bishop Dietrich of Metz (965–84) had a smattering of Greek and accompanied Otto I into southern Italy in 970.<sup>86</sup>

In the eleventh century Bishop Bruno, later Pope Leo IX, made Toul a vigorous intellectual center. A catalogue of its library compiled before 1084 enumerates 270 items.<sup>87</sup> It is a typical episcopal library, though larger than most and with more classical authors. In less degree the same may be said of Trier Library, whose old collection, however, with the exception of one book, had been destroyed by the Norsemen in the ninth century. It had no classical works.<sup>88</sup>

We know little, unfortunately, of the cathedral library of Verdun. A fire in 916 or 917 burned the cathedral and a large part of the books. In the eleventh century William, the dean of St. Vito's, bought and transcribed manuscripts.<sup>89</sup>

The first benefactor of Strassburg's library was Bishop Erchen-

<sup>84</sup> "Istuc congregavit de Graecia videlicet, Burgundia ac de penitus totis divisio orbe Britannis, Mettensibus, Tullensibus, Verdunensibus" (*Miracula S. Gorgonii* xxvi, in *MGH, Scriptores*, IV, 246). "Coetum quoque Grecorum ac Scottorum agglomerans non modicum propriis alebat stipendiis commixtum diversis linguis populum" (*Vita Gerardi ep. Tull.* xix, in *MGH, Scriptores*, IV, 695).

<sup>85</sup> Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, I, 405.

<sup>86</sup> Fr. Koehler, *Neues Archiv*, VII, 78, has shown that the manuscript of Liutprand's *Legatio* now at Metz is a transcript secured by Dietrich and that he himself made the Greek insertions.

<sup>87</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 68.

<sup>88</sup> Catalogue of eleventh or twelfth century in Becker (No. 76). As late as the beginning of the seventeenth century the library was intact when Brower used it. Its dispersion was made by the French in the revolutionary wars. In the Stadtbibliothek of Trier there is preserved a fragment of a richly ornamented transcript of the *Register* of Gregory I, which was executed from Archbishop Ekbert (977–93), who seems to have acquired the splendid *Evangelistarium* from Reichenau, now in the Stadtbibliothek. Cf. Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, I, 365–66.

<sup>89</sup> A. Ebert, *Histoire générale de la littérature du moyen âge*, III, 241.

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bald (965-91), who had transcripts made for it in other libraries.<sup>90</sup> But more was done by Bishop Wernher (1002-27), who also began the present cathedral. He used his office, his wealth, and his travels to accumulate a large and valuable library for his see. When he accompanied the emperor to Italy, he bought not only theological but also classical and scientific books.<sup>91</sup> The most notable of these manuscripts is the Quintilian, a transcript of a Cologne manuscript, now in the British Museum (Harl. 2664), which itself was copied from a Bamberg exemplar. "In 1372 this copy was one of the chained books in the monastic dormitory at Strassburg; afterwards (with Cicero's philosophical work) it found its way into the Medicean Library in Florence, where it is still to be seen."<sup>92</sup>

The first care of the Dominicans, who established themselves at Strassburg in 1224, was the founding of a library, as their preaching mission necessitated study. From the thirteenth to the fifteenth century the convent had a series of distinguished scholars and preachers; the books which they have left lead one to believe that they had a rich collection. When, after a quarrel with the magistrates in 1288, they threatened to leave the city, they authorized their *librarius* to sell their books, chalices, etc., for 200 marks. In 1420 Prior Pierre de Gengenbach bequeathed over one hundred books to the monastery. Unfortunately, there is no catalogue of them.<sup>93</sup>

Augsburg's library was small and of no distinction. What books it possessed were chiefly due to Bishop Emmerich (1063-77).<sup>94</sup> Constance owed its early importance in the late ninth and early tenth century to Bishop Salomo III (891-920), a cultivated man, who was also abbot of St. Gall.<sup>95</sup> The most important book in the library was a copy of Cicero's *De amicitia*, probably from St. Gall, and now

<sup>90</sup> Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, I, 398-99.

<sup>91</sup> C. Schmidt, "Livres et bibliothèques à Strasbourg," *Annales de l'est*, VII (1893), 542-44.

<sup>92</sup> Sandys, *op. cit.*, I, 656-57; facsimile on p. 215.

<sup>93</sup> Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 558.

<sup>94</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 52; Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, II, 57; and his *Schriftwesen* (3d ed.), p. 587.

<sup>95</sup> E. N. Johnson, *Secular Activities of the German Episcopate (919-1024)*, pp. 19-21; and, more fully, U. Zeller, *Bischof Salomo III von Konstanz, Abt von St. Gallen*, pp. 56-79.

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in Berlin.<sup>96</sup> Another notable manuscript is the *Mater verborum*, or glossary of Salomo, now at St. Gall.<sup>97</sup>

In the Bavarian sees of Passau, Regensburg, Salzburg, and Freising, though Boniface founded them, Bishop Arno of Salzburg first introduced literary culture. He laid the foundation of Salzburg's library by having many books copied, and imported Alcuin's pupil, Witto, as teacher. The impulse of the Carolingian renaissance continued after his time in Adalram (821-36) and Liuphram (836-59), both of whom further enriched the library.<sup>98</sup>

Under Archbishop Frederick (958-91) the monks of St. Peter's separated from the canons and left half of the library at St. Rupprecht's.<sup>99</sup> Before the eleventh century we have no explicit information about this cathedral library, and the catalogue of St. Peter's monastery is of the twelfth century.<sup>100</sup> Then it was an up-to-date collection, for the *Sententiae Petri Abailardi* and *Bernhardus and Eugenium papam* are listed in its enumeration of 226 items. All in all, it is a scholarly collection, including a fair amount of classical works, science, civil law, etc. After the fire of 1167, which destroyed the whole city, the restoration of the cathedral library was undertaken by Archbishop Eberhard II (1200-1246).

On the cathedral libraries of Regensburg and Passau, little is recorded after the Carolingian epoch, though the *Regensburger Annals* and *Vitae* of several bishops show an interest in history. Probably Regensburg Cathedral had no library except service books but used that of St. Emmeram, of which its bishop was

<sup>96</sup> C. H. Beeson, "The Lost MS of Cicero's *De amicitia*," *Classical Philology*, XXI (1926), 120-31.

<sup>97</sup> K. Stählin, *Geschichte Württembergs*, I, 405, says of this work: "The whole range of knowledge at the close of the ninth century is brought vividly before us by the *Glossae Salomonis* or encyclopedic dictionary which originated at St. Gall in the school of Iso, but which is generally named after Bishop Salomo III of Constance. It gives, indeed, many things, word for word, from the treasures of the ancient lexicographers, especially Isidorus, but contains also a quantity of original material which throws light on contemporary notions and facts."

<sup>98</sup> Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, I, 292.

<sup>99</sup> K. Foltz, *Geschichte der salzburger Bibliotheken*, p. 20. From a note in *Vita Gebhardi* (twelfth century) we find that the books were kept in the "camera librorum," that is, the sacristy (*MGH, Scriptores*, XI, 27).

<sup>100</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 115. Foltz's analysis does not do it justice.

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abbot.<sup>102</sup> The history of Passau's episcopal library is even more obscure, though we know it acquired the considerable library of Bishop Madalwin in 904.<sup>103</sup>

Culturally, Freising was the outstanding Bavarian see in the feudal period; and, more so than for any other cathedral library in this part of Germany, its collection shows a continuity from Carolingian times. Numerous manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries testify to diligent studies. Bishop Hitto (810-35) had many theological transcripts made; Bishop Anno (854-75), at least one volume; Bishop Waldo (884-906) was brother of the highly cultivated Salomo III of Constance, and much like him.<sup>103</sup> But Freising owed more to the Saxon renaissance than to the Carolingian awakening. Bishop Abraham (957-94) had many books copied in Metz and Toul, and the close intellectual relation of Freising with French thought began at that time and reached its culmination in the twelfth century when Otto of Freising acquired his astonishing education in Paris.<sup>104</sup>

In the episcopal libraries of Hildesheim and Bamberg, the intellectual movement of the Saxon and Salian epochs reached its highest level. The former was the most brilliant light of the Saxon renaissance; the latter, of the eleventh century. Little could Charlemagne have dreamed, when he conquered the Saxons, that in scarcely more than a century its dukes would carry on the imperial rule which he had established, or that its cathedral and monastic schools would become the foremost in all Germany. In this the revived contact with Italy in the time of Otto I was a primary factor. At least twenty-four bishops of his time were in Italy with him on one or another of his expeditions, and seven of them were Saxons. Adalga of Hamburg-Bremen was there for four years (961-65); Othwin of Hildesheim and Giseler of Magdeburg, for two; Meinwerk of Paderborn, almost a year. Under Otto's successors, Giseler, Meinwerk of

<sup>102</sup> Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, I, 289.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 291.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 288-89.

<sup>104</sup> The sources of Otto's *Chronicon* are so extensive that Otto could not have depended wholly upon Freising's library. He must have brought back many books from Paris, and he traveled widely in search of materials. See Introduction to A. Hofmeister's edition (Leipzig, 1912). Over two hundred manuscripts from Freising are still preserved at Munich.

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Paderborn, Gunther of Osnabrück, and Bernward of Hildesheim were equally active.<sup>105</sup> The intellectual stimulus arising from these contacts with Italy is visible particularly in Hildesheim and Paderborn. Otwin had been called from Reichenau by Otto I to head St. Moritz in Magdeburg, and later was brought to Hildesheim. He brought back so many books from Italy that he may be said to have founded the cathedral library.<sup>106</sup>

The work he initiated at Hildesheim was carried on by four notable successors—Bishop Bernward (993–1022), Bishop Godehard (1022–38), Bishop Azelin (1044–54), and Bishop Hezilo (1054–79). Bernward, of princely birth, one of the most attractive characters of medieval German history, was an architect, an artist, a scholar, and a bibliophile. His devoted biographer tells us that “he conned not only the books in the monastery, but others in divers places, from which he formed an excellent library of codices of theologians and philosophers.”<sup>107</sup>

Fortunately, the 55 books<sup>108</sup> which Thangmar left to the monastery were kept there, for in 1013 the precious library in the cathedral formed by Bernward was destroyed by fire.<sup>109</sup> Emperor Henry II, who was originally intended for the church and had received his early education at Hildesheim, immediately took measures to restore the collection. In this he was energetically supported by Bernward’s successor, Bishop Godehard (1022–38). “Already in his youth,” his biographer records, “Godehard had collected a large number of theological and philosophical books.” He was also an expert scribe and wrote with his own hand, even preparing the

<sup>105</sup> Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 142–43, 200.

<sup>106</sup> *Translatio S. Epiphanii* ii, in *MGH, Scriptores*, IV, 249; Hauck, *op. cit.*, III, 328; Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, I, 346; Taylor, *op. cit.*, I, 312. In this time Thangmar, later biographer of Bernward of Hildesheim, was head of the school, dean of the chapter and librarian.

<sup>107</sup> *Vita Bernwardi* vi. The influence of the Hildesheim cathedral school during the Saxon period deserves to be emphasized; cf. A. Hofmeister, *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, XXVI (1931), 22.

<sup>108</sup> Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, I, 347.

<sup>109</sup> *Annales Hildesheimenses*, anno 1013; S. Hirsch, *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reichs unter Heinrich II*, p. 406.



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parchment himself.<sup>110</sup> One of his letters asks for "a book of Horace and Tully's *Letters*."<sup>111</sup> With Bishop Hezilo (1054-79) French intellectual influence entered Hildesheim, but the abbey still preserved its old cultural attachment to Italy. In 1072 "Scholasticus" Bruno of Hildesheim became bishop of Verona.<sup>112</sup> The protracted wars in the reign of Henry IV arrested learning at Hildesheim, as everywhere else in Germany. But in the twelfth century the see again was fortunate in the liberal-minded bishops Bruno (1153-61) and Beruo (1190-94). The former bequeathed 60 books, among them some medical works;<sup>113</sup> the latter left to the library Bibles and some works of Cicero, Aulus Gellius, and Origen, which had been asked for by Corvey in 1150.

Godehard's devotion resulted in his canonization soon after his death and the founding of a new monastery, St. Godehard's, closely connected with the cathedral. Its first abbot, Frederick, came from Fulda and brought some books.<sup>114</sup> Others were obtained from Corvey, among them Regino's *Chronicon* and some classics. In the thirteenth century we find a German poet, Berthold, in the service of the bishop as high steward. He composed the medieval German poem entitled the *Crane* (*Kranach*). None of the other libraries in Saxony rivaled that of Hildesheim, but a few of them are worthy of consideration. Paderborn rose to some eminence under Bishop Meinwerk (1009-36). He was an honest, practical man, with no great learning. The library had been burned in 1006, shortly before his accession;<sup>115</sup> but he made the cathedral school one of the first in Germany, and in it the classics were not neglected.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>110</sup> Wolferhii *Vita Godehardi* v, in *MGH, Scriptores*, XI, 172.

<sup>111</sup> Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXLI, col. 1229; A. Bertram, *Geschichte des Bistums Hildesheim*, I, 90. For the cult of St. Nicholas at Hildesheim at this time and the origin of the St. Nicholas miracle play, see G. R. Coffman in *Manly Anniversary Studies in Language and Literature* (Chicago, 1923), pp. 269 ff.

<sup>112</sup> *Annal. Altah.*, anno 1072.

<sup>113</sup> H. A. Luntzell, *Geschichte der Diözese und Stadt Hildesheim*, II, 53. On the medical books see K. Sudhoff, *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, IX (1916), 348.

<sup>114</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 85.

<sup>115</sup> *Vita Meinweri* vii.

<sup>116</sup> "Studiorum multiplicia sub eo floruerunt exercitia . . . quando ibi musici fuerunt, et dialectici enituerunt, rhetorici clarique grammatici; quando magistri artium ibi exercebant trivi-

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The bishopric of Merseburg was founded by Otto I in 958 as a memorial to the victory of his father, Henry I, over the Magyars in 933. In 981 it was abolished, but was restored by Otto III. Its library was not established on any large scale until the eleventh century, under Bishop Thietmar (1009-19). Bishop Giseler, before the abolition of the diocese, had collected liturgical books, which Thietmar increased. But, like Paderborn, Merseburg was more famous for its school than for its library.<sup>117</sup>

Of Magdeburg's library, nothing is known except that Archbishop Walthardus got together "an ineffable abundance of books," which must have been mostly service books, for the allusion is in connection with "sacerdotal apparatus." The same observation holds true of Halberstadt, whose library was burned in 1179.<sup>118</sup>

Adam of Bremen, the eleventh-century historian, has such copious references to sources that it is possible, in a degree, to reconstruct the library of Bremen, though Fate dealt hardly with it. Soon after the diocese was founded, the Norse had burned the town and St. Anskar's library in the cathedral.<sup>119</sup> Under Archbishop Libentius I (988-1013) a certain Countess Emma gave vestments and some service books to the church.<sup>120</sup> In 1041 Bremen again was utterly consumed by fire, and the library had to be built up anew. The recovery was amazingly rapid under archbishops Adalbert (1045-72) and Liemar (1072-1101). The former made Bremen the most northern intellectual center of Europe of his time. Literati, artists, physicians, musicians, and travelers of many sorts and many lands resorted to his court.<sup>121</sup>

um, quibus omne studium erat circa quadrivium. Ubi mathematici claruerunt, et astronomici habebantur; physici atque geometrici. Viguit Horatius magnus, atque Virgilius, Crispus ac Sallustius, et Urbanus Statius, ludusque fuit omnibus, insudare versibus et dictaminibus, jucundisque cantibus. Quorum in scriptura et pictura jugis instantia, claret multipliciter hodierna experientia, dum studium nobilium clericorum usu perpenditur utilium librorum" (*ibid.* clx).

<sup>117</sup> A. Schmekel, *Historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Hochstiftes Merseburg*, p. 57.

<sup>118</sup> A. Diestelkamp, "Geschichte der Halberstädter Dombibliothek im Mittelalter," *Sachsen und Anhalt Jahrbuch*, III (1927), 177-225.

<sup>119</sup> *Vita Anskari* xvi.

<sup>120</sup> Adam of Bremen *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum* ii. 68.

<sup>121</sup> See my *Feudal Germany*, p. 131.

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The most valuable medieval German cathedral library of the age was that of Bamberg, established by Henry II in 1007.<sup>122</sup> As in Hildesheim and Paderborn, its monastery was intimately associated with its cathedral library. The city was pre-eminent in its Italian manuscripts, the nucleus of which was a collection formed by that curious scholar-prince, Emperor Otto III, to which Henry II fell heir. The provenance of these Italian books is various and very interesting. One group of 12 came from Piacenza. Another important manuscript came from Monte Cassino, and dates back to the tenth century. Others are southern Italian, a Cassiodorus of the eighth century, a *Vita Silvestri*, and a Paulus Diaconus, in a mixture of Beneventan and Italian-Carolingian minuscules. Still another is a codex written under Bishop Arnulf II of Milan between 998 and 1018. A second group of the Bamberg books, collected by Otto III and given to the cathedral by Henry II, is of Carolingian origin. They once belonged to Johannes Scotus, from whom they passed to Gerbert and so to Otto III. Henry II also presented manuscripts from Lower Italy. They were the fruit of the German expedition in 1022 and were not, as Hartwig has shown, acquired by John Philagathos, Otto III's Calabrian Greek teacher, as once was thought by Giesebrecht and Valentin Rose.<sup>123</sup> Leo of Naples' account of his mission to Constantinople and his discovery of the Pseudo-Callisthenes, a romance of Alexander the Great, is found in a volume in the Bamberg library, undoubtedly also of Italian origin and dating from the eleventh century at the latest. It may go back directly to the literary activity in Naples under the patronage of Duke John, who succeeded his father, Marinus, in 928. Perhaps other Bamberg books have the same provenance, but they should be more carefully examined before this conjecture can be seriously advanced.<sup>124</sup> Bishop Otto

<sup>122</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 80; Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, Nos. 12-19; H. Bresslau, "Bamberger Studien," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XXI (1896), 139-96; and two articles in *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XXIV (1907)—H. Fischer, "Die Bibliothek in Bamberg und ihre Handschriften" (pp. 364 ff.), and K. Schottenloher, "Bamberger Privatbibliotheken" (pp. 417 ff.).

<sup>123</sup> F. von Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit* (5th ed.), I, 670, 701, 858.

<sup>124</sup> F. O. Hartwig, "Die Übersetzungsliteratur Unteritaliens," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, III (1886), 165. After he had published this article, Hartwig received confirmation of

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of Bamberg gave to the many monasteries and churches which he founded, both in his own diocese and in the neighboring territory, much treasure and numerous manuscripts.<sup>125</sup> In the interval between his first and second missionary journeys to Pomerania (1125 and 1128) he sent similar presents to the churches which he had founded among the Slavs.

Little further need to be said about the Bamberg cathedral library, but St. Michael's must be noticed. Between 1112 and 1122 a certain Ruotgerus, evidently a learned monk, catalogued the library, listing 242 items.<sup>126</sup> The collection, with less theology and more profane authors than most monastic libraries, helps to explain why Bamberg became the most important intellectual center in Germany in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. And unlike so many other libraries, the two in Bamberg did not decay in the later Middle Ages, acquisition of books by purchase and gift being continued. Master Hugo von Trimberg (1260-1309), of the school of St. Gangolf in the Theuerstadt near Bamberg, for years used his private collection as a loan library for his pupils. Almost all his books, it is interesting to observe, were secular literature.

The bishopric and abbeys of the Low Countries, which had been lights of learning in the Carolingian renaissance,<sup>127</sup> suffered severely in the ninth century under the Norse invasion; all of them were ruined and their books destroyed or scattered. The eastern districts suffered less than western Flanders. Hence, recovery began earlier in the bishoprics of Liège and Utrecht and the abbeys of Lobbes and Stavelot than at Tournai, St. Omer, St. Bertin,<sup>128</sup> St. Amand, and other monasteries in French Flanders.

his conjecture from L. Leitschuh in a letter printed on p. 223 of the same volume of *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*.

<sup>125</sup> A. Hofmeister, *Die prüfener Vita des Bischofs Otto von Bamberg* ("Denkmäler der pommerschen Geschichte," I, 20).

<sup>126</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 80; Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, II, 165, n. 2.

<sup>127</sup> H. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, I, 29-30.

<sup>128</sup> St. Bertin produced some excellent calligraphers. Heriveus, a monk there (989-1008), wrote one of the finest medieval Psalters known, now in the public library at Boulogne. It possesses many Anglo-Saxon peculiarities and resembles Cotton Psalter, Tib. C. vi. Cf. A.

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In the tenth century the Low Countries were parts of the duchy of Lower Lorraine, and their development as separate states did not begin until the twelfth century. This point is important because Lorraine was the focus of the Saxon renaissance, which thus reached the episcopal and monastic schools of Flanders and Holland very early. Archbishop Bruno of Cologne, the moving spirit in the Ottonian revival, learned Greek at Utrecht from an Irish master.<sup>129</sup> When Earl Harold of Wessex in 1060 founded Waltham Priory, he called, as master of its school, Adelard, who had been trained "Trajectensis studii disciplina."<sup>130</sup> These facts, slender as they may seem, show that Utrecht in the tenth and eleventh centuries was an important seat of education; and there must have been books there, although no catalogue of Utrecht's cathedral library is known.

But the chief seat of learning in the Low Countries was Liège.<sup>131</sup> Though its old Irish scholarship had disappeared, the movement inspired by Bruno of Cologne found its most brilliant exposition outside of Germany here, and the Latin classics and new learning of the tenth century were taught. Emperor Henry II said that he coveted Liège's science and Hildesheim's discipline for his favorite Bamberg.<sup>132</sup> Italian influence was felt at Liège through the eccentric Rather of Verona, who held that bishopric for a time. Moreover, other bishops of this see, like their German contemporaries, were frequently required to render military service in Italy, and some of them must have brought back books from the south. From Calabria, in 968, Bishop Everarchar (959-71) sent inspiring letters and poetry home to the teachers of his school.<sup>133</sup> When Bishop Notger traveled, unless he was going a great distance, his pupils packed their books and went along. Thus, it is not possible to doubt that Liège's cathedral library was a substantial one,<sup>134</sup> though no catalogue is known.

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Woltmann, *Geschichte der Malerei*, I, 270, and T. O. Westwood, *Facsimiles of the Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts*, pp. 104-7 and Pl. 38.

<sup>129</sup> G. Kurth, *Notger de Liège*, p. 253. <sup>130</sup> *Histoire littéraire de la France*, VIII, 677-79.

<sup>131</sup> Firenne, *op. cit.*, I, 145-48; G. Kurth, *op. cit.*, chap. xiv.

<sup>132</sup> Wolfher *Vita Godehardi* xxxvii; Bertram, *op. cit.*, I, 314.

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Fortunately, we have more than such inferences in the case of the abbey of St. Lawrence in Liège, of which there are eleventh-<sup>135</sup> and twelfth-century catalogues.<sup>136</sup> The first is meager; the second, not distinguished, though of ample dimension for the time.

The three outstanding monastic libraries of the Low Countries were Gembloux, near Namur; Stavelot, or Stablo, a few miles south-east of Liège, one of the very few monasteries of Carolingian foundation which had not declined; and Lobbes, on the Sambre River, in what was later the province Hainaut. This also was of seventh-century origin. No catalogue of Gembloux is known, but we know from other evidence that it must have had substantial library resources. In 1048, when Abbot Olbert died, after an incumbency of thirty-six years, he bequeathed 100 ecclesiastical and 50 secular books to the library. His pupil Sigbert calls him another Ptolemy Philadelphus. More conclusive evidence is afforded by the many and erudite writings of Sigbert of Gembloux (1030-1112).<sup>137</sup>

Of Stavelot's library, our knowledge is meager, though the history of the abbey is well known.<sup>138</sup> Goderannus, calligrapher of the eleventh century, wrote a Josephus and helped another monk for four years before 1097 to copy a Bible in two volumes. At the end is the inscription:

Codices hi ambo quia continuatim et tamen morosius scripti sunt per annos ferme IIII. in omni sua procuracione, hoc est scriptura, illuminatione ligatura uno eodemque anno perfecti sunt ambo . . . et ipse est annus ab incarnatione Domini MXCVII, Indictione V., Henrico IIII imperante, Christinorum exercitu super paganos violenter agente.<sup>139</sup>

The allusion is to the First Crusade. No formal catalogue exists, but an accident has preserved a list of books recorded there in 1105 on a

<sup>135</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 60.

<sup>136</sup> J. Gessler, "La Bibliothèque de S. Laurent à Liège au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Bulletin de la société des bibliophiles liégeois*, XII (1927), 91 ff.

<sup>137</sup> For Sigbert's sources consult Bethmann's Introduction to *MGH, Scriptores*, VI, 275 f.

<sup>138</sup> Yernaux, "Les Premiers siècles de l'abbaye de Stavelot-Malmèdy (648-1020)," *Bulletin de la société d'art et d'histoire de Liège*, XIX (1910), 261-438; F. Baix, *Etude sur l'abbaye et principauté de Stavelot-Malmèdy* (Paris, 1924); J. Halkin and C. G. Roland, *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Stavelot-Malmèdy* (Brussels, 1909, 1930).

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leaf in another Bible, now in the British Museum.<sup>140</sup> This list enumerates 283 works bound in 152 volumes.<sup>141</sup>

The richest library in the Low Countries in the Middle Ages, and fortunately the one of which we know most, was that of Lobbes.<sup>142</sup> Education and culture were old traditions in this monastery. Interrupted in the ninth century by the invasion of the Norsemen and the intrusion of lay abbots, intellectual interest revived in the first half of the tenth century under Abbot Richarius (920-45). The abbey was favored by the Saxon kings, especially by Otto III and his cultured mother, Empress Theophano. Its library must have been exceptional. Of this we have a curious illustration. King Athelstan of England, among other foreign alliances against the Danes, married his sister Edyth to Otto I. In the exchange of presents the German king sent to Athelstan three magnificent manuscripts, which are still preserved in the British Museum.<sup>143</sup> Tradition has it that these books came from Lobbes.

It is known from a minute in the archives of Mons that a lost catalogue of the library was compiled by Abbot Folcuin sometime between 972 and 990, listing 52 books besides the liturgies. This was a considerable library for the epoch; in 983 the abbey of Moutier-ender had but 23.<sup>144</sup> No doubt the collection owed much to the zeal of Folcuin (965-90), a scholar, a great teacher, and one of the earliest and best of Flemish historians. His policy was continued by his disciple and successor, Abbot Heriger (990-1007), who was in Italy with Otto III in 989 and, although we have no statement to that effect, must have brought back some books. Heriger's own literary output was large and shows a broad and sympathetic knowledge of the classics. The second catalogue of Lobbes was compiled by Abbot Hugh in 1049. It was discovered in 1890 by Omont, on the last eight

<sup>140</sup> Add. MSS, 28106-7.

<sup>141</sup> The list has been printed several times, most recently by J. Gessler, *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, XXIX (1933), 89-96.

<sup>142</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, pp. 280-83; H. Omont, *Revue des bibliothèques*, I (1891), 1 ff.; J. Warichez, *L'Abbaye de Lobbes* (Louvain, 1909), pp. 270-76; J. Gessler, "Les Bibliothèques de Lobbes et de Stavelot," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, XXIX (1933), 83-86.

<sup>143</sup> Claud. B. v., Tiber. A. ii, Galba, A xviii; Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, pp. 279-80.

<sup>144</sup> Warichez, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

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leaves of a Fulgentius, now in the British Museum.<sup>145</sup> The total number of books listed is 147. Most of the works are theological, with medieval science and classical literature but slightly represented: history by Josephus, Eutropius, Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, Regino, Liutprand, and Cassiodorus' *Tripartite History*; canon law by Rabanus Maurus; civil law by part of Justinian and the *Salic Code*. A fine manuscript in the collection is the Carolingian Bible,<sup>146</sup> which survived because it was at Trent in 1541, when the library was burned.<sup>147</sup> But we know from a note on the flyleaf of the Fulgentius manuscript that the library had been partially destroyed by fire in the twelfth century, for it enumerates some of the manuscripts which were saved: "Hos libros eripuimus incendio." The list is brief; it includes two Bibles and eight tracts of St. Augustine.<sup>148</sup> Even at the beginning of the fourteenth century, Lobbes seemed to be denuded of books.<sup>149</sup>

<sup>145</sup> Omont, *op. cit.*, I, 4 f.; D. Casley, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the King's Library*, No. xiv. At the end are these imprecatory lines against book thieves:

"Omnis librorum raptor nec redditor horum  
Penas suscipiat et manibus hostia fiat.  
Sit justus vindex raptus recti deus index."

<sup>146</sup> Warichez, *op. cit.*, pp. 304 f.

<sup>147</sup> There is some conflict as to the exact date of the fire. Gottlieb placed it in 1541 (*op. cit.*, p. 280, n. 3). T. Vos gave it as 1546 in his *Lobbes, son abbaye et son chapitre*, I, 171.

<sup>148</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

<sup>149</sup> Cf. the continuation of Reiner's *De gestis abbatum S. Laurentii* in *MGH, Scriptores*, XX, 608.

## CHAPTER VII

### Libraries of Medieval France

**I**N FRANCE the Carolingian renaissance was ruined by disastrous civil wars and invasions of the Norsemen. One can get some measure of this double destruction by the paucity of monastic annals which survive for the late ninth and early tenth centuries. All annals written in the monasteries in the valley of the Seine have perished. All manuscripts of St. Riquier perished. Nothing has survived from St. Denis, St. Germain-des-Près, St. Germain-l'Auxerrois, or Ste Geneviève in Paris. Hardly a line from these destructive years remains for Orléans, Blois, Tours, Périgord, Limoges, Bordeaux, Toulouse, and the entire provinces of Auvergne and Viverais. The ecclesiastical history of Gascony is nearly a blank for one hundred and fifty years. The only remaining record of six destroyed sees is a single charter.

Many libraries perished in the turmoil. The *Chronicle of Nantes*, under the year 843, relates the destruction of "many precious books" by the Norsemen.<sup>1</sup> Ordericus Vitalis, the twelfth-century Norman historian, deplored these losses:

The writings of the ancients, as well as the churches and monasteries, were destroyed in the furious invasions which devastated Normandy in the time of the Danes. . . . Moreover, some which were adroitly saved from the hands of the barbarians by the care of our predecessors, have since perished, shame to say, by the culpable negligence of their successors. . . . With the loss of the books, the actions of the men of former ages sunk into oblivion. . . . The bands of pirates burnt Noyon and Rouen and many other cities, towns and villages, destroyed monasteries . . . and reduced much of the country to solitude. . . . Some of the defenceless monks fled to foreign lands, carrying abroad what books they could . . . but the greater part of these manuscripts were swept away in the storms of the times and irrecoverably lost.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Chronicon Namnetense* vii. 21 (ed. R. Merlet [Paris, 1896]).

<sup>2</sup> *Historia ecclesiastica* VI. ix and x.

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The extent of the Norse forays is illustrated by the fate of a splendid Irish manuscript of St. Ceadda, which at some unknown date was seized by Norse invaders in Ireland and apparently carried to Spain—at least, centuries later it turned up in Madrid. It is now in Stockholm. A manuscript of Chalcidius' translation of Plato's *Timaeus*, now in Valenciennes, bears on the flyleaf the words: "Emptus Plato fuit major vendente pyrata."<sup>3</sup> During the Norse invasions the abbey of St. Martin in Tournai sent its most precious books to Ferrières near Sens for safety. Nearly two hundred years later a traveling monk of Courtrai told the Abbot of St. Martin that at Ferrières he had seen books belonging to his monastery. But years elapsed before the abbot learned from a clerk at the Council of Rheims where Ferrières was situated and arranged for the return of the long-lost manuscripts to their home.

Yet, despite the general disaster, some scholarship and some books survived. By the tenth century northeastern France had become intellectually the most important region of France.<sup>4</sup> There, as nowhere else, the Carolingian renaissance still had vitality. Auxerre, Rheims, and Paris were the three points in which its spirit was best preserved. One reason for this was that none of these places had ever been captured by the Norsemen, although Rheims and Paris were more than once imperiled. A more important reason, however, is that in these places the continuity of education and learning initiated by Alcuin had passed from master to pupil without a break. Indeed, the transmission of thought in medieval France from the Carolingian renaissance to the rise of the University of Paris is uninterrupted. Burgundy also had immunity, where the school of St. Germain-d'Auxerre was a candle in the surrounding darkness. In West, or French, Flanders, too, the schools of St. Amand, near Tournai, and St. Vaast near Arras, still carried on.

The restoration of scholarship and the renewal of intellectual life in France began in Auxerre with Heiric, a former pupil of Lupus of Ferrières and later a student at Laon. "The combination," as Laistner has written, "is very important; for it meant that a second

<sup>3</sup> W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter* (3d ed.), pp. 545-46.

<sup>4</sup> H. F. Reuter, *Geschichte der religiösen Aufklärung im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1877), I, 181.

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tradition, different from Lupus's, helped to mould Heiric's mind—that of the Irish monks at Laon."<sup>5</sup> In Auxerre, Hucbald<sup>6</sup> of St. Amand and Remi were fellow-pupils of Heiric. The teaching of the latter at Rheims marks the inception of liberal studies there which were to reach their height in the time of Gerbert (972–97), a century later. After 900 Remi removed to Paris, where his coming marks the revival of learning in that place.<sup>7</sup> Here his greatest pupil was Odo, the future abbot of Cluny.

Odo of Cluny, born in 879, of an illustrious family, was trained for court life and the service of arms. His father, although a layman, was a man of education, and his son relates that he used to read Justinian. At the age of nineteen Odo abandoned secular life and became a monk at St. Martin of Tours, later studying under Remi in Paris. In 909 he entered the monastery of Balma (Baume) in Burgundy under Abbot Berno, the initiator of revived Benedictinism, bringing with him one hundred books. Soon after William of Aquitaine established Cluny in 910, Odo passed thither and became abbot (926–42). The first definite mention of a library at Cluny<sup>8</sup> was made under Abbot Aymar when Majolus was appointed librarian immediately after his arrival, about 945.<sup>9</sup> He brought two Bibles with him, one an old codex in majuscule letters. As abbot between 965 and 994, Majolus increased the library with many manuscripts copied by his monks. We know that one of them, Hermann, copied Rabanus Maurus' *Commentary on Jeremiah*; another, Werner, the writings of Augustine; and a third monk, Ambrose's *Commentary on Luke*.

Cluny has been harshly criticized for its indifference to humane letters by some scholars, who have pointed to the absence of a cata-

<sup>5</sup> M. L. W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500–900*, p. 211.

<sup>6</sup> L. van der Essen, "Hucbald de Saint-Amand (ca. 840–930)," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, XIX (1923), 333–51 and 522–52.

<sup>7</sup> *Histoire littéraire de la France*, VI, 99 f.; J. B. Hauréau, *Histoire de la philosophie scholastique* (Paris, 1872), I, 199 f. There were three schools in Paris—the Cathedral, Ste Geneviève, and St. Germain-des-Près. It is not known at which of these Remi taught.

<sup>8</sup> A. Ebert, *Histoire générale de la littérature du moyen âge en occident*, III, 521.

<sup>9</sup> Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXXXVII, col. 751.

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logue before the middle of the twelfth century as evidence.<sup>10</sup> But information from another source shows that Cluny was not so indifferent to letters as was once supposed. This is found in the *Discipline of Farfa*,<sup>11</sup> the work of Abbot Odilo (994-1048).<sup>12</sup> Farfa was the first daughter of Cluny beyond the Alps; and many things in the one are paralleled in the other, such as an identical list of 64 books to be read during Lent. This is divided into books of Scripture, books of exegesis, theological and patristic literature, ascetic and hagiographic literature, and historical works. The last category is especially interesting. One might expect, perhaps, Orosius, Eusebius, Josephus, and Bede; but, surprisingly, one finds St. Odilo recommending Livy.<sup>13</sup> A later Lenten list of the year 1252 enumerates 117 books. Abbot Ivo (1257-75) had 52 manuscripts copied by the monks and there are scattered mentions of similar additions in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The first catalogue of Cluny dates from the middle of the twelfth century. It lists 570 works, but several of the items are known to be composite volumes. The additional list of 52 books, for the most part Bibles and missals, but containing Aristotle's *De animalibus* and Platearius' *De virtutibus herbarum*, was probably compiled under Abbot Ivo. These meager lists, however, cannot give a truthful picture of the library resources of so great an abbey. Delisle has conclusively demonstrated that the lost catalogue compiled in the middle

<sup>10</sup> F. J. Raby, *History of Christian Latin Poetry*, p. 313; A. Hessel, "Odo von Cluny und das französische Kulturproblem im früheren Mittelalter" *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXVIII (1923), 1-25.

<sup>11</sup> Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CL, cols. 1193-1300. Dom Albers has given a new text of this in his *Consuetudines monasticæ* (Stuttgart and Vienna, 1900), which has been attentively studied by Dom Schuster, "L'Abbaye de Farfa et sa restauration au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue bénédictine*, XXIV (1907), 17-35, 374-402, and by Dom Wilmart, "Le Convent et la bibliothèque de Cluny vers le milieu du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue Mabillon*, XI (1921), 89-124.

<sup>12</sup> Dom O. Ringholz, "Odilon von Cluny," *Studien und Mittheilungen aus den Benediktiner und Cistercienser Orden*, V (1884); P. Jarret, *Saint Odilon, abbé de Cluny* (Lyons, 1898).

<sup>13</sup> The library of Cluny had three codices of Livy. Dom Wilmart, *op. cit.*, p. 115, conjectures that the classical works found in Cluny were part of the collection brought by Odo of Cluny when he entered. One of the Livy manuscripts may be now in the Bibliothèque nationale. But the Cicero is the only certain survival of Odo's collection. Cf. A. C. Clark, *Descent of Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1918), p. 18.

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of the thirteenth century must have enumerated something like eighteen hundred works.<sup>14</sup>

Noteworthy in this period was the translation of the Koran made for Peter the Venerable (1122-57), who wished to refute the errors of the Mohammedans. In Spain, he says,

I addressed men acquainted in the Arabic language, and I persuaded them by my prayers and presents to translate the *Koran*; to these Christians I added a Saracen; the Christians were Robert of Retines, Herman the Dalmatian, Peter of Toledo; the Saracen was called Mohammed. They have searched the library of this barbarian race, and they have edited for the use of the Latins a large volume.<sup>15</sup>

In the eleventh century, rules were drawn up for the library, the books being placed in the charge of an armarius, who ranked next to the abbot. He was to care for all the books of the house and to direct all copying. The chamberlain was to furnish the parchment needed. On the second day of Lent all books borrowed during the previous year were to be returned and checked. Should any monk return a book unread, he must secure pardon.<sup>16</sup> Under the long abbacy of Hugh, from 1049 to 1109, further library regulations were made. No books were to be lent without a sufficient deposit; and to guard against loss, service books and valuable works were chained.

The copying of books was one of the most important activities at Cluny. So important was this occupation that the scribes were excused from part of their religious duties. They worked in a little cloister but, to dry their writing or melt their ink, were allowed to go into the kitchen. The names of some of the twelfth-century scribes have survived. Albert, Opizo, and Durannus were noted for the exactitude of their copies.<sup>17</sup> An entry of 1119 mentions Albert of Trèves as "the best among those who wrote or made books." At the request and expense of Abbot Pons, and with the assistance of Peter, the armarius, he produced an elaborate Bible, and with another monk he corrected it twice. The monk Durannus produced service books; and as a reward for his efforts, Abbot Hugh made his anniversary a double feast.

By the twelfth century Cluny was exchanging books with other

<sup>14</sup> L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, II, 458-86.

<sup>15</sup> J. A. Clerval, *Les Ecoles de Chartres au moyen âge* (Paris, 1895), p. 189.

<sup>16</sup> Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXLIX, col. 748.

<sup>17</sup> *Histoire littéraire de la France*, IX, 113.

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houses. Peter the Venerable wrote to Prior Guigo of the Grande Chartreuse that he had sent him copies of the lives of Gregory Nazianzen and John Chrysostom, as had been requested, and also included Ambrose on Symmachus' *Relatio*; he would not send Hilary on the Psalms because he had found errors in the copy; *Prosper contra Cassianum* was not at Cluny, but he would send to Aquitaine for it; in return he begged Guigo to send Augustine's *Letters*.<sup>18</sup>

As early as 936 Pope Leo VII had declared that Fleury was the chief of all monasteries.<sup>19</sup> Its library was so rich from the beginning of the tenth century that, whenever Gerbert wished a rare volume, he had only to send to Fleury.<sup>20</sup> It is unfortunate that we know nothing of the earlier history of this library. It must have been founded during the Carolingian period, but there is no evidence to prove it.

Two catalogues of the tenth century have been dubiously ascribed to Fleury.<sup>21</sup> The first lists various expositions of the Bible, sermons, missals, a volume on the pastoral care, and one on the symbolism of church vestments. Law is represented by the decretals of the African councils and the *Ripuarian Code*. There was a volume on the art of calculation and a *Physiologus*. The classics included Vergil, Terence, Arator, and Aesop; and the medieval authors were Gregory the Great, Isidore of Seville, Augustine, Prudentius, and Bede. It is difficult to see in this list of 103 books a library so renowned as Fleury's was at this time. As a matter of fact, the presence of the lives of St. Médard and St. Quentin, and the *Passion* of Lambert might well argue that the catalogue came originally from the diocese of Liège rather than of Orléans.<sup>22</sup> In the second catalogue we find Cicero's

<sup>18</sup> Martin Marrier, *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, col. 653. The edition printed at Macon, 1915, is a reproduction of the rare 1614 folio, with the notes by the seventeenth-century scholar André Duchesne; a valuable source for the history of Cluny.

<sup>19</sup> The abbey was officially known as St. Benoit-sur-Loire because in 653 it had acquired the bones of St. Benedict after Monte Cassino was destroyed in 589.

<sup>20</sup> C. Cuissard-Gaucheron, *Inventaire des manuscrits de la bibliothèque d'Orléans, Fonds de Fleury* (Orléans, 1885), p. xiii.

<sup>21</sup> Listed by Becker as *incognita* (Nos. 29 and 45), but assigned by Cuissard-Gaucheron and Gottlieb to Fleury.

<sup>22</sup> This point was called to the writer's attention in a private letter by Dr. Harriet Pratt Lattin, of Ohio State University.



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*De rhetorica*, Plato's *Timaeus*, Porphyry, Priscian, Vergil, Terence, Horace, Sallust, Juvenal, Arator, Avian, Cato, Donatus, Aesop, Macrobius, Boethius' commentaries on the *Isagoge*, Aristotle's *Peri Hermenias*, Bede, Persius, one work on astronomy, one on the astrolabe, one on music, the capitularies of the Frankish kings, Alaric's *Breviary*, and the *Novellae*. There would seem to be two possible arguments in favor of a Fleury provenance for this second catalogue. In the first place, Sallust's histories are mentioned, and we know that parts of the *Historiae* were at Fleury.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, some of the writers mentioned—Prudentius, Vergil, Horace, Juvenal, and Persius—were quoted by Abbo.<sup>24</sup> However, there are several arguments against such an origin.

Professor E. K. Rand has identified Codex Leidensis Vossianus Latinus Q 86 as a Fleury manuscript of the second half of the ninth century.<sup>25</sup> The volume is incomplete; but in its form it contains Arator on the Acts of the Apostles, the Augustinian epigrams of Prosper, the two hymns of Sedulius, distichs of Cato, Avian's bestiary, and selections from the *Anthologia Latina* and from Martial, Avitus, and Isidore of Seville's chapter on grammar. If this codex is identical with No. 256 in the twelfth-century catalogue of Cluny published by Delisle,<sup>26</sup> as Rand believes it to be, it also contained works of Iuvenecus and Tertullian. Now, if we compare this list of books which were at Fleury in the ninth century with the catalogue attributed to Fleury in the tenth or eleventh, it can be seen that, at best, the catalogue was partial. There is no mention of Sedulius, Martial, Iuvenecus, or Tertullian. A rival identification of this catalogue attributes it to Gorze or Toul in the middle of the eleventh century,

<sup>23</sup> E. Hauler, "Ein neues Palimpsestfragment zu Sallusts Historien," *Wiener Studien*, VII (1886), 315-30; *idem*, "Das orleaner Palimpsestfragment zu Sallusts Historien," *ibid.*, IX (1887), 25-30.

<sup>24</sup> Abbo also quoted Hilary of Poitiers. Cf. C. Pfister, *Le Règne de Robert le Pieux*, p. 33, who is of the opinion that Abbo's citation of these writers may have been taken from Priscian rather than from the original authors. However, with the exception of Hilary, they are all in the second catalogue.

<sup>25</sup> "A *Vade Mecum* of Liberal Culture in a Manuscript of Fleury," *Philological Quarterly*, I (1922), 258-78, esp. 270.

<sup>26</sup> Delisle, *op. cit.*, II, 458-81.

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for, with the exception of the work on the astrolabe and the *Excidium Troie*, every volume listed in this catalogue is to be found also in a Gorze catalogue of the eleventh century.<sup>27</sup> If the treatise on the astrolabe corresponds to that supposedly written by Hermann Contractus, the catalogue cannot be earlier than 1048. Thus, neither of these two slender catalogues can be positively attributed to Fleury. Actually, then, beyond the volumes quoted by Abbo and those found in the Voss Codex, specific information concerning the contents of the Fleury library must be collected piecemeal.

Yet, even if we cannot reconstruct the library at Fleury, we can trace something of the influence which is exerted on the other monasteries of France and England. By the middle of the tenth century Fleury was the center of a renaissance of learning in northern Europe. About A.D. 950 Wulfard, abbot of Fleury, went with twelve of his monks to reorganize the spiritual and intellectual life of St. Père de Chartres.<sup>28</sup> One monk, Berno, left Fleury to teach at Prüm, and later became abbot of Reichenau.<sup>29</sup> Another, Bernard de Comborn, became successively abbot of Solignac and of Beaulieu, and finally bishop of Cahors. And when King Edgar began his revival of monasticism in England, he turned to Fleury rather than to Cluny, and Abbo went to England to assist him.

Abbo, born about 950, had studied grammar, arithmetic, and dialectics at the monastery school established at Fleury by Theodulf of Orléans a century before.<sup>30</sup> To complete his education, he went to Paris and then to Rheims, where he studied astronomy under Gerbert. But apparently he found the great master wanting, for on his return to Orléans he studied music secretly with a cleric there; he still lacked rhetoric and geometry. Returning to Fleury, he became head of the school, and was succeeded by Constantine when he was

<sup>27</sup> D. J. Morin, "Le Catalogue des manuscrits de l'abbaye de Gorze au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue bénédictine*, XXII (1905), 1-14.

<sup>28</sup> Clerval, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>29</sup> J. P. Pardiac, *Histoire de Saint Abbon, abbé de Fleury-sur-Loire et martyr à La Réole en 1004* (Paris, 1874), p. 139.

<sup>30</sup> F. M. Carey, "De Scriptura Floriacensis," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXIV (1923), 194.

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called to Ramsey Abbey in England.<sup>32</sup> Relations between Fleury and England, already close,<sup>33</sup> were firmly cemented by this visit; and English and Danish monks came to Fleury for instruction.

The library of Fleury seems to have received the constant attention of the abbots, and the scribes copied constantly both new and old texts. Abbo, suffering from a lack of books, required each scholar to present two manuscripts to the monastery on entering. When Macarius reformed Fleury and converted it into a Cluniac priory, one of his first acts was to impose on all houses dependent on Fleury an annual tax for the upkeep and augmentation of the central library,<sup>34</sup> which was lodged in a special tower, possibly a fireproof structure.<sup>35</sup> Fleury's manuscripts traveled the length of Gaul,<sup>36</sup> and even went to England to be copied,<sup>36</sup> sometimes overstaying the period of their loan, as a letter of Abbo querulously tells us. Even after Abbo's return to Fleury, the monks of Canterbury sent him a *Life of St. Dunstan*, which they wished to have rendered into verse. He seems to have taken this with him on his mission to reform La Réole (Squires). After his death the manuscript remained at Squires and was not returned to Canterbury.<sup>37</sup>

It is curious that Orléans, whose intellectual brilliance was so great in the ninth century when Theodulf was bishop, is so little heard of after his time. What became of his library? Was it neglected, and so suffered decay? Or did adjacent monasteries, like Fleury and La Trinité at Vendôme, acquire some of its treasures? We do not know. Now La Trinité was the only other monastery in the middle Loire Valley which seems to have possessed a library of importance, although it was not comparable to that of Fleury. Its abbot Geoffroy

<sup>32</sup> F. M. Warren, "Constantine of Fleury, 985-1014 A.D.," *Transactions, Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, V (1909), 287.

<sup>33</sup> Germanus, abbot of Ramsey during Abbo's stay, had been a monk of Fleury.

<sup>34</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 84.

<sup>35</sup> Cuissard-Gaucheron, *op. cit.*, p. xv.

<sup>36</sup> The library of the medical school at Montpellier had a copy of the life of Abbo written by Aimon.

<sup>37</sup> W. Stubbs, *Memorials of St. Dunstan* ("Rolls Series," No. 63), pp. 376, 409, 410; L. Delisle, *Anciens "sacramentaires," Mémoires de l'institut national de France*, XXXII, 215.

<sup>38</sup> Stubbs, *op. cit.*, p. xxvii.

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not only ordered books made but copied them himself.<sup>38</sup> However, little is known of the library beyond a ruling in 1156, by Abbot Robert, that the dependent priories should pay toward its upkeep.<sup>39</sup>

We know even less of the library of Dol. In a poem to Gerardus Laudunis, Balderic, archbishop of Dol in the twelfth century, praised his abbey as a peaceful spot, wherein could be found "books and manuscripts and all things fitted for students."<sup>40</sup> But what these works were he does not say.

There is a twelfth-century catalogue from the monastery of St. Aubin of Angers containing 142 items. Of these, 23 were works of St. Augustine, including his *Confessions* and a *Musica*. There were 6 volumes of Ambrose, 8 of Jerome, and 6 of Gregory the Great, Rhabanus Maurus, Bede, Isidore of Seville, Origen, Josephus, the *Letters* of Ivo, Boethius, Cassian, and the *Gesta Normannorum* and the *Gesta Francorum*.<sup>41</sup>

The library of St. Père de Chartres owed, if not its origin, certainly its increase, to Wulfald of Fleury, who came to Chartres on the invitation of Bishop Ragenfred about 950. Unfortunately, our knowledge of the library is confined to one catalogue of the eleventh century and a few colorful details. We know that there was a school of copyists at the monastery in the tenth century. A few of their manuscripts have survived, from which it has been concluded that the collection at this time was largely composed of patristic writings. This impression is sustained by the catalogue which has survived.<sup>42</sup> This enumerates Cassiodorus; Isidore of Seville; Gregory of Tours; Rhabanus Maurus; the arithmetic of Boethius; books on Ripuarian, Frankish, and Saxon law; the Roman history of Florus; and a few classics—Juvenal, Ovid, Vergil, and Statius. The library seems to have been well cared for. As early as the tenth century the monastery had its librarian, whose duties included, beside the usual care, the

<sup>38</sup> L. Compain, "Etude sur Geoffroy de Vendôme," *Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études*, LXXXVI (1891), 75-85.

<sup>39</sup> Clerval, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

<sup>40</sup> Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CLXVI, col. 1199.

<sup>41</sup> Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, II, 485-87.

<sup>42</sup> L. Merlet, "Catalogue des livres de l'abbaye de St. Père de Chartres," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 2d ser., V, 265 ff.

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inscribing of maledictions in each volume against whoever should mutilate it. The collection continued to grow in the twelfth century. In some cases new books were given to the monastery, as when one Master Sigon donated a copy of the Gospels. More usual methods of increase were by copying or purchase. Methods of purchasing new manuscripts varied: On one eleventh-century manuscript is a note to the effect that the monks of St. Père had been assessed to buy it from a Lombard monk.<sup>43</sup> Odo of Ivesville and his successor, Fulcher, earmarked funds not only for the purchase of new books but also for the repair of the old, lest they be destroyed by worms and decay. Fulcher had all the manuscripts placed in a special room.

Burgundy was the only province in northern France which had escaped the ravages of the Norsemen in the ninth century. Here Dijon was unusually well defended by its walls, and books flowed in for preservation from other monasteries. In the tenth century the library and school of St. Bénigne became notable, its development being due to the energy of Abbot William (990-1031), whom Majolus of Cluny had called to France from Italy. William was a Lombard, from the little cloister at Lucedio, but had studied in Pavia and Vercelli, whose libraries were old and famous. Almost at once he concerned himself with the monastery library. He gave each monk a pen for writing and set several of them, among them Rodinus and Teudradus, to work copying manuscripts. Sixteen codices from this period survive. Scribes and illuminators were imported from Italy.<sup>44</sup> Some volumes seem to have been among those brought from other monasteries. One, an Isidore, has along its margins the *Annals* of St. Bénigne. William's great concern for the library was displayed when Robert the Pious attacked Dijon in 1005. After placing his monks in neighboring priories, he moved the library, along with the relics and ornaments, into the chapel of St. Vincent. William's successor, Halinard, continued to develop the library, ordering many volumes, some of which are still to be seen in the Bibliothèque nationale and in the library of Dijon.

<sup>43</sup> E. Boutaric, "Vincent de Beauvais et la connaissance de l'antiquité classique," *Revue des questions historiques*, XVII (1875), 16.

<sup>44</sup> C. Oursel, *La Bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Bénigne, et ses plus anciens manuscrits* (Dijon, 1924), p. 115.

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St. Bénigne seems to have had frequent contacts with other monastic libraries. We know that Fécamp borrowed books, but not what volumes. We also know that Halinard lent Prudentius and Horace to the monks of Langres in exchange for a dialectic of Victorinus. Indeed, the contacts of St. Bénigne were probably much wider than we can now trace. William's activities in reforming the monasteries of Normandy took him to Fécamp, St. Ouen at Rouen, and Mont-Saint-Michel.<sup>45</sup> He was also called upon to aid in reforming St. Germain-des-Près and the bishoprics of Metz and Toul. It is not improbable that all of these monasteries borrowed books from the library of St. Bénigne. Unfortunately, little is known of its history during this period. That the collection was extensive and continued to grow may be inferred from the decision, toward the middle of the twelfth century, to use a portion of the revenue from each grange for the purchase of books and parchment.<sup>46</sup>

With the year 1000, cathedral libraries in France begin to excel, as the cathedral schools surpassed those of the monasteries. At Rheims, Gerbert, later Pope Sylvester II, was the most brilliant intellect and the greatest teacher in France before Abélard. In him the scholarly tradition of the Carolingian age reached its peak, and the collection of books was his great passion.<sup>47</sup> Ultimately his library became so complete that after he left Bobbio, according to his own testimony, he needed to borrow but three volumes.<sup>48</sup> Its content can be partially reconstructed from references in his own writings. These reveal that Gerbert had a first-hand knowledge of many of the classics. But he could not read Greek; and his citations of Pythagoras, the *Timaëus* of Plato, the commentaries thereon by Chalcidius, and Boethius, were second-hand. He asked Adso of Montier-en-Der to copy Caesar's *Gallic War* for him, and sent to Rome for Suetonius and Symmachus. His high regard for Cicero and his desire for corrected copies of Pliny are well known. He seems to have collected on medicine; and he asked Bonfils, bishop of Girona in the

<sup>45</sup> C. Pfister, *Études sur le règne de Robert le Pieux*, pp. 6, 308-12.

<sup>46</sup> Oursel, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. J. P. E. Havet's Introduction to his edition of *Lettres de Gerbert*.

<sup>48</sup> R. S. Allen, "Gerbert, Pope Sylvester II," *English Historical Review*, VII (1892), 635.

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Spanish March, for a treatise on the multiplication and division of numbers written by Joseph the Spaniard, or Joseph the Wise.<sup>49</sup> In astrology we know that he asked Lupitus of Barcelona for a volume and Rainard for Boethius' work on the subject.<sup>50</sup>

Any discussion of the library of Rheims is, of necessity, only a disjointed series of notes. We know from Hincmar's writings that his chief interests were in patristic literature and canon law, and we can tell what books he used. These were presumably available in the cathedral library; but many of them must have been his own, for in the next century 19 works bearing his signature were extant.<sup>51</sup> Gottlieb has gathered scattered data concerning the library, including a fifteenth-century list. For example, there was an eighth-century manuscript of Zeno, the earliest one known to us. From the ninth century there were volumes of Fortunatus, Isidore, Sedulius, St. Augustine on the Psalms, Donatus, Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards*, the *Gesta pontificum Romanorum*, and a commentary on Orosius. Tenth-century manuscripts were the commentaries of Fulgentius, the *Lex Salica*, the *Passion* of Florentinus and Hilary, records of the synods held under Louis the Pious, various treatises on grammar, Ansegisus' collection of the capitularies of Charles the Great and Louis the Pious, Einhard's *Vita Karoli*, the coronation of Charles the Bald, Charles the Great's testament, Hincmar's *De villa Noviliaco* and his *Letters*, Wandalbert's *Life of St. Goar*, and the lives of St. Basil, St. Gorgonius, and Eugene of Toledo. From the twelfth century there were Augustine's sermons, Gregory the Great's sermons, and Burchard of Worms' *Decretals*. It does not follow, however, that these manuscripts were all in St. Rémi at one time. Moreover, the fate of Gerbert's own library is unknown. Did it go to St. Rémi at his death, or was it dispersed? These remain questions which cannot be answered. Certainly none of his books has been identified in modern times.

The greatest French cathedral collection of the eleventh century

<sup>49</sup> He had previously requested this of Gerald of Aurillac.

<sup>50</sup> In a letter to Archbishop Adalbero he spoke of "viii volumina Boetii de astrologia," which he had discovered. The identity of this author has been the subject of some discussion. Cf. Garrod, *Classical Quarterly*, 1909, p. 56.

<sup>51</sup> C. V. Noorden, *Hincmar*, p. 392.

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was at Chartres. This is linked inevitably with the name of Fulbert,<sup>52</sup> Gerbert's most brilliant disciple, who was bishop of Chartres from 1007 to 1036. Sometime between 987 and 992 he left the school at Rheims and entered the school at Chartres, where he was master and chancellor from the day of his arrival. He found the library was limited: 4 manuscripts of Augustine's tracts, a few of Jerome, and single volumes of Prosper, Mamertius Claudius, Cassiodorus, Rhabanus Maurus, Martianus Capella, and Boethius. There were only 4 manuscripts of dialectic—no Porphyry, nothing of Plato, practically nothing of Aristotle. In the other branches of the trivium there was even less—Priscian's grammar and Victorinus' commentary of Cicero on rhetoric. There were no treatises on arithmetic, geometry, or music; no medical works; and practically nothing of the literature written in the ninth and tenth centuries.<sup>53</sup>

With the coming of Fulbert all this was changed. Some record survives of the volumes he added: in grammar, Donatus; in rhetoric and dialectic, Porphyry, the *Categories* of Aristotle, Fulbert's poem, Boethius' tracts, two short treatises, *De rhetoricae cognatione* and *Locorum rhetoricorum distinctio*, Gerbert's *De rationali et ratione uti*, and finally, logical tables of Themistius and Cicero. These were all bound in one volume as a manual of philosophy for the scholars. Arithmetic was now represented by Boethius' work on the subject, as well as the tracts and writings of more recent writers, such as Gerbert, Adelbold of Utrecht, Wazo of Liège, and Alcuin; and the astronomical works of Bede, Abbo, and Denys le Petit were there. The classics were not so well represented, although we know that Richer copied Sallust at Rheims and that Livy was read. Fulbert himself cited Valerius Maximus, Vergil, Ovid, Horace, Terence, Statius, and Servius. It is not certain that Plato's *Timaeus* in Chalcidius' Latin version was at Chartres, although Fulbert thought him superior to other thinkers of antiquity. A law collection was apparently begun under Fulbert. He had a summary of Charlemagne's

<sup>52</sup> The place of Fulbert's birth has been controverted, with Italy having the greatest weight of opinion; cf. H. Johnson, "Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres," *Church Quarterly Review*, CII (1929), 48.

<sup>53</sup> Clerval, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-28.



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*Capitularies*; and his own manual, *De forma fidelitatis*, made at the request of William of Aquitaine, was an authority on feudal law throughout the Middle Ages. In canon law Fulbert had a copy of the Pseudo-Isidore and a collection of canons which may have been the one made by Olbert of Gembloux, one of his pupils, in collaboration with Burchard of Worms.

The influence of Chartres in Fulbert's time was extensive. We find him sending copies of Priscian and Donatus to Hildegare, whom he had made treasurer of St. Hilary of Poitiers. He also sent a Priscian to Bonibert, bishop of Fünfskirchen in Hungary, and imported books from Italy. But Fulbert's greatest intellectual influence was through the school of Chartres, which drew students from all over France: Orléans, Tours, Paris, Poitiers, Nantes, Senlis, Beauvais, Rouen, Dijon, Gembloux, Liège, and Cologne.

After Fulbert's death the library continued to grow, largely from donations. His successor, Thierry, left a large number of books to the cathedral, as did Ascelin the Breton, one of the canons of the third quarter of the eleventh century. Ivo, bishop of Chartres (1089-1115), left some liturgical works beautifully bound and ornamented with gold, and probably his renowned collection of canon law. The largest donations to the library seem to have come in the twelfth century. In 1144 Herman the Dalmatian sent from Toulouse a copy of Ptolemy's *Planisphere*, which had been translated by his pupil Radulph of Bourges, from Arabic into Latin.<sup>54</sup> In 1150 Chancellor Thierry left his collection of about fifty volumes, including Roman law: the *Institutes*, *Digest*, and *Novels*, the geometry of Adelard of Bath, and Thierry's own encyclopedia of the seven liberal arts, the *Heptateuchon*. This was the manual from which he taught the most important works in each branch of the trivium and quadrivium.<sup>55</sup> The most interesting collection of books which Chartres received was from John of Salisbury, who died in 1180. Most of these manuscripts had disappeared by the eighteenth century. John was the greatest

<sup>54</sup> This work had been translated from Greek into Arabic by Abulcasim in the early years of the eleventh century.

<sup>55</sup> J. S. Beddie, "Libraries in the Twelfth Century," *Anniversary Essays in Mediaeval History*, by Students of C. H. Haskins (Boston and New York, 1929), p. 4.

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humanist of the twelfth century; he was an acquaintance, though no friend, of Abélard, and was intellectually, if not actually, one of the creators of the later University of Paris.<sup>56</sup> The catalogue of the books he bequeathed<sup>57</sup> represents only in a small part the wealth of John's learning, for doubtless he had access to the library of Canterbury when he was secretary to Archbishop Theobald; and he had sojourned in Rome for a long time.

It seems probable that John of Salisbury availed himself of his stay in Apulia to acquire some knowledge of Greek and it is certain that he collected some Greek books when there where Henricus Aristippus, archdeacon of Catania, was engaged in making translations from Greek authors. Later we find John writing to his old friend Richard L'Evêque, afterwards bishop of Avranches, offering to pay whatever sum might be necessary for copies of some works of Aristotle in his possession.

Chartres . . . had become the headquarters of what we may call a humanistic movement, anticipating in its Platonism and in its love of ancient literature generally, some of the characteristic tendencies of the Renaissance. This movement was, indeed, destined to die out a century later, when the minds of scholars had been diverted from the study of poets and historians to the severer inquiries suggested by the scientific and philosophical works of Aristotle.<sup>58</sup>

Other important gifts to Chartres were those of Dean Salomon, who gave 30 volumes, and Bernard, who gave 24. Early in the thirteenth century Chancellor Peter de Roissey bequeathed his private library, except for works of Gaius, Solinus, and Apollinaris—ecclesiastical in character. One Gautier gave the letters of Augustine, while Serannus left the *De civitate Dei* and a treatise of Jerome. Through the bequest of Chancellor Constantine the collection of law books was increased by a beautiful manuscript of the *Decretals*, all of the *Corpus juris* in five volumes, and the *Old Decretals*. Master John of Secusa left Henry of Secusa's *Somme dorée*. Gifts of liturgical and ecclesiastical works were common.

By the end of the twelfth century Chartres possessed one of the most eclectic libraries on the Continent. Of special interest are the astronomical and astrological treatises of Arabic provenance. In

<sup>56</sup> R. Lane-Poole, "Masters of the Schools at Paris and Chartres in John of Salisbury's Time," *English Historical Review*, XXXV, 321-42.

<sup>57</sup> Listed in the *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, ed. E. de Lépiniois and L. Merlet, III, 202; A. C. Krey, "John of Salisbury's Knowledge of the Classics," *Transactions, Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters*, XVI, Part II (1909-10), 948-87.

<sup>58</sup> C. C. J. Webb, *John of Salisbury* (London, 1932), pp. 6, 157.

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addition to Ptolemy's *Planisphere* there were also his *Canons* and *Tables*, and the *De utilitatibus* and *De mensura astrolabii*, the two latter translated by the same Radulph of Bruges who had translated the *Planisphere*. There was also a copy of the *Charismian Tables*, translated by Adelard of Bath. The two other astrological works mentioned were an Alkabizi translated by John of Seville and an Aben Eizor. Thus, Chartres was evidently one of the channels by which Arabic learning came into Europe. It was also the chief center of Platonism in the twelfth century in the persons of Bernard, Thierry, Bernard Silvester, and Gilbert de la Porrée, who, in trying to reproduce an opinion of Aristotle, succeeded in formulating a Platonic theory. Finally, the school at Chartres was a center of the humanities. Consequently, the classical section of the library was large, though it had been almost nonexistent in the tenth century. Evidently, there was some knowledge of Greek in the school. Gilbert de la Porrée<sup>59</sup> made a résumé of Proclus' *Commentary on Plato* and received a volume entitled *Explanation of Certain Greek Words*. Ivo of Chartres translated several Greek words in the course of his sermons and cited a passage of Didymus the Blind in reference to the procession of the Holy Ghost. One student at Chartres cited Socrates, Heraclitus, Epictetus, and Plutarch. Others borrowed words from Plato. These, however, may have been found in Chalcidius' translation of the *Timaeus*. At this time, also, the vernacular began to be found in some of the Chartres manuscripts. Jordanus Fantosmus composed a French poem on the wars of Henry II, and Stephan Alinerra was master of French as well as of Latin.

The beginning of libraries in Normandy is connected with the monastic reform initiated by William of St. Bénigne, who, as we have seen, was called into Normandy in 1001 by Duke Richard I to refound the ancient Merovingian abbey of Fécamp, which had been ruined during the Norse invasions. But the immediate effect seems to have been slight. "Under the first six dukes of Neustria [Normandy]" wrote Ordericus Vitalis, "almost no one in Normandy gave himself to the study of the liberal arts; no man of learning was to be found un-

<sup>59</sup> Praised in his obituary as "libros armarii diligenter emendatos pluribus melioravit" (*Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, III, 67).

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til the day when God, who disposes of all things, sent Lanfranc to the shores of Normandy,"<sup>60</sup> where he made Bec the foremost intellectual center in the duchy.

Lanfranc, who was born at Pavia about the year 1000, of noble blood, first devoted himself to the study of Roman law but later turned to theology. This made it necessary for him to go to France. Attracted by the fame of Berengar of Tours, he studied under him for a season; but, discovering that his instruction was tainted with heretical ideas, he left to travel through Burgundy and other provinces of France. Tradition says that he stayed a short time in Paris. Finally he settled at Avranches, where he opened a school, some of his former pupils in Italy following him. Again Lanfranc had a change of mind and determined to abandon the life of a secular cleric for that of a monk. Thus he found his way, in 1041 or 1042, to Bec, which had been established but a few years before. Lanfranc introduced into Bec new ideas in education and culture, theology and canon law being stressed in the school. The first generation of scholars there included some of the most notable ecclesiastics of the period.<sup>61</sup> Lanfranc still retained an interest in civil law. "The presence of the Digest and the Institutes in the monasteries of Normandy in the next century suggests the influence of Lanfranc."<sup>62</sup> Through his efforts a library of fifty or more volumes was collected at Bec,<sup>63</sup> which was placed in charge of a librarian, to whom Lanfranc addressed the most minute instructions.<sup>64</sup> No catalogue survives, but much light on the contents of the collection can be drawn from various sources. The presence of the Church Fathers is well substantiated. Lanfranc himself constantly cited Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, and Gregory the Great; and William of Bamberg congratulated him on having abandoned dialectics in order to apply himself to the Fathers.<sup>65</sup> In addition, there must have been also a goodly collection of

<sup>60</sup> *Historia ecclesiastica* IV. vi.

<sup>61</sup> A. Porée, "L'Ecole du Bec," *Revue de philosophie*, XV (1909), 628-29.

<sup>62</sup> A. J. Macdonald, *Lanfranc* (Oxford, 1926), p. 11.

<sup>63</sup> J. de Crozals, *Lanfranc, archevêque de Cantorbéry, sa vie, son enseignement, sa politique* (Paris, 1877), p. 67.

<sup>64</sup> E. Longuemare, *L'Eglise et la conquête de l'Angleterre* (Paris: Champion, 1902), p. 55.

<sup>65</sup> Longuemare believes that the now lost works of Ambrose were to be found at Bec.

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the ancient classics. It is difficult to reconstruct this section of Bec's library. We know that at the beginning of the twelfth century there was a more or less complete Cicero at Bec, in addition to works of Seneca, Ovid, Suetonius, Quintilian, and Martianus Capella.<sup>66</sup> But whether this collection was added during Lanfranc's stay is uncertain. True, Ordericus Vitalis said that the monks of Bec applied themselves to belles-lettres as well as to Scripture.<sup>67</sup> And at this time, in their zealous search for treatises by ancient physicians, they unearthed the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates and a treatise by Galen.<sup>68</sup> But we cannot be certain that the classical writers at Bec were collected before the twelfth century. Indeed, as Longuemare points out, Lanfranc may have made only at second hand his vague allusions to Cicero's *Topics* and Vergil's poetry.<sup>69</sup>

But whatever Lanfranc may have lacked in an extensive classical library, he more than made up in the exactness he required in the texts available. He supervised their correction, even borrowing copies of manuscripts from neighboring monasteries in order to compare the readings. He also corrected service books and theological works. A copy of Cassian's *Collationes* bears the legend: "I, Lanfranc, have corrected this." His care for accurate transcriptions seems to have resulted in the development of a scribal school at Bec.<sup>70</sup>

Almost from its inception, Bec's library became the most influential one in Normandy. This was largely due to the extent of Lanfranc's personal contacts. His pupils were men who later attained positions of importance in Canterbury, Rochester, Ely, and St. Al-

<sup>66</sup> A. Porée, "L'Ecole du Bec et Saint Anselm," *Revue de philosophie*, XV (1914), 628; P. Duhem, "La Scolastique latine et la physique d'Aristote," *Revue de philosophie*, XV (1909), 163.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Léon Maître, *Les Ecoles épiscopales et monastiques en occident avant les universités* (2d ed.), p. 81.

<sup>68</sup> L. C. F. Petit-Radel, *Recherches sur les bibliothèques anciennes et modernes*, pp. 88-89.

<sup>69</sup> Lanfranc apparently knew no Greek, although it seems to have been known in Normandy at this time. There is in the bibliothèque d'Avranches an eleventh-century manuscript which contains conversational phrases in Latin with an interlinear translation in Greek, written in capitals. Lanfranc seems not to have known Aristotle but may have known Plato's *Timaeus* through Chalcidius.

<sup>70</sup> Lanfranc's interest in accurate texts continued even as archbishop of Canterbury. Both Milo Crespin and Matthew Paris said that, thanks to his efforts in correcting the texts of both Old and New Testaments, England enjoyed a new light. Cf. Porée, *op. cit.*, p. 627.

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ban's in England; Rouen, Jumièges, St. Evroul, Mont-St.-Michel, and Chartres in France; and Telesa in Italy. That he encouraged intellectual activities elsewhere in Normandy may be seen in the gifts of manuscripts which he made to Mont-Saint-Michel. But Lanfranc was not the only man responsible for Bec's eminence. Anselm, his successor on the throne of Canterbury, was a monk of Bec about 1060. During his first three years there he also corrected texts assiduously, in addition to his philosophical studies. As a teacher, his influence was second only to Lanfranc's, for his students were later to be found at Canterbury, Laon, and Caen.

The twelfth century was a period of great prosperity for the library of Bec. Philip d'Harcourt, bishop of Bayeux, gave the monks over a hundred codices, which practically doubled the collection. From the catalogue of this gift<sup>71</sup> it is clear that the monks of Bec received a great variety of books. In addition to the Latin Fathers, there were many writers of classical antiquity—Caesar, Cicero, Suetonius, Seneca, Quintilian, Frontinus, Sallust, Pomponius Mela, Vegetius, Palladius on agriculture, both of the Plinys, Gratian, and Justinian. It is notable, however, that these ancient writers were only those concerned with practical, historical, scientific, philosophical, and rhetorical subjects; the only poet was Claudian.<sup>72</sup> Contemporary writers were also included: the historical works of Freulf, bishop of Lisieux, and Henry of Huntingdon; the philosophical writings of Adelard of Bath and Gilbert de la Porrée; along with the letters of Ivo of Chartres and Bernard of Clairvaux. Another twelfth-century catalogue<sup>73</sup> from Bec has come down, which lists, in addition to the works above, Ovid's works with the exception of the *Fasti*. The newer histories and chronicles now appear, as well as the writings of Lan-

<sup>71</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 86. We owe this important catalogue of the library of Bec to Robert of Torigny, who was a young and studious monk there before his transfer to Mont-St.-Michel. It is found in the same volume as his *Chronicle*; Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CL, cols. 771-82.

<sup>72</sup> J. S. Tatlock observes that it is hard to see why Bec should have been marked out by Hewlett and Manitius as a center of secular learning and humanistic studies; cf. his article "Geoffrey and King Arthur in *Normannicus Draco*," *Modern Philology*, XXXI (1933), 8, n. 8.

<sup>73</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 127. Longuemare (*op. cit.*, pp. 57-58) is of the opinion that this was a partial list of rare works, as there are no Bibles, hagiography, or liturgy included. He also points out that no titles on jurisprudence are included, which is surprising, since Norman monasteries of this period customarily had copies of the *Digest* and the *Institutes*.

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franc, Anselm, Fulcher, and Fulbert of Chartres, Berengar and Gregory of Tours, Gilbert Crespin, and Hildebert of Le Mans.

Second in importance to Bec among Norman monastic libraries was that of Fécamp. Of this there is a catalogue of 58 items dating from the first half of the eleventh century, which perhaps records the content of the library as it was founded by William of St. Bénigne.<sup>74</sup> It contained no classical authors, but only the more usual patristic writers. By the twelfth century the library had grown to 150 volumes.<sup>75</sup> In addition to the ubiquitous religious literature, the classics were represented by the *Aeneid*, Aristotle's *Topics*, Josephus' complete works, and two grammatical treatises of Priscian. Of medieval writers, there were Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* and two copies of his *De trinitate*, Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*, Cassiodorus, Amalarius, Ivo of Chartres, two copies of the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, the history of Peter Comestor, and Anselm. There were also a volume entitled *Questions in Hebrew* and another on medicine.

Third in importance among Norman libraries was that of St. Evroul. This monastery was founded in 1050 on the ruins of a Merovingian abbey, the organization of which was intrusted to Thierry of Mathonville, a monk of Jumièges. This abbot was himself a scribe and laid the foundation of the library. From time to time the collection was enriched by gifts. William of Bréteuil gave a copy of the Gospels heavily incrustated with gold, silver, and jewels; and Robert of Grentemesnil presented to the monks a large illustrated Psalter, which Queen Emma had sent from England to Robert, archbishop of Rouen. In the middle of the twelfth century a catalogue of 150 titles was compiled.<sup>76</sup> Most of the books were religious, and in addition the original manuscript of Ordericus Vitalis was preserved. The *Letters* of Ivo of Chartres, the *Sentences* of Warin de Séz, Bede's *History of England*, the *Homilies* of William of Merula,

<sup>74</sup> C. de Beaurepaire, "Anciens inventaires du trésor de l'abbaye de Fécamp," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 4th ser., V (1859), 158, n. 1; T. Gottlieb, *Ueber mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, No. 289.

<sup>75</sup> The list is published by L. Delisle, "Remarks on the Life, Character, Work and Times of Ordericus Vitalis," in Ordericus Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy*, trans. T. Forrester (London, 1856), IV, xv-xviii; Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 290.

<sup>76</sup> Delisle, *op. cit.*, IV, xi-xiv.

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Gratian, Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, and a life of Hippocrates were included. No classical literature, excepting Josephus, was listed; but we know that Walter of Jumièges made a transcript of Seneca's *Letters*. Thanks, perhaps, to the example of its first abbot, a scribal school developed at St. Evroul, which was so famous that its members were sent as teachers of writing to other French monasteries. Thierry's successor, Osbern, was a learned man who also had a talent for sculpture and metal work. With his own hands he made tablets of wax, and he required daily from each monk the work assigned to him.<sup>77</sup> In the thirteenth century a good calligrapher, whose work was appreciated by the abbot, was kept so busy transcribing manuscripts that he had no time for mass or for rest.<sup>78</sup>

The libraries of Jumièges and St. Wandrille were of lesser importance. Of Jumièges we know that its monks were famed, in the time of Lanfranc, for the delicacy of their illumination.<sup>79</sup> Its most progressive abbot was Alexander, who died in 1213, in whose time the catalogue was made.<sup>80</sup> Our information about the library of the monastery of St. Wandrille is contained, for the most part, in three early catalogues of the eighth and ninth centuries. We also know that the library contained about two hundred volumes in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, according to two inventories made in 1335 and 1481, which, however, have not been preserved.<sup>81</sup>

Of singular interest to the student of medieval libraries is the close connection between the Norman monastic libraries and England. This is natural, since the two greatest scholars of Bec became successively archbishops of Canterbury. But there were other connections also. Exchanges of books are recorded between English monas-

<sup>77</sup> Ordericus Vitalis, *op. cit.*, I, 3, 7. Ordericus himself elsewhere speaks of using the wax tablets in winter, writing on them with a stylus when the severity of the weather would not permit the use of ink on parchment.

<sup>78</sup> L. Delisle, "Le Clergé normand au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 2d ser., VIII (1846-47), 495.

<sup>79</sup> Longuemare, *op. cit.*, 59.

<sup>80</sup> J. Lebarq, *De Alexandro Gemmeticensi, cum appendice de bibliotheca Gemmeticensi* (Lille, 1888).

<sup>81</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, p. 326.



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teries and those of St. Ouen, Jumièges, St. Wandrille, Fécamp, St. Evroul, and Mont-Saint-Michel. The monastery of Sainte-Barbe in Auge had an English priory, where books were copied and sent to Normandy.<sup>82</sup>

Only traces remain at the cathedral library of Evreux, in a twelfth-century copy of Vergil.<sup>83</sup> Of its volumes, others may exist in the municipal library of Evreux. The cathedral library of Rouen was of first importance. There is no formal catalogue antedating the twelfth century; but Abbé Langlois has pointed out that many of the codices listed in this catalogue were of an earlier origin, and from the classical citations attributed to the early bishops of Rouen, he has adduced that the cathedral library existed in Merovingian times.<sup>84</sup> The first extant catalogue was made under Archbishop Gaufridus (1111-28). Of the 58 codices listed, more than a third are classical—Homer, Horace, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and *Amores*, Cicero, Arator, Juvenal, Vergil, Donatus, Boethius, and Terence. There is also an herbarium and a *liber de abaco*. A second catalogue, dating from 1165 to 1183, contains 23 items. It includes Pliny's *Natural History*, Vitruvius, Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*, Augustine's *City of God*, and 8 texts elaborately bound with gold and precious stones. A third catalogue, of the twelfth century, lists 97 codices. It is, for the most part, theological; but there are also included Cassiodorus' *De anima*, Boethius' *De musica*, Smaragdus, Fretulf of Luxeuil, Statius, Marcian, and Priscian.<sup>85</sup> In 1200 the cathedral was gutted by fire, but fortunately the library was not entirely destroyed.

The thirteenth century saw the decline of libraries in Normandy. Odo Rigaud, archbishop of Rouen (1248-69), paid special attention to the condition of libraries in his diocese and frequently found a lack of service books and even, in monastery libraries, of the monastic rule. Books were often in bad condition. He therefore suggested

<sup>82</sup> L. Delisle, *Sir Kenelm Digby et les anciens rapports des bibliothèques françaises avec la Grande Bretagne* (Paris, 1892), pp. 6-7.

<sup>83</sup> L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits*, II, 363.

<sup>84</sup> "Mémoire sur les bibliothèques des archevêques et du chapitre de Rouen," *Précis analytique des travaux de l'académie de Rouen pendant l'année 1851-52*, pp. 477-78.

<sup>85</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, Nos. 82, 104, 106.

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that one person be held responsible for the collection, that greater care be practiced in making loans, and that scribes be appointed in the monasteries. The monastery of Cherbourg was the only one in which he found a fair number of good books for study.<sup>86</sup>

In northeastern France and French Flanders lay a cluster of abbeys. Some of them, like Corbie and St. Riquier, had been intellectual centers in the Carolingian age, and others were new houses. At St. Riquier, abbots Gerbert and Gervin had been pupils of Gerbert at Rheims, and Angelram and Olbert had been trained by Fulbert at Chartres—evidence of the vital and radiating influence of these two great churchmen.

There are three early catalogues for Corbie. The earliest is from the eleventh century and exists only as a fragment.<sup>87</sup> Of the 60 books listed, 50 are theological. The *De corpore et sanguine Domini* of Paschasius Ratbertus might well be the original manuscript. The nontheological works are largely legal, but there is also a tripartite history (but not that of Cassiodorus), as well as Euclid and Frontinus on geometry, and Flaccus' *De agris*. Nothing verging on belles-lettres is included. The second catalogue, possibly from the twelfth century, is more complete.<sup>88</sup> It lists 313 volumes, of which 92 are secular texts. The classics include Cicero, Cato, Aristotle's *Categories*, Caesar's *Gallie Wars*, Pliny's history, Phocas' work on grammar, Priscian, Persius, Juvenal, Seneca, Statius, Livy, Lucretius, Terence, and Vergil's *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and part of the *Aeneid*. Medieval writers were represented by Gregory of Tours and a *Gesta Francorum*. The third catalogue is dated by Delisle as of about 1220.<sup>89</sup> It lists 342 volumes, of which 107 are on secular subjects. Law and history were heavily represented by Orosius, Gregory of Tours, Clement of Alexandria, a history of the Goths (which was possibly that of Jordanes), Josephus' *Antiquities* and the *Wars of the Jews*,

<sup>86</sup> Delisle, "Le Clergé normand au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *op. cit.*, pp. 491-94.

<sup>87</sup> Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, II, 427; Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 55.

<sup>88</sup> Delisle, *op. cit.*, II, 428; Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 79.

<sup>89</sup> Delisle, *op. cit.*, II, 106, 432; Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 136. There has been a dispute over the provenance of this catalogue. Cardinal Mai, in 1841, assigned it to Corvey; but the weight of opinion is with Delisle.

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Einhard's *Vita Karoli*, the *Gesta abbatum Corbiensium*, the *Lex Romana*, and Gratian's *Decretals*. In addition to the classical writers noted in the second catalogue, there are Macrobius, Lucan, Martial, Ovid's *Fasti*, Seneca's *Letters*, and Plato's *Timaeus* (Chalcidius).

In 1137 fire destroyed the monastery buildings, but there is no mention of how the manuscripts fared.<sup>90</sup> It is clear, however, from a letter of Alexander III, that Corbie was an important intellectual center in the second half of the century. This letter contains provisions for the repair of books and for the purchase of new volumes. For these purposes the librarian was to receive annually certain fees from the officers of the monastery and revenue from the monks of Clairfai and Brantlères. When Corbie lent a book, its rules required that another be deposited as surety. In this way undesirable literature was sometimes acquired, as is shown by the notation on a copy of John the Scot's *Periphrision*, deposited by the monks of St. Vincent of Laon, to the effect that the book should be burned because of the heresies contained in it, or else returned to St. Vincent. The monks of Corbie had their troubles about the circulation of books. In two letters to the Archbishop of Rouen in 1259 they complained that the monks of St. Eloi had borrowed a volume of chronicles, probably the *Gesta abbatum Corbiensium*, and had neglected to return it. By 1300 they had lost their intellectual vigor. They ceased to be actively interested in copying works, and the library had to depend on gifts and purchases of manuscripts made by professional copyists. During the fourteenth century the greatest patron of the library was Estienne de Conty, who died about 1413. He was a doctor of canon law and gave many volumes on that subject.

The ninth-century library of St. Riquier, as we have seen in a previous chapter, was an interesting collection. The majority of its 256 volumes was made up of patristic writings from Origen to Bede, collections of canons, missals, and copies of the Gospel, richly illuminated and bound in covers studded with gems. But in addition to these sacred writings there were secular works: Josephus, Pliny the Younger, Philo, the histories of Sozomen and Socrates, and

<sup>90</sup> *Gallia Christiana*, X, 1265.

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Jordanes. The monks also possessed copies of the *Lex Romana* and the Salic law, and treatises on grammar.<sup>91</sup> We can only guess what care was given this library before Angelram became abbot in the first half of the tenth century. He was an appreciative custodian and had the old volumes repaired and rebound, and new ones purchased or copied. His successor, Gervin, enlarged the library by a purchase of 36 books, all of which were patristic writings save a tripartite history, which may have been that of Cassiodorus.<sup>92</sup> Gervin's selection of books seems to have been an expression of his own inner struggle against the classics, which he had learned to love, doubtless as a student of Gerbert at Rheims. However, since "all the poets of the ancients have no other object than to give us the recital of passions satisfied or to show us how to satisfy ours," he tore himself from the reading which he felt strangled his soul, and devoted himself to the Church Fathers.

In August, 1131, St. Riquier was destroyed by fire. The only manuscripts known to have been saved were Hariulf's *Chronicle* and a copy of the Gospels presented to the monks by Charlemagne. The library, if later restored, must have been unimportant, since no mention is made of it until the latter part of the seventeenth century, when the Benedictines of St. Maur were making the rounds of the monasteries, collecting documents for the *Acta sanctorum ordinis S. Benedicti*.<sup>93</sup>

As nearly as can be ascertained, the library of St. Amand in Valenciennes was founded in the ninth century,<sup>94</sup> and perhaps may be attributed to Hucbald, who, in addition to his teaching, copied

<sup>91</sup> Hariulf, *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint Riquier*, pub. par F. Lot, p. 87.

<sup>92</sup> Lot believes that this list was made by Gervin himself. Cf. E. Boutaric, "Vincent de Beauvais," *Revue des questions historiques*, XVII (1875), 18, n. 6.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. E. de Broglie, *Mabillon et la société de l'abbaye de Saint Germain-des-Près* (Paris, 1888), I, 277. On the library of St. Riquier, see also F. Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages* (London, 1903), III, 141; Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 1.

<sup>94</sup> We know the names of four ninth-century contributors of books. Cf. L. Delisle's review of J. Mangeart, *Catalogue descriptif et raisonné de la bibliothèque de Valenciennes*, in the *Journal des savants*, 1860, pp. 377-82.

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many books with his own hand, 18 of which are preserved.<sup>95</sup> But the earliest catalogue extant is of the twelfth century.<sup>96</sup>

It is evident that the collection is of interest on several accounts. In addition to the usual patristic and liturgical literature, there was a goodly number of classical writers—Cicero's *De amicitia*, *De senectute*, and *De paradoxis*, Terence, Macrobius, Juvenal, the ubiquitous Priscian on grammar, Plato's *Timaeus*, and the *Isagoge* of Porphyry. The medical collection merits attention. Two volumes from the Arabic translated by Constantine of Monte Cassino and a *Viaticum* translated from the Arabic are noteworthy. So are two volumes, one by "Cleopatra," *De genetiis*, and Muscion's *De pessariis*. The latter is apparently the work of the second-century physician, Soranus, which was the most elaborate and scientific tract on contraception written before the nineteenth century.<sup>97</sup> Two volumes of Helperic on the courses of the sun and the moon may be mentioned. There was only one volume of law, a *Flores legum*. Two codices are important to the philologist, a Gregory Nazianzen with a ninth-century vernacular *Cantique de Sainte Eulalie* and the *Ludwigslied* (881) appended. The second codex contains four versions of the Psalms—French, Latin, Hebrew, and Greek.

Thanks to the care of the unknown cataloguer in listing donors, we can see how the library grew from gifts made by the monks themselves. But most of the volumes were the work of copyists of the house. No later catalogue is known, but St. Amand probably acquired other books during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Most of St. Amand's library fell to the departmental archives at Valenciennes at the time of the French Revolution; and as the books were rarely opened by the monks after the thirteenth century, they have been well preserved. It might be possible to reconstitute, at least in part, St. Amand's library by examining the Valenciennes manuscripts for pressmarks of that library.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, I, 313.    <sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 449 ff.

<sup>97</sup> N. E. Himes, "Soranus on Birth Control," *New England Journal of Medicine*, CCV (1931), 490-91.

<sup>98</sup> The *Catalogue général des manuscrits*, tome XX, Poitiers et Valenciennes (Paris, 1894), makes no endeavor to determine the provenience of the books. Some of the entries are tantalizing, especially No. 411, *De varietatibus carminum Boetii*, a ninth-century manuscript which is

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Although St. Bertin had the elements of a library as early as the ninth century,<sup>99</sup> the earliest list known was made between 1081 and 1095, probably at the instigation of John, who became abbot in 1081, and who was noted for the books he had written.<sup>100</sup> This first catalogue lists no religious works. In the twelfth century a more extensive catalogue was made.<sup>101</sup> Three hundred and five codices were recorded; but since some were probably composite volumes the monks had access to many more works than this. The compiler describes the list as a "brevis annotatio librorum." Beyond the usual patristic writers there were many medieval commentators. The *Vita Karoli* was included, as were many classical writers—Boethius; Cassiodorus; Chalcidius' commentary on Plato; 3 books of Juvenal's *Satires*; 3 books of Ovid; Priscian; Sallust; Terence; Vergil's *Bucolics*; and 4 other volumes not named. Secular writers of the medieval period were few—Fortunatus' poems and various *Gesta* of the Franks, Lombards, and the English. There was also a volume on the Salic law, Frontinus on geometry, and 6 books on medicine.

The library of Gembloux seemingly owed its foundation, in the eleventh century, to Abbot Olbert (d. 1048), a former student of Fulbert of Chartres.<sup>102</sup> According to the *Gesta abbatum Gemblacensium*, he sought by all means to erect a complete library, and himself wrote a history of the Old and New Testaments. He gathered more than a hundred volumes of religious writings and fifty volumes of secular content. It is marvelous, indeed, that a single man, with such limited means, could accomplish so much.<sup>103</sup>

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attributed to Lupus of Ferrières in another copy (No. 377 at Metz). The age of the book would seem to justify the inference. Moreover, Lupus' letters show that he was very much interested in Latin classical meters; and though almost all his poetry has perished, time has preserved a hymn written by Lupus to St. Wigbert, in Horatian form:

"En piis splendent revoluta votis,  
Annuo nobis veneranda cultu,  
Festa Wigberti. Populo frequenti,  
Christe, faveto."

<sup>99</sup> Folcuin, *Gesta abbatum S. Bertini*; cf. *MGH, Scriptores*, XIII, 615. According to Petit-Radel (*op. cit.*, p. 59), in granting a charter permitting hunting, Charlemagne provided that all skins thus acquired were to go to St. Bertin for bindings.

<sup>100</sup> *MGH, Scriptores*, XIII, 642.

<sup>101</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 77.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. H. Delahaye, "Guibert, abbé de Florennes et de Gembloux," *Revue des questions historiques*, LXVI (1889), 18.

<sup>103</sup> *MGH, Scriptores*, VIII, 540.

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But he was aided by Sigebert, a former teacher at St. Vincent of Beauvais, known for his knowledge of Hebrew and his consequent ability to correct versions of the Scriptures from original texts. Sigebert taught for some time at Gembloux, where apparently he had access to such medieval authors as Fredegar, Flodoard, Aimon, Einhard, Raoul Glaber, and Peter Damiani. By the late twelfth century, when Guibert became abbot, he found, in addition to a large collection of sacred writings, the pagan poets Ovid, Vergil, and Horace, and the Christian poet Prudentius. Under him, Gembloux's influence as a cultural center increased. We find him corresponding with scholars in Cologne, Mainz, Trèves, Dijon, and Marmoutier. He journeyed to Ste Hildegarde, St. Bénigne, and Marmoutier, which he found to be a paradise of books. On his return to Gembloux he brought back from Marmoutier copies of the miracles of St. James and St. Martin, an account of Charlemagne's Spanish wars, the "martyrdom" of Roland, and the *Seven Sleepers*, which was attributed to St. Martin himself. But efforts to develop a library at Gembloux were seemingly ill-fated. In 1136, the abbey was saved from destruction by fire only by a miracle. In 1156 the monastery and the village burned to the ground. In 1185 the rebuilt abbey was again destroyed, and in this conflagration Guibert lost all his books.<sup>104</sup>

Very little is known of the library of St. Vaast in Arras before the twelfth century. D'Hericourt is of the opinion that intellectual work was early pursued by its monks and that both sacred and secular literature was preserved in the library.<sup>105</sup> But the first catalogue dates from the eleventh century, when Abbot Seiworld amassed at great expense and trouble a collection of 33 codices.<sup>106</sup> This collection is interesting because it included, in addition to the usual works of the Church Fathers and the lives of saints, Cassiodorus' *De orthographia*, a book on medicine, and one entitled *De professione coniugatorum*. In the twelfth century the collection of St. Vaast, as in many other monastic libraries, was greatly increased. Abbots John and Godescalc added works of contemporary writers, such as Gilbert de

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 513-64.

<sup>105</sup> *Bulletin du bibliophile belge*, VI (1850), 209.

<sup>106</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 58.

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la Porrée, Hugh of St. Victor, and Peter Lombard.<sup>107</sup> From a list of 167 codices dating from this period, it is obvious that secular literature was well represented.<sup>108</sup> But out of the entire list, 145 of the codices were religious, with only Anselm to represent contemporary thought. In this period, a school of skilful copyists and miniaturists grew up, which benefited other houses, including Cîteaux, as well as their own.<sup>109</sup>

There is a twelfth-century catalogue of the monastery of St. Sauveur of Anchin,<sup>110</sup> which contains 127 items, for the most part classical authors. Of all the monastic libraries in Flanders, that of Anchin had fewest ecclesiastical works, if this catalogue is a complete record. It is also noteworthy for its many duplicates. An eleventh-century catalogue for St. Laurence of Liège contains 41 items, over half theological.<sup>111</sup> An early thirteenth-century catalogue of Marchiennes contains 118 items, of which practically all are religious.<sup>112</sup>

The richest episcopal library in all northeastern France was that at Beauvais, the foundation of which is attributed to Bishop Roger I of Champagne (998–1022). Its wealth may be inferred from the sources of Vincent's *Speculum*.<sup>113</sup> Roscellinus was one of the donors of books to this library in the twelfth century.<sup>114</sup> As the *Speculum* was completed before Vincent came into intimate relation with the royal court, he was probably dependent upon the resources of the Beauvais library, and not on those of Paris, for his information. Chrétien of Troyes, the poet, used the library and mentions it at some length in *Cligès*, verses 18–26. A twelfth-century catalogue of the monastery of Cuissy in Laonnais lists 22 codices of theological interest only.<sup>115</sup> St. Vincent of Laon had an abbot Adalberon in the twelfth century who loved books and literature, according to Gui-

<sup>107</sup> Maltre, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

<sup>109</sup> *Histoire littéraire de la France*, IX, 97–98.

<sup>108</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 125.

<sup>110</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 121.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 60. A later catalogue, of the thirteenth century, is printed in *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande*, L (1871), 229–31.

<sup>112</sup> Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, II, 511–13.

<sup>113</sup> H. Omont, "Recherches sur la bibliothèque de l'église cathédrale de Beauvais," *Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, XL (1914); Boutaric, *op. cit.*, pp. 5–57.

<sup>114</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 968.

<sup>115</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 118.



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bert of Nogent.<sup>116</sup> His successor, Seifroi, had the manuscripts rebound.

In Paris there were many monasteries which had libraries. One catalogue from St. Maur-les-Fossés from about A.D. 1200 contains 40 codices of wide interest.<sup>117</sup> In the first years of the thirteenth century, St. Martin-des-Champs had a library of about two hundred codices built up of gifts and copies made in the monastery. The names of several librarians, donors, and copyists have been listed by Delisle.<sup>118</sup> The collection is of little special interest.

Although the library of St. Denis was celebrated throughout the Middle Ages, no catalogue has survived. It was famous for its Greek collection,<sup>119</sup> to which two monks named William made important contributions in the twelfth century. One, William of Gap, surnamed "the Physician," was sent to Constantinople in search of Greek books. Among others, he brought back the Greek text of the *Praeconium sancti Dionysii* and the *Life of Secundus*, the philosopher, which he translated on his return. The other William translated into Latin the panegyric on St. Denis written by Michael, patriarch of Jerusalem. The fame of St. Denis's Hellenism seems to have been widespread. John the Saracen wrote to the abbot, asking to have his translation of the works of St. Denis corrected and to request the Greek books which he had mentioned to William of Gap. Herbert of Bosham, exiled for a time in France, used the library of St. Denis and later asked for a translation of the Greek prefaces of Paul's Epistles.

St. Germain-des-Près had at least the beginning of a library, which was destroyed by the Norse invasions, for this house was outside the walls. But no information concerning the library has come down to us from the period when the monastery was rebuilt, nor does the necrology of the monastery indicate legacies of books from benefactors of the house.<sup>120</sup> Delisle found a fragment of a catalogue in a

<sup>116</sup> G. Bourgin (ed.), *Guibert de Nogent, histoire de sa vie (1053-1124)*, p. 139.

<sup>117</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 134.

<sup>118</sup> *Cabinet des manuscrits*, II, 235-39.

<sup>119</sup> Delisle, *Journal des savants*, 1900, pp. 5 ff.

<sup>120</sup> A. Franklin, *Les anciennes bibliothèques de Paris*, I, 108.

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binding. It is composed entirely of ecclesiastical material and is useful only as evidence that a library did exist in the monastery.<sup>121</sup>

The monastery of Ste Geneviève possessed a library as early as 1173, when Abbot Odo left it two missals. A note in a manuscript of John of Garland's *Miracula*, written in the thirteenth century, mentions some legends of the Virgin, "found in a book in the library of Sainte Geneviève of Paris."<sup>122</sup> Since John of Garland was not one of the regular canons, the assumption has been made that, since he lived in the parish of Ste Geneviève, library privilege may have been extended to him. The collection of biblical literature seems to have been acquired through legacies left by members of the house and through gifts from other Augustinian houses. For example, a large Bible had come from Canterbury.<sup>123</sup> Law was represented by the *Decretals*, the *Institutes*, and a *Capitula canonum*. In history, there were the *Gesta Anglorum* and the *Gesta Philippi regis Francorum*. Little classical material beyond Seneca's *Letters* seems to have been included. Two manuscripts were entered as *Interpretationes hebraicorum nominum* and *Socrates*. Medieval writers represented were John of Abbéville, Peter of Chartres, Abbot Stephen, Prepositinus of Cremona, St. Bernard, and one Prior William.<sup>124</sup>

The high regard which the monks of St. Victor had for their library may be judged from the care with which donors of books were entered in the necrology. Indeed, this is about the only way in which any idea of the library may be reconstructed. Copies of the Old and New Testaments, all of them glossed, are the earliest gifts recorded.<sup>125</sup> Many of the bishops of near-by sees made gifts of books: Acardus of Avranches gave a pontifical, Arnulf of Lisieux left several volumes, among them 6 codices of law, Stephen of Paris made a bequest of books, and in the thirteenth century Peter of Poitiers gave 20

<sup>121</sup> Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, II, 196, 515.

<sup>122</sup> L. J. Pactow, *Two Mediaeval Satires on the University of Paris*, p. 115.

<sup>123</sup> Delisle, *Sir Kenelm Digby*, p. 7.

<sup>124</sup> Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, II, 514-15.

<sup>125</sup> These were gifts of Ibizo, physician to Louis VI the Fat, and Theobald, archdeacon of Paris in the twelfth century. Donors of Bibles in the thirteenth century were Adam of Moutier, Peter of Paris, Robert of Deuil, and Blanche of Castile.

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volumes. Other donors of this period were Stephen of St. Pierre-sous-Vezelay, Girard, dean of Beauvais, and Adenulph of Anagni. Another donor left books for the use of the monks and poor scholars. The library was further increased by the labors of such monks as Peter de Mondovilla and Guido, who worked in the scriptorium. The books were objects of special care; a sum of money was reserved for their emendation and repair. The constitution governing the monastery provided that inventories of the library should be made at regular intervals. It also laid down rules for the arrangement of the books, for loans on deposit of sufficient guaranty, and for the production of new manuscripts by scribes within the monastery.

The book collection of Notre Dame of Paris grew slowly. As early as 991, Gilbert, bishop of Paris, left a Bible to the cathedral.<sup>126</sup> Other bishops added scriptural and liturgical manuscripts. Theobald left a *Passionale* and a *Martinellus*;<sup>127</sup> Odo of Sully gave a missal for use on the great altar and a Psalter for the choir; Bartholomew, a missal in three volumes and an *ordinarium episcopale*; and Stephen Tempier, 14 liturgical works. One of the largest donations of Scriptures came from the Abbess of Yères, who gave nearly 20 volumes.<sup>128</sup>

All of Peter Lombard's books went to the cathedral school of Notre Dame at his death in 1160.<sup>129</sup> These were principally his glossed copies of the Scriptures, a copy of his *Sentences*, and a copy of Gratian's *Decretals*. In 1177 Giraldus Cambrensis wanted to visit France because of the finer *sententiae* contained in the books collected at Paris.

The organization of the library seems to have been made in the first decade of the thirteenth century.<sup>130</sup> Franklin concludes that there were two libraries at Notre Dame, one for the church and one

<sup>126</sup> *Gallia Christiana*, VII, 42.

<sup>127</sup> B. E. C. Guérard (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'église de Notre-Dame de Paris*, IV, 7.

<sup>128</sup> Other donors of liturgical manuscripts were Albert, Bardedaurus, Peter of Lagny, Simon de Bucy, and Girard.

<sup>129</sup> Franklin, *op. cit.*, I, 5.

<sup>130</sup> It is Franklin's belief that this took place in 1208, with the legacy of Bishop Odo, which carefully designated the use for which he intended it. In any case, by 1215 the library was organized, for in that year the chapter and the chancellor made an agreement concerning the care of the books; cf. *ibid.*, p. 6.

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for students. Such an interpretation would explain the bequests of Stephan Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, and Peter of Joigny, both of whom left books for the use of poor students. Several inventories of the library made by the chancellors of the thirteenth century have come down to us. They are, however, only partial. One seems to list only the glossed volumes of Scripture. A second catalogue is of the books left to the chapter by Stephen of Canterbury. These were biblical except for a *Summa de vitiis*, a scholastic history, and the original text of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. A similar list was made in 1296, when Peter of St. Omer received books from G. Chaucon and Stephen of Guibervilla. The fourth list is that of Peter of Joigny's bequest. A contract of 1215, made between the chapter and the chancellor, provided that the latter should be responsible for correcting, rebinding, and keeping in good condition all books in the cathedral except those in the chantry. Strict penalties were provided for those who mutilated books or tried to break their chains. But this library seems to have suffered, even as modern ones, from the too great affection for books on the part of the readers.

The library of the Sorbonne had its origin in the generosity of Robert de Sorbonne, who established a house for poor theological students in Paris in 1257. Books at that time were scarce and beyond the means of many students, who had to rely on texts dictated by the masters.<sup>131</sup> Robert, who remained procurator of the Sorbonne until his death in 1274,<sup>132</sup> undertook to supply the need. By his will he left his possessions to the congregation of masters and scholars in theology. Included were his books, which were largely Scriptures and patristics.<sup>133</sup> Following his example, students and faculty increased the collection to a thousand volumes by the end of the century.<sup>134</sup>

Friends of Robert were generous in their gifts to his foundation. Robert de Duaco in 1258 left all his religious books. Another friend,

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 227.

<sup>132</sup> *Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis* (Paris, 1889), I, 443, No. 402.

<sup>133</sup> The catalogue of the Sorbonne of 1338 listed the donors of books; cf. Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, III, 9-72.

<sup>134</sup> A. Franklin, *La Sorbonne* (Paris, 1875), p. 24.

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Gérard of Abbéville, left almost three hundred volumes in 1271.<sup>135</sup> He had been a man of some means and one of the most important members of the faculty of theology at Paris.<sup>136</sup> According to his will, he left his theological and philosophical books not only to the Sorbonnists but to all scholars studying at Paris.<sup>137</sup> They were to be kept carefully and accounted for by the procurator of the Sorbonne. For the safe-keeping of his philosophy collection he gave to the Sorbonne his armarium and three baskets. All of his theology collection and his books on canon law were to remain chained in perpetuity. His volumes on medicine and philosophy might be sold to pay his debts if necessary.

Gérard of Rheims, professor and preacher at Paris in 1282,<sup>138</sup> gave 30 volumes to the Sorbonne, including books of theology, sermons, Cicero, Boethius, and Plato. Peter of Limoges, known as a philosopher in the middle of the thirteenth century, left more than 120 volumes to the house.\* They included sermons and volumes on medicine and astronomy. Stephen of Abbéville gave at least 40 volumes in the first years of the fourteenth century. Thomas of Ireland, little known but always considered by the Sorbonnists as one of their famous members, compiled a *Manipulum florum* and three small tracts, which he left to the house with many other books.<sup>139</sup> In addition to donations, the library also grew through the purchase of new books, often with money left specifically for the purpose or from the sale of duplicates. Scribes also copied manuscripts, and books were further acquired through exchange and as pledges left in payment of debts.

In 1289 the library of the Sorbonne was formally organized.<sup>140</sup> It was divided into two parts. Reference works and the best manu-

<sup>135</sup> Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, II, 148, n. 7.

<sup>136</sup> *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXI, 478; L. Sallé Nain de Tillemont, *Vie de Saint Louis, roi de France* (Paris, 1847-51), VI, 228.

<sup>137</sup> It is interesting to note that he provided for secular masters of theology, since the regulars had sufficient books.

<sup>138</sup> *Histoire littéraire*, XXI, 311.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, XXX, 399.

<sup>140</sup> Franklin, *Les anciennes bibliothèques de Paris*, I, 227.

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scripts were chained. Then there was a small circulating library which contained duplicates and books rarely used. The books in the college chapel were considered part of the first section of the library. A librarian was elected annually in the first assembly of the members of the house. In 1321, library rules were drawn up. These forbade anyone to enter the library without robe and hood, to carry a light into the library, to mark or turn down the pages, to leave books open when not in use, or to carry books off. Silence was to be maintained. Keys might be held only by members of the house and could not be lent. If one was to be absent from the city, he was to deposit his key. Any stranger might use the library if introduced by a member of the house, but his servants must remain outside.<sup>141</sup> A rule, probably of earlier date, forbade everyone but masters and doctors to consult condemned books, and then they were to do so from need and not from curiosity.<sup>142</sup> When books were borrowed by strangers, it was customary to ask a deposit equal in value to the book. To facilitate such loans, the value of each book was estimated when it entered the library, and the amount was noted both in the volume and in the catalogue. Some volumes were designated for the use of particular groups of students, such as those from Amiens or those from Flanders.

Four catalogues are known to have been made of the Sorbonne collection, in 1289, 1290, 1321, and 1338; and all have been published.<sup>143</sup> By the time the fourth catalogue was compiled, 1,722 volumes were listed. Of these, about 300 had been loaned or lost, and 336 were chained in the great library; the remainder, 1,086 volumes, were in the small library. The catalogue was divided into fifty-nine categories. The majority of the manuscripts were theological, as would be expected, but some classical works were included—Seneca, Cicero, Boethius, Socrates, Plato, Valerius, Solinus, Cassiodorus, and Pliny. Medicine and law were represented, as were books in the vernacular. It is worth noting that many of the classics and the vernacular works, and books on medicine and law, were

<sup>141</sup> O. Gérard, *Nos adieux à la vieille Sorbonne* (Paris, 1893), p. 60.

<sup>142</sup> *Histoire littéraire*, XIX, 298.

<sup>143</sup> Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, II, 180-81; III, 9-72; Franklin, *op. cit.*, I, 304-6.

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among those chained in the great library for the greater convenience of all the students and masters of the house.

St. Louis was the first king of France who realized the value and importance of books. He seems to have received some inspiration for the collection of manuscripts from the Mohammedans<sup>144</sup> in the East. Accordingly, when he returned to Paris, he set aside a suitable place in the Sainte Chapelle, the room next to the treasury of relics. There he placed the works of Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, and other doctors. He preferred to have books copied rather than to buy them, because the number of good books could be multiplied in this way. He used the library for study in his leisure, and opened it to others who wished to work there. When he found men in the library who were having difficulty understanding the Latin passages, he would translate the passages into French for them. By his will, the books were divided among the Friars Minor, the Cordeliers, and the Cistercians.<sup>145</sup>

There is little that is of a new nature in all this information about the libraries of Paris in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries except the information about the library of the Sorbonne and Louis IX's little collection of devotional literature. We would sacrifice it all for some information about the book trade in Paris when Abelard was stirring the waters. His immense popularity and tremendous following of students created a demand for books which must have been a godsend to professional copyists. Indeed, one may well believe that the commercial book trade in Paris dates from Abelard's time.<sup>146</sup> St. Bernard, his mortal enemy, resentfully wrote: "His books have wings. They are found in towns and castles . . . they leap the Alps,"<sup>147</sup> and Abelard himself boasted that his writings were read in the Roman Curia.

In the diocese of Meaux there were two libraries which deserve mention. The first of these is that of Rebais, which was founded in Merovingian times by St. Ouen. Two catalogues have survived.<sup>148</sup>

<sup>144</sup> This remarkable fact is related by his biographer, Geoffrey of Beaulieu, *Vita S. Ludovici*, xiii.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>146</sup> Tillemont, *op. cit.*, IV, 48.

<sup>147</sup> St. Bernard, *Ep.* clxxxviii (1140).

<sup>148</sup> See Reuter, *op. cit.*, I, 249.

<sup>148</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, Nos. 132 and 133.

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The earlier is from the twelfth century, made up of 158 items, of which more than 125 are religious titles. The Irish origin of the monastery is obvious in the selection of saints whose lives were read at Rebaix. The remaining volumes include 2 volumes on medicine, Paschasius Ratbertus, 2 volumes of Sedulius, 2 volumes of history, a *Gesta Anglorum* and a *Gesta Francorum*, Cicero's *De senectute* and *De amicitia*, Terence, and Boethius. The other catalogue, of 39 codices, is obviously fragmentary. Smaragdus, Priscian, Donatus, Vergil, Cato, Porphyry, Prudentius, and Aristotle are listed.

The Templars at Provins acquired the books of Withier of Narbonne when he gave his possessions to the order.<sup>149</sup> Some monks of Provins copied a Valerius Maximus for Count Henry of Champagne, a man better versed in liberal arts than many clerics, and one who spent his leisure reading in the original the works of classical or ecclesiastical Latin writers.

The public library at Dijon possesses 312 manuscripts of Citeaux, together with the catalogue drawn up by John de Cirey, abbot at the end of the fifteenth century. It records the titles of 1,200 manuscripts and printed books, but the number of the latter is not great.<sup>150</sup> The earliest catalogue of Clairvaux was made in 1472. It is preserved in manuscript in the public library at Troyes. The books were divided into twenty-four groups, designated by the letters of the alphabet, each containing from 80 to 100 volumes.<sup>151</sup> The codices of the twelfth century were almost entirely theological, with a little history, some textbooks, and a few classics. Law, medicine, and philosophy are almost entirely lacking.<sup>152</sup> Among the most remarkable manuscripts in the collection was the Psalter which was the gift of Henry, son of Louis VI.<sup>153</sup> In 1351 Jacques d'Andelcourt left a large collection of books to Clairvaux.<sup>154</sup>

<sup>149</sup> F. Bourquelot, "Notice sur le cartulaire des templiers de Provins," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 4th ser., IV (1858), 180.

<sup>150</sup> Printed in *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, V, 339-452.

<sup>151</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 276. Described by D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Etudes sur l'état intérieur des abbayes cisterciennes* (Paris, 1858), p. 75.

<sup>152</sup> C. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1927), p. 45.

<sup>153</sup> *Histoire littéraire*, IX, 141-42.

<sup>154</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 977.



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There is a fragment which may be from a tenth-century catalogue of books belonging to the cathedral at Langres.<sup>155</sup> It lists only 9 volumes, including the *Capitularies* of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, the Ripuarian law, a *Gesta Francorum*, and volumes of Vergil, Euticius, Priscian, and Orosius. The monastery of Radonvilliers near Barsur-Aube, had a library composed of liturgical volumes, according to a catalogue of 1238.<sup>156</sup> For the monastery of Bèze, near Dijon, there is a list of 25 volumes belonging to the twelfth century. It includes the histories of Josephus and Orosius and a history of Jerusalem; Guido of Arezzo on music; a gradual; and two antiphonaries. The rest of the volumes, excluding one by Justinian labeled "historia" but probably a collection of laws, were hagiography and exegesis.<sup>157</sup>

In the south of France we are struck with the poverty both of books and of learning, when compared with the north. But there are a few exceptions, notably the library of St. Martial in Limoges. In Gascony the backwardness, not to say barbarism, was so great that for almost two hundred years there are neither annals nor documents. On the whole, the south was intellectually inert. For two centuries it produced no theologian, no historian, no other kind of scholar. The very usage of Latin declined. For it is precisely in the Midi that the first literature in the vernacular is found.<sup>158</sup>

The significant libraries of the archdiocese of Lyon were monastic. Although the cathedral library of Lyon had been of great importance during the Merovingian and early Carolingian periods, its splendor vanished after the death of Ado of Vienne in 875, and Lyon became the repository of great traditions rather than an active agent in the expanding intellectual life of the tenth and succeeding centuries.<sup>159</sup> However, as a school, Lyon continued to be important. Majolus, abbot of Cluny, spent his early years there.

<sup>155</sup> Thus Gottlieb, *ibid.*, No. 311. Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 131, attributed this list to Clairmont as of the twelfth century.

<sup>156</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 383.

<sup>157</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 78.

<sup>158</sup> A. Molinier, *Les Sources de l'histoire de France*, V, lxxiv-lxxv.

<sup>159</sup> Cf. J. Henri Pignot, *Histoire de l'ordre de Cluny depuis la fondation de l'abbaye jusqu'à la mort de Pierre le Vénérable* (Paris, 1868), I, 243.

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There is little information available concerning the archbishopric of Bordeaux. There is one brief record for the cathedral library of Angoulême. A hundred volumes were given to the cathedral by Gerard, bishop of Angoulême (1101-35); but we have only a partial list of 17 volumes, all of which were seemingly theological, except a history by Julius Caesar.<sup>160</sup>

There is a catalogue for the monastery of Maillezais dating from the end of the twelfth century, of 94 theological works.<sup>161</sup>

Of great importance in the archdiocese of Bourges was the library of St. Martial of Limoges. It must have been one of the most magnificent collections of feudal France—in its period of grandeur, second only to Cluny. Its origins are obscure, although it seems probable that there was a small collection in the ninth century.<sup>162</sup> The first reference to it is found in Adémar of Chabannes (988-1034), the first chronicler of the monastery.<sup>163</sup> He records that Charles the Simple (893-923) gave the monastery some volumes from the chapel of King Robert. These were a Gospel in gold and silver, two books on sacred history, and a *compotus*.<sup>164</sup> The library probably had its real beginning in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, since in this time one first finds positive evidence of an active group of scribes at St. Martial—certain evidence that a library was being formed. The earliest scribe of whom we have certain knowledge is a certain Deacon Adalbert, who died in 1009.<sup>165</sup> Perhaps it was he who trained Adémar of Chabannes (988-1034) and left to his monastery a *Life*

<sup>160</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 83.

<sup>161</sup> Delisle, *op. cit.*, II, 506-8.

<sup>162</sup> Some of the extant manuscripts from St. Martial date from this period (Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, I, 388, 397, n. 2). There is always the possibility, of course, that the monastery acquired these at a later date.

<sup>163</sup> Delisle (*op. cit.*, I, 388-95) has made a list of the donors, librarians, and copyists of St. Martial, which is arranged, most unfortunately, alphabetically and not chronologically. Its chief value is in its mention of notes on manuscripts now in the Bibliothèque nationale. Otherwise it is exasperating in its omission of several important references and frequently of all dates.

<sup>164</sup> The actual character of this *compotus* is debatable. Delisle, *op. cit.*, I, 391, argues for a Spanish origin, which is not improbable.

<sup>165</sup> One of the manuscripts which he copied and signed is MS 1969 fonds latin; cf. H. Duplès-Agier, *Les Chroniques de Saint-Martial de Limoges* (Paris, 1874), p. 6.

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of *St. Martial* written in letters of gold and, according to the librarian, Bernard Itier, "many other books." One of these "other books" is possibly still extant, in the Bibliothèque nationale (MS 1121). This has a verse at the end saying that it was the work of "Adamarus monachus" and "Danielus monachus." Who Daniel was we do not know; but since the manuscript is of the early eleventh century, "Adamarus" may well have been Adémar of Chabannes. Toward the end of the century, one Josfredus, otherwise unknown to history, copied out a homily for the glory of God and St. Martial. About the same time, a priest, Bernard, copied a manuscript. Sometime during the abbatiade of Adémar (1064-1114) (not to be confused with Adémar of Chabannes) a monk named Peter copied Gregory's *Moralia* under the direction of Arleius. In the first half of the twelfth century William Boarelli copied an "Egesippus" "for the honor and service of saint Martial."<sup>166</sup> The first clear evidence of an abbot's taking an interest in the library dates from the middle of the twelfth century, when Peter du Barri (1161-74) had both classical and sacred books copied for the library.

The two earliest catalogues were made under the librarian Gaucelinus, at the turn of the thirteenth century.<sup>167</sup> The first contains 138 items; the second, some fifty. They seem to be supplementary lists; but whether, together, they list the whole collection is improbable, as Gaucelinus' successor, Bernard Itier, mentions the total holdings as 450 volumes in the library.<sup>168</sup> Thanks to Bernard's chronicle, a very good idea may be formed of the growth and management of the library during the first quarter of the thirteenth century. His elaborate catalogue was drawn up sometime between 1220 and 1225. The fourth catalogue, probably made under Bernard's successor, Stephan de Salveniec, was even more extensive than Bernard's, but also ends with the statement that the library contained 450 volumes. In the fourteenth-century chronicle, written in the vernacular, and in the

<sup>166</sup> Duplès-Agier, *op. cit.*, p. 335, n. 4.

<sup>167</sup> Delisle, *op. cit.*, I, 395, places these at the end of the twelfth century.

<sup>168</sup> Charles de Lasteyrie du Saillant, *L'Abbaye de Saint-Martial de Limoges* (Paris, 1901), p. 338.

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fifteenth-century chronicle, written in corrupt Latin, there are no references to the library. The days of St. Martial's glory were over by the end of the thirteenth century, and its fortunes declined until the secularization of the monastery in 1535.

Among the extant manuscripts of St. Martial, one gives some interesting details concerning the use of the library by the monks. Each monk was supposed to read at least one book a year. On Monday preceding Quinquagesima, after a service of twelve lessons, a novice read the rule for Lent. This over, the librarian arose and read out the names of the brothers and the books given them the preceding year. As his name was called, each monk placed his book on a carpet spread in front of the librarian. If he had not read it, he was to ask pardon. After Mass, the books to be given out for the following year were placed upon the carpet. These were then distributed, the underlibrarian writing down the name of each monk and the book he had received. These were doubtless books considered favorable to the spiritual health of the reader and, without doubt, of a religious character.<sup>169</sup>

For the Moissac collection, there is no general catalogue extant, but only two partial lists, one for the eleventh and one for the twelfth century, given by Delisle. According to the earlier one, there was a total of 40 books in the armarium. The list deals only with those outside the armarium. The twelfth-century list, of 26 volumes, consists almost entirely of codices of patristic literature.

There is a twelfth-century catalogue of St. Martin of Canourgue (Lozière) of 31 items. It is mostly theological but includes a copy of the *Vita Karoli*. Of the twelfth-century catalogue of St. Sulpice in Bourges, only a fragment survives, containing items, all theological. An eleventh-century catalogue of St. Martin's of Massay, in Berry, lists 92 items. In addition to patristics there were the histories of Julius Caesar, works of Cato and Homer, 3 volumes of the *Theodosian Code*, and a volume on medicine. An eleventh-century catalogue of St. Gildas in Berry is composed of 113 items. Items of interest are a large volume on medicine and two on music, all unnamed.

<sup>169</sup> Duplès-Agier, *op. cit.*, p. lxvi.

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There were also the *Gesta Francorum* and the *Gesta Anglorum*, the "Gesta" of Julius Caesar, the Salic law, the *Theodosian Code*, and works of Priscian and Boethius.<sup>170</sup>

Although a book collection of sorts may have existed at the cathedral of Le Puy in the ninth century, the first catalogue dates from the eleventh. But the 48 codices listed cannot represent the whole library, since theology and law were not included.<sup>171</sup> There is a catalogue of 39 items dating from 1162 for the monastery of St. Aphrodisius of Béziers, in Narbonne. For the most part, the volumes are theological. But there are also an astronomy, a *De arte physice*, a book of antidotes, Ovid's *Epistularum amatoriarum*, Priscian, Macrobius, Juvenal, and Cato. The catalogue of 1276 of St. Pons de Thomières is a remarkable document. It lists 323 volumes, carefully classified. Eighty volumes were listed in the section on grammar, 14 volumes on logic, 5 on rhetoric, 2 on astronomy, and 12 on medicine.

The library of the Grande Chartreuse is the only one in the archdiocese of Vienne for which there is a catalogue. It was one of the richest libraries of France in this period. The Carthusian monks, in contrast to the Cistercians, never admitted a novice who could not read. Scarcely was a novice established in his cell before he was provided with the equipment of a scribe. Copying was one of the most important activities in the monastery, and parchment was prized more than silver. Guy, count of Nevers, gave skins instead of silver vases, as he had first planned.<sup>172</sup> The prior, Guigo, emphasized the necessity of copying in the statutes which he drew up, and with his own hands copied one of the works of St. Jerome.<sup>173</sup> The monks searched zealously for books missing from their collection, repairing the gaps wherever possible. In 1313 Raimond Lull made provisions in his will whereby copies of his own works were to be made and sent to the Grande Chartreuse in Paris. They were to be chained in the

<sup>170</sup> C. Kohler, "Inventaire de la bibliothèque de Saint-Gildas en Berry," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, XLVII (1886), 101-5.

<sup>171</sup> Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, II, 443-45.

<sup>172</sup> Petit-Radel, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

<sup>173</sup> *Histoire littéraire*, IX, 119, 141.

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libraries so that all who wished might use them, without danger of theft.<sup>174</sup>

The library of the ancient abbey of St. Victor in Marseilles, for all its fame, was not a notable one.<sup>175</sup> Equally insignificant are four other collections whose catalogues survive: Autun (ca. 1023), Nîmes (ca. 1218), St. Stephen in Bourges (1265), and Notre Dame de Lyre (twelfth century).<sup>176</sup>

A few laymen seem to have had libraries on special subjects as early as the twelfth century. Gerald of Rialac left a law collection to St. Martial at that period. A Flemish lady of twelfth-century Tournai, Maroie Payenne, bequeathed to her son Jakemin a *Decretal* in French, to her daughter Katerine, the *Book of Our Lady*. To others she left a French Psalter and a book of the stars, a book of the Fathers, and the *Chevalier du Cygne*.<sup>177</sup> From the following century there is an interesting catalogue of books possibly belonging to Richard de Fournival, chancellor of Amiens. He laid out a "garden," divided into subject areas which contained tables displaying manuscripts. The largest division was devoted to philosophy; but codices of medicine, civil and canon law, and theology were also to be found in the collection. His *Biblionomia*, in which this garden sanctuary is described, has been considered the most complete picture of the intellectual pursuits of the thirteenth century. Although there has been some doubt of the actual existence of the library described by Richard, certain extant manuscripts have been identified with books mentioned.<sup>178</sup>

One interesting phenomenon in connection with private libraries is that monks, who were nominally sworn to poverty, had private

<sup>174</sup> L. Delisle, "Les Testaments d'Arnaud de Villeneuve et Raimond Lulle," *Journal des savants*, 1896, pp. 4-5.

<sup>175</sup> J. A. B. Montreuil, *L'ancienne bibliothèque de l'abbaye St. Victor* (Marseilles, 1854), prints a catalogue, A.D. 1195-98, which includes several of the Latin classics.

<sup>176</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, Nos. 962, 340, 264, 323.

<sup>177</sup> C. Jourdain, "Mémoire sur l'éducation des femmes au moyen âge," *Mémoires de l'institut national de France: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, XXVIII, Part I (1874), 112.

<sup>178</sup> Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, II, 519-20; E. K. Rand, "The Classics in the Thirteenth Century," *Speculum*, III (1929), 262.

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collections of books. For example, Bernard Itier seems to have had his own library, which he left to St. Martial of Limoges. Peter of Poitiers left his library to St. Victor of Paris. Chancellors and bishops possessed their own libraries, as a matter of course. Thus, we find handsome gifts being made by Philip d'Harcourt, bishop of Bayeux in the twelfth century, by Chancellor Thierry of Chartres, and by Chancellor Peter de Roissey of Chartres.

## CHAPTER VIII

### Libraries of Norman and Angevin England

THE Norman Conquest of England destroyed few books, though Hugh, the chanter of York, relates that the harrying of Northumberland by William was destructive of charters and records.<sup>1</sup> Our discussion of English libraries again begins with Canterbury. Rich in two of the largest collections<sup>2</sup> of the time—Christ Church priory and St. Augustine's Abbey—the city now shone in even greater glory; her archbishop, Lanfranc, lawyer of Pavia, monk of Bec, friend and adviser of William the Conqueror, reformer of monasticism, was mainspring of the intellectual awakening without which William of Malmesbury felt all other reforms were in vain.<sup>3</sup>

"Zeal for letters and religion had grown cold many years before the coming of the Normans," says William of Malmesbury. The Danish incursions had almost destroyed learning and the spirit which gave life and meaning to the monastic ideal. Abbot Leofsin of Ely (1029-45) was almost a solitary example of those who valued learning. Elsewhere conditions justified only too well the Normans' intellectual contempt of the English. So eminent a native churchman as Wulfstan was threatened by Lanfranc with deposition for illiteracy, though the saintly Saxon had been educated at Evesham and Peterborough and had held the offices of schoolmaster and prior before he became bishop of Worcester. Yet such was the English indifference to letters that Wulfstan, by his own avowal, neither knew nor wished to know "the fables of the poets and the tortuous syllogisms of

<sup>1</sup> *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. J. Raine ("Rolls Series," No. 71), II, 98.

<sup>2</sup> M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, p. xix; *Church Quarterly Review*, LXII, 43-73.

<sup>3</sup> R. Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies*, p. 180.



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dialecticians." At Malmesbury the Norman abbot Godfrey (1081-1105) found the monks "able only to stammer the vulgar tongue," and a historian of the time says the monks of Bath were "dull and barbarous."

Primarily a political expedient, William's policy of installing, wherever possible, Norman prelates in charge of English foundations brought about a marked improvement in the condition of the clergy. How rapidly this change was effected may be seen from the fact that, while thirteen of the twenty-one abbots who signed the decrees of the Council of London in 1075 were English, only three remained in 1087, when William Rufus came to the throne!<sup>4</sup> Notable among these first Norman abbots were Paul of St. Albans, a kinsman of Lanfranc, who came from Caen, and Godfrey of Malmesbury, formerly of Jumièges. Other standard-bearers of this second "conquest" were drawn from Bec, St. Michel, Cerisy, St. Wandrille, and Fécamp, the chief centers of Benedictine reform.

Following Lanfranc's precept and example, these Norman churchmen brought English houses to a high level of religious life and intellectual attainment. A few figures may be given to show the rapid increase of monastic foundations between 1066 and 1135: "Three monastic cathedrals, thirteen important monasteries for women, eleven for men, seventeen Cluniac priories, sixty cells for other French houses, besides many for English houses, were founded, and provided for a large number of French monks and abbots."<sup>5</sup> By 1180 the Cluniac monks, the Austin Canons, the White monks, the English Gilbertines, the White Canons, and the Carthusians were established. Of these, the White monks alone founded fifty houses within twenty-four years.<sup>6</sup> Not until the end of the twelfth century was there any ebbing of the tide. By 1200, at least four hundred and thirty new houses were founded, whereas only one hundred and thirty had existed before.

Upon his arrival at Canterbury, Lanfranc drew up constitutions for the reform and government of the Benedictines of England, based on the custom of Cluny, in which more time for study had been sub-

<sup>4</sup> A. J. MacDonald, *Lanfranc*, p. 143.

<sup>5</sup> Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

<sup>6</sup> E. Savage, *Old English Libraries*, pp. 47-48.

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stituted for the daily manual labor which the original Rule of St. Benedict had required. This was the soil from which the true "Flores historiarum" were to spring. Lanfranc's *Constitutions* were adopted generally by Benedictine houses throughout England. A general regulation of 1277, which gave formal sanction to what had become an established part of monastic life, explicitly orders the monks "according to their capacities, to study, write, correct, illuminate, and bind books, rather than to labor in the field." While at Bec, Lanfranc had devoted himself to producing accurate texts of the Church Fathers, correcting the manuscripts himself; this work he continued in England. He also brought books with him and issued minute regulations for the lending and reading of books at Christ Church.

From the earliest days there had been books at Canterbury, connected with the names of St. Augustine, Theodore of Tarsus, and Hadrian of Africa. But a great fire in 1067 raged over the whole city and destroyed the cathedral, most of the monastic buildings, and, as Eadmer tells us, many "sacred and profane" books. Lanfranc in 1070 immediately set about rebuilding the cathedral and monastery, tearing down even what was left by the fire to begin anew. Within seven years his cathedral was finished, although alterations were continued for some time.<sup>7</sup> The organization of a library must have been one of his first cares, in keeping with his work at Bec and Caen. Although no longer himself a student of profane literature, Lanfranc had not entirely lost his interest in it. But his most significant service to letters was that part of his famous *Constitutions* which, for the first time in England, made specific regulations for the lending of books to the clergy and designated special times for study. His statutes must have been rigidly enforced at Canterbury. His rules for the distribution of books to the monks required that during the first week in Lent the librarian display on a carpet in the chapter house all volumes remaining in his charge and each monk add those which had been assigned to him for the previous year. When all the books of the house were thus assembled, the librarian checked the list of

<sup>7</sup> H. Withers, *The Cathedral Church of Canterbury*, pp. 2-3.

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returns. Any brother who had not completed his "assigned reading" prostrated himself and asked pardon. The librarian then gave a new book to each monk.<sup>8</sup> That Lanfranc did not build or set apart a special place for the library is clear from the ancient plan of the monastery made by Eadwin in 1130-34. Probably the books were at first kept in presses or aumbries built into the wall of the west cloister.

We have no means of knowing the size or contents of the library in Lanfranc's time, for our earliest catalogue is of the late twelfth century. In this Lanfranc is credited with the donation of only 5 volumes, but Dr. James believes that extant volumes show the extent and importance of Lanfranc's contribution was much greater. For example, a Trinity College manuscript of the late eleventh century has at the end an explicit statement, perhaps in Lanfranc's own hand, that he brought the book from Bec and presented it to Christ Church. Now the script used in half of this volume has a characteristic "prickly" letter formation as well as a general Italian appearance. But we know further that it was actually Lanfranc who was chiefly responsible for the substitution of the Continental Roman script in place of the beautiful pointed Hiberno-Saxon writing. Moreover, there is a fairly large number of books of Christ Church provenance in a hand of this nature, and further distinguished by a peculiar purple for headings and initials. Thus, the evidence seems to point conclusively to Lanfranc's development of a school of writing. In England, only at St. Augustine's Abbey and at Rochester does similar script appear, and in both of these houses close connection with Christ Church can be established. That it is also found in Normandy and in a codex formerly at St. Stephen's in Caen is further support for Dr. James's hypothesis. The books written in this "Lanfrancian script" are rather numerous—chiefly works of the four doctors, standard commentaries, Isidore, Bede, Hesychius on Leviticus, Angelomus on Kings, Haymo on Isaiah, Josephus, Aldhelm, Boethius, and Solinus. It therefore seems impossible to doubt that Lanfranc stocked the library at Christ Church with such works.

<sup>8</sup> M. Beazeley, "History of the Chapter Library of Canterbury Cathedral," *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, VIII (1907), 117-18.

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Anselm must have continued the labors of Lanfrance in adding to the library, but no record of his work or of a single volume given by him has been preserved. But for Becket's time we have at least a fragmentary catalogue, listing about two hundred volumes. Its date during the Archbishop's lifetime is established by the presence of John of Salisbury's *Entheticus* as the most recent work named, and the absence of any book owned by or about Becket. The catalogue, written on three leaves at the end of a twelfth-century Boethius, formerly in Canterbury and now in Cambridge University Library, lists books which once belonged to Christ Church, for many of them appear again in the later catalogue of the fourteenth century. That the list is merely a fragment is obvious: it includes only books on grammar, rhetoric, music, poetry, logic, astronomy, and geometry.

Of the total (223) books enumerated, many were duplicates, an indication that they were textbooks. Assuming that in the whole library theological books would outnumber all others at least two to one, one must believe that the total collection ran to six or seven hundred volumes, a very respectable collection for the period. This list is remarkable for the large number of Latin classics. It contains, as Dr. James says:

.... a very sufficient equipment for the study of Latin literature and of the liberal arts and sciences as understood in the twelfth century. The list bears witness to a lively interest in classical literature at Christ Church that might have led to an early revival of learning if the ancients had an equally high regard for it been entertained at all the monasteries. It is probable that the influence of John of Salisbury, which will be even more plainly seen in the list of Thomas à Becket's books in the later catalogue, was responsible for many of the classical works mentioned.

Canterbury had also a second library, that of St. Augustine's Abbey, outside the walls, whose library rivaled, and in some respects outshone, that of Christ Church. If, in the struggle for prestige waged for so many years between the two foundations, ultimate victory rested with the mighty cathedral, the glories, both ecclesiastical and intellectual, associated with the first English abbey remained undimmed. This Benedictine abbey, founded by Augustine and rededicated in the tenth century to St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Augustine, was, from the first, a "center both of intellectual and religious

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illumination”<sup>9</sup> for the southern part of England. Beginning with the “Gregorian Books” described in detail by Thomas and called with understandable pride “*primitiae librorum totius ecclesiae Anglicanae*,” the library grew until at the end of the fifteenth century, when the only extant catalogue was drawn up, it possessed over eighteen hundred volumes, a number almost equal to that at Christ Church.

To trace the gradual development of St. Augustine’s Abbey library in a systematic way is impossible, since the only document relating to it is of a very late date. This is a small folio volume written, as can be established from internal evidence, between 1491 and 1497. It was printed for the first time by Dr. James in his *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, and consists of three parts: 12 leaves containing an unfinished shelf and loan register, 14 leaves of an incomplete alphabetical index, and the catalogue proper, covering 130 pages. The books are classified according to subject under sixteen headings: Bibles and other religious works, natural history, philosophy, music, geometry, astronomy, medicine, logic, grammar, poetry, books in French and English, alchemy, miscellaneous items, and canon law. There is no mention of books on civil law, although a few are extant which were once in the library, and the fourteenth-century chronicle of William Thorne records the gift of two copies of the *Corpus iuris civilis*. It is Dr. James’s opinion that the catalogue, which shows no sign of mutilation, is unfinished in this respect. He therefore allows approximately seventy volumes for the missing civil law books and for extant volumes of other kinds known to have belonged to the abbey but not listed in the catalogue, making a total of about nineteen hundred volumes for the whole library. The register preceding the catalogue accounts for less than half of the books as being in the library, cloister, vestry, or on loan to individual monks; but it is obviously incomplete. Unfinished as it is, however, it is one of a very few of its kind to be found in England. In entering the books the cataloguer followed a uniform system throughout, giving, under a collective title or that of the first treatise in a volume,

<sup>9</sup> Thomas of Elmham, *Historia monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis*, ed. C. Hardwick (“Rolls Series,” No. 8), p. iii.

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its donor's name, a list of its contents, the first words of the second leaf, and a pressmark. But even more notable than the description and identification of each volume is the system of cross-references which show how many copies of any one work there were in the library. The books given by an abbot Thomas, either Thomas Findon (1283-1309) or Thomas Poncyn (1334-43), seem to have been kept permanently as a separate collection.

Presumably by the time of the catalogue there was a separate library building; this seems implied by the size of the collection and the general English practice at that period. No definite information or even tradition of the location and appearance has come down to us. In the fourteenth-century *Customs* of the abbey, the precentor with his assistant the succentor is named as in charge of the books.<sup>10</sup> Both are assigned places in the cloister near the bookpress, with carrells close by. No doubt they were expected to explain and interpret when requested to do so, as well as to keep an eye on the books. From this reference and from the register prefixed to the catalogue, we learn that books were kept in the cloister and in the vestry, as well as in the library.

Despite the lack of early records, it can hardly be doubted that there was a continuity of intellectual interest and activity at St. Augustine's Abbey. The first Norman abbot, a former monk of Mont-St.-Michel, had been a pupil of Lanfranc and was, for some time after his coming to the abbey, closely associated with his former teacher. That there was considerable making of books, as well as the studying of them, seems certain from the existence of what Dr. James believes is a characteristic script of the abbey—a fine fine round minuscule—found in several manuscripts of the period and known to have been connected with St. Augustine's; these, however, are not nearly so numerous as those in the "Lanfrancian script."

As early as 1144 a bull was issued by Lucius II setting aside three marks from the rents of two mills below the city of Canterbury and from the church at Middleton "ad libros faciendos" at the abbey. In speaking of the disastrous fire of 1167, William Thorne<sup>11</sup> says that

<sup>10</sup> J. W. Clark, *The Care of Books*, p. 99.

<sup>11</sup> *Chronica*, col. 1763.

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"multae antiquae codicellae perierunt," probably meaning by this term charters and other documents, although later he uses "codicelli" in the sense of books; but whichever he had in mind in this passage, certainly the library must have suffered with the rest of the monastery. Nevertheless, some few of the early books have survived, but apparently none of the original Gregorian books mentioned by Thomas of Elmham.<sup>12</sup> In his time these founder's books, except the Bible, the Psalter, and the *Text of St. Mildred*, were kept in a place of honor at the great altar. A few other early books, not in the catalogue, are reported by Dr. James. One of these is a codex at Corpus Christi which he thinks may possibly be the *Text of St. Mildred* or another Gospel of Elmham's list. It is of the seventh century and may have been brought by Hadrian or someone connected with him. Other early books belong to the tenth century. The identity of the Aethelstan who presented a copy of Isidore (now Cotton Domitian A.I.) has been discussed in chapter iv. No other gifts can be identified as prior to the twelfth century, and a few early manuscripts remain whose donors cannot be traced. Among these are the Philippus on Job which Leland mentions, and the famous collection of poems known as the *Carmina Cantabrigiensia*, to be mentioned later.

From the thirteenth century on, benefactions are numerous. The donors include abbots, priors, and many monks. One of the most interesting of the benefactors is a certain "John of London." Of the 80 books given by him, only 3 are theological, 23 are on mathematics and astronomy, and the same number are on medicine. He possessed, with others of Bacon's works, his Greek grammar, and the *Treatise on the Magnet* by Peter de Maharncuria. The character of John's library points to a time near the beginning of the fourteenth century and to a very probably association, if not with Bacon himself, at least with some in his circle. Another of the benefactors is the author of the *Ayenbite of Inwyte*, Michael de Northgate, a fourteenth-century monk of St. Augustine's. The language, more than the content, of his production is of great interest: it is written in Kentish

<sup>12</sup> T. Gottlieb, *Ueber mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, p. 402, n. 2.

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dialect and is, moreover, a translation from a French compilation.<sup>13</sup> The work, designated in the catalogue as *Liber in anglice Michael de Northgate*, is now in the British Museum, an autograph copy and the only manuscript of the work we possess. Michael gave over twenty other books to the library. Among them were Aristotle's *De animalibus* and Bacon's *Opera*, and books on astronomy, surgery, and alchemy.

A most remarkable collection is that of Thomas Arnold, a simple monk whose chief interest was "light literature." He had the following books, all in French: *Quatre fils Aymon*, *Guy of Warwick*, *Ypomedon*, and others, bound in one volume; the *Book of King Herlus*; the *Book of William le March*; *Launcelot*; the *Graal*; and some other French books whose names are not given. History, too, appealed to him; his copy of Ranulph Higden, which still exists, has a picture of Thomas Arnold and of his patron, St. Katherine. Guido of Colonna's *History of the Trojan War* and the *Chronicle* of Marianus Scotus were among his books.

The largest gift is that of Abbot Thomas, whose collection, as already noted, was kept separate. Although there were four abbots of this name, it seems that this gift of more than one hundred volumes should be ascribed to the first, Thomas Findon (1283-1309). A few smaller gifts may be mentioned. Abbot Nicholas Thorn (1272-83) gave 12 books, all unremarkable except for a Bible corrected at Paris. William of Clare's books manifested a strong interest in mathematics, astronomy, and natural philosophy. Walter de S. Georgio, likewise, gave 10 books on medicine. And among the 8 volumes presented by Thomas Sprott (or Sport) were two copies of his own thirteenth-century chronicle, one of which is now among the Cottonian manuscripts. The fourteenth-century chronicler, Thomas of Elmham, seemingly did not give the abbey a copy of his *Chronicle*, perhaps because it was never completed; but in Trinity Hall, Cambridge, is a fifteenth-century manuscript which was once at the abbey.

We come now to consideration of the contents of the library as a

<sup>13</sup> *Cambridge History of English Literature*, I, 395.



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whole. The vast bulk of it consisted, of course, of Bibles and religious works, together with a large number of books on canon law. There was a very respectable collection of "Chronicators," as Elmham scornfully calls them—biographers, and historians, including Gildas, Freculph, Sallust, Dares, Guido of Colonna, Henry of Huntingdon, Sprott, Marianus Scotus, Valerius Maximus, Eutropius, Orosius, Josephus, Bede, the *Gesta* of Canute, histories of the Britons, the Romans, the Lombards, and the Normans, as well as the works of Gervase of Tilbury and of Gerald of Barry. Of the classical authors, later poets, and grammarians, the abbey possessed Boethius, Seneca, Cicero, Macrobius, Vitruvius, Vegetius, Valerius Maximus, numerous Priscians (major and minor), Donatus, Statius, Juvenal, Claudian, Lucan, Horace, Ovid, Persius, Prudentius, Sedulius, Vergil, Terence (only one copy), Cato (with a glossed version *in gallico*), the *Timæus*, and many works of Aristotle, as usual in the Latin translations. The presence of many duplicates indicates that they must have been used as textbooks, as at Christ Church.

The most startling feature of the catalogue, and the principal difference between the abbey and cathedral libraries, is the prominence of scientific books. The number of medical works is considerable; but still more remarkable is the display of interest in astronomy, mathematics, and alchemy. For all these subjects special headings appear in the catalogue, whereas at Christ Church only arithmetic receives a special classification. In St. Augustine's Abbey inventory numbers 1080–1175 are chiefly scientific. Grosseteste and Bacon figure here very largely, in contrast to their absence from the cathedral library. It is true that the abbey library was not formally catalogued, so far as our information goes, until the end of the fifteenth century; but by 1330, the date of the inventory, the work of Grosseteste and Bacon was done. Not even in later gifts of books of the fifteenth century, or in the *Defectus librorum* of 1508, does interest in science at Christ Church appear. On the other hand, at St. Augustine's Abbey, the gifts of John of London, Michael de Northgate, and others testify to a marked interest in science from at least the fourteenth century.

One other class of books remains to be mentioned, those in lan-

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guages other than Latin: a *Psalterium Hebraicum*, marked as being "in the hands of the Duke of Gloucester," followed by the word "perditur"; and two Greek books, a Psalter in Greek with Latin translation and Bacon's *Greek Grammar*. Only one English book—a Genesis—is listed in the catalogue, although several are known to have belonged to the abbey; among these is the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*. The *Carmina Cantabrigiensia*, although written in Latin, belongs with the vernacular books because of its nature. The manuscript, now in Cambridge University Library, is a miscellany and is traceable in the catalogue only through cross-references, in which it is cited simply by its pressmark. It was perhaps copied at the abbey from the manuscript of some wandering scholar.<sup>14</sup> The list of books in French given by Thomas Arnold did not make up all that the collection had in that language. Others were the *Historia Britonum* and other romances in one volume, several of the *Gesta* of Guy of Warwick and of the *Dicta septem sapientium*, a *Liber de milite de signo*, and similar works. There were also three copies of a *Tractatus domini Lincoln* (possibly Grosseteste's *Château d'amour*, a poem in praise of the Virgin and her Son, written first in "romance" and later translated into Latin and English).

Leland, on his visit to the abbey, was astounded and delighted by the books of almost "unbelievable antiquity" which he saw there and by the other manuscript treasures.<sup>15</sup>

The priory of St. Martin at Dover, a daughter-foundation of Christ Church, established in 1139 by Archbishop Theobald, had at the end of the fourteenth century a library of 450 volumes. Our information comes from a catalogue made in 1389 by John Whytefeld, who must have been precentor at that time, for in his Preface he mentions that this officer usually acted as librarian. The catalogue, a separate volume in good condition and now at the Bodleian, is one of the most remarkable preserved from medieval times. It consists of three parts, the first two with elaborate prefaces, which Dr. James has reprinted and translated. The first is a shelf list of books, giving not only the pressmark and title of the first work in

<sup>14</sup> F. A. Wright and T. A. Sinclair, *A History of Later Latin Literature*, p. 282.

<sup>15</sup> J. Hunter, *English Monastic Libraries*, pp. 11-12.

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each volume but also the opening words of one leaf selected for identification, the number of leaves, and the total number of tracts in the volume. The second part repeats the shelf list but adds the titles of all the works in the volume, with the first words of each and the page on which each one begins. The third part is an alphabetical index, which Dr. James has not printed, since it adds no new information.

The subject classes are Bibles, theology, sermons, civil and canon law, logic, philosophy, rhetoric, medicine, chronicles, romances, poetry, and grammar. Science and mathematics are conspicuously absent, except for the usual medical books. The large collection of legal works is principally on canon law. In classical authors the library is relatively rich, including Vegetius, Terence, Aristotle, Plato, Sallust, Apuleius, Macrobius, Seneca, Statius, Horace, Vergil, Ovid, Persius, Cicero, Juvenal, Lucan, Cato, Donatus, Priscian, Cassiodorus, Martianus Capella, Boethius, Claudian, and Prudentius. The number of French books is quite large; here are *Le Romonse du roy Charles*, *Le Romonse de Athys*, *Le Romonse de la rose*, and others of like nature, and also a Cato with a French gloss and a *Regula monachorum*. In the first section of the catalogue, in a later hand than the rest, and not appearing at all in the second part, there is a *Preposiciones Grece*, for which the opening words are not given; there is also an *Alphabetum Hebreicorum et Grecorum*. No English books are listed, but an Irish Psalter, now at St. John's College, is described, not in the catalogue but by a note of John Whytefeld's in the book itself, as "psalterium vetus ydiomate incognito glosatum," the glosses being Latin written in the Celtic minuscule. A *Life of St. Dunstan* from Dover, preserved in the British Museum, has also the Christ Church pressmark and is written in the twelfth-century hand associated with that house. Another extant Dover codex is the fine Bible in two volumes in the library of Corpus Christi College. No information is available concerning the location of the library or whether there was a separate building for it.

The cathedral of Rochester, the smallest diocese in the province of Canterbury, was a foundation almost as ancient as Christ Church. The secular canons here were replaced with Benedictines by Gun-

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dulph, the second Norman bishop, who had been a monk at Bec and later Lanfranc's chamberlain at Canterbury.<sup>16</sup> Consecrated in 1077 by his friend and superior, Gundulph received both advice and material assistance from Lanfranc in the work of rebuilding the church, which at his accession was almost a ruin. It is not under Gundulph, however, but with the fourth Norman bishop, Ernulph (1114-24), that the history of the library really begins. He had been prior of Canterbury under Anselm, where he rebuilt the eastern part of Lanfranc's church, and later abbot of Peterborough before becoming bishop of Rochester.<sup>17</sup> The close association between Canterbury and Rochester continued throughout the medieval period, and a number of bishops and priors of Rochester were former Christ Church monks.

Ernulph's greatest monument is not the buildings which, following the example of his predecessor, he added to the foundation, but an invaluable document known as the *Textus Roffensis*. Written in Latin and Anglo-Saxon, it embodies the laws of the early kings of England, together with documents concerning the church of Rochester and tables of early popes, kings, and bishops.<sup>18</sup> This manuscript is still in the chapter library at Rochester. Among the lists of benefactions, privileges, and possessions of the church of Rochester, the *Textus* contains a catalogue of the cathedral library. This catalogue, printed for the first time in full by R. P. Coates,<sup>19</sup> is remarkable not so much for its contents as for its early date and its evidence of the influence of Norman monks in the revival of learning. The catalogue is, however, almost entirely lacking in the classical works which form so considerable a part of the list made in 1202.

A second catalogue of Rochester library was made in 1202<sup>20</sup> and preserved among the Old Royal Manuscripts in the British Museum, in the first four leaves of a copy of Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*.

<sup>16</sup> W. St. John Hope, "The Architectural History of the Cathedral Church and Monastery of St. Andrew at Rochester," *Archaeologica Cantiana*, XXIII (1898), 198.

<sup>17</sup> W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1817), I, 155.

<sup>18</sup> A. A. Arnold, "Preliminary Account of 'Notes on the Textus Roffensis,' by Dr. F. Liebermann," *Archaeologica Cantiana*, XXIII (1898), 96 ff.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 120-28.

<sup>20</sup> Printed by W. B. Rye in *ibid.*, III, 54-61.

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The total number of volumes, about 280, shows a marked increase, especially in classical authors, in the seventy-five years since the compilation of the earlier catalogue. The first page is headed: "Anno ab incarnatione Domini M. CC. II. hoc est scrutinium librarii nostri"; and the line below reads: "Librarium Beati Andreae." The first five classifications are by author, the four Latin doctors and Bede, followed by the *Commune librarium*. Next comes *Aliud librarium in archa cantoris*; *Librarium magistri Hamonis*; after this, the words: "Sic ordinavit libros et sic scripsit Alexander huius ecclesie quondam cantor"; and finally, 6 volumes belonging to Robert, prior of Walton, a cell in Suffolk dependent upon Rochester. The second catalogue is substantially the same as the first except that the brethren now had Horace, Vergil, Sallust, Persius, Statius, Lucan, Suetonius, Ovid, Aristotle, Cato and Seneca, Cicero (only the *De officiis*), Claudian, Boethius, Prudentius, Solinus, Macrobius, and Apollonius of Tyre. Priscian and several other grammarians appear, with one book each for rhetoric, philosophy, dialectic, and arithmetic. In history there were Orosius, Jordanes, Bede, Josephus, a history of Jerusalem, a *Hystoria Britonum*, a *Cronica Francorum*, and William of Malmesbury. The monks also had a *Historia de runcievallo*, a *Mappa mundi*, and some verses of the Oxford student Geoffrey de Vinesauf, author of the *Nova poetria*. In a Rochester manuscript in the Old Royal Collection is a list of books which Alexander either copied or added to the library in other ways. The list includes Seneca, Boethius, and Plato (doubtless only the *Timaeus*), all in one volume; several books of the Bible; some lives of saints; and other religious subjects.<sup>21</sup> The rest of the library consists of books on canon law, theology, lives of saints, and the like. Of the 6 volumes belonging to Walton, the only one of sufficient interest to be mentioned is the *Polycraticus* of John of Salisbury.

Many of the extant Rochester books bear the identification "de clauistro Roffensi." Hope, in a detailed account of the monastic buildings of the priory,<sup>22</sup> reports a double archway formerly leading

<sup>21</sup> G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, I, 308.

<sup>22</sup> *Archaeologica Cantiana*, XXIV, 33-34.

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to a little recess in the cloister beneath the vestry, which he believes was once the bookroom. It is, however, of a later date than the catalogue. We know from the heading "In archa cantoris" where some of the books were kept; doubtless there were presses of some kind in the cloister for the others. There seems never to have been a separate library building.

About eighty Rochester books, ranging from the ninth to the fifteenth century, are preserved in the Old Royal Collection, approximately half of which can be identified in the catalogue. Some contain memoranda showing that they have been placed in pawn in one of the *cistae publicae*, with the amount of money advanced; e.g., an Augustine *De trinitate publicae* was pledged to the Cista de Guilford in 1468 with three other books for thirty shillings, and again in 1469 for twenty-eight shillings. There also survives in a Cottonian manuscript a list of benefactions, including books, part of which Rye has reprinted in his edition of the catalogue.<sup>23</sup> Nearly all of these are Bibles and liturgies. Prior Helias had William of Malmesbury's *History of the Bible*, which once belonged to Goda, sister of Edward the Confessor. Now in the British Museum, this once magnificent volume has long ago lost its rich binding.

The later history of intellectual interests at Rochester can only be put together by inference. The library seems to have suffered more seriously under King John, when he was besieging Rochester Castle in 1214, than from the two fires which broke out in the course of the previous century.<sup>24</sup> Gilbert de Glanville, bishop at the time when the catalogue of 1202 was written, gave books to the monks, along with an organ and a new cloister. The monastery produced two historians, Edmund de Hadenham, who covers the period from 614-1307, and William of Dene, whose annals extend from 1324 to 1350; but neither was occupied with the acquisition of books. Among the bishops and priors several were noted as scholars and patrons of learning. Prior Osbern (ca. 1190), while sacrist, copied a number of books, one a great Psalter which was chained in the choir. William of Dene says that John de Sheppey, who became bishop in 1352, was "excellent in various branches of science and literature." Bishop

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 54-61.

<sup>24</sup> Dugdale, *op. cit.*, I, 156-58.

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John Langdon (d. 1434) was celebrated for his great learning, especially in history and antiquities; he wrote a *Chronicle of England*. John Lowe, translated from St. Asaph's to the see of Rochester, was a "friend to literature, and preserved several copies of the fathers from perishing." Prior William Frysell was distinguished as a brilliant judge of literature. Edmund Hatfield, a monk, was commanded by Henry VII's mother to translate a poem on the *Lyf of St. Ursula*, which was printed in black letter by Wynkyn de Worde shortly before 1500.

The great abbey of St. Albans has, unfortunately, preserved no records by which we can judge with accuracy the extent and character of its library. Other signs are not lacking, however, to convince us that its spiritual and temporal prestige were equaled by its reputation as a center of learning, the alma mater of that brilliant school of historians of whom the best known is Matthew Paris. Not only was St. Albans of royal foundation, but, as a famous shrine, it was visited by many pilgrims. Its abbots were lords in Parliament and enjoyed episcopal jurisdiction. Situated on Watling Street, about a day's journey from London, the abbey often entertained exalted guests, including royalty. There was, indeed, in later times, a room built specially for the Queen, the only woman who might be received within the walls. Under these circumstances the history of St. Albans was eventful and often stormy. Its wealth and prestige aroused avarice, and its attempts to preserve its feudal tenures resulted in lawsuits and violent strife, involving its rulers in administrative and political affairs to the detriment of religious life. After nearly two centuries of pre-eminence as "the school of religious observance for all England,"<sup>28</sup> the abbey fell upon evil days. Persistent efforts at reform in the fourteenth century restored the monastery to some measure of its former greatness for a time, but by the end of the fifteenth century the abbey had reached its nadir both morally and financially.

From the first Norman abbot, Paul of Caen, Lanfranc's kinsman, in 1077, to John Whethamstede, who died in 1465, nearly all the abbots of St. Albans were men of learning and lovers of books. A

<sup>28</sup> V. H. Galbraith, *The Abbey of St. Albans*, p. 4.

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manuscript of the *Gesta abbatum monasterii S. Albani*, now in the Cottonian Collection, has a series of portrait miniatures of the abbots, most of whom are shown at study.<sup>26</sup>

Abbot Paul, borrowing books from Lanfranc, began the good work by establishing a scriptorium in which hired scribes, probably from Normandy, were employed. There was soon developed a characteristic St. Albans script.<sup>27</sup> The work of the scriptorium was supported by the tithes of the manor of Hatfield, given to the abbey by a Norman noble; this was supplemented by the tithes of Redburn.<sup>28</sup> Abbot Paul gave 28 fine books, all liturgical. His successor, Abbot Richard, added to the sum already dedicated to the maintenance of the scriptorium two parts of the tithes of almost all the privileged churches belonging to the abbey.<sup>29</sup> Following him, Abbot Geoffrey commuted the money given to the scribes for subsistence to residence under the almoner, in order that their work might not be interrupted. This Geoffrey had been summoned to take charge of the school at St. Albans; but, tarrying too long on the way, he arrived to find the position already occupied. While waiting until it should be vacant again, he kept a school at Dunstable, where he wrote and produced a miracle play, one of the earliest known, on the life of St. Katherine. On the night after the play a fire which broke out in his house destroyed the books which he had borrowed from the monastery for his singers. Not knowing how to restore this loss to God and St. Alban, says the chronicler, "seipsum reddidit in holocaustum Deo," becoming a monk and eventually abbot.<sup>30</sup> Over the scribes he put his nephew and successor, Ralph Gubiun (1146-51), who earned the title of "Reformer of the Liberties of the Church of St. Albans." To him also belongs the distinction of having refused admission to Nicholas Breakspeare, whose father, after becoming a monk somewhat late in life, was desirous of having his son enter his monastery. Finding the young man "insufficient" upon

<sup>26</sup> Savage, *op. cit.*, p. 49 and n. 4.

<sup>27</sup> T. D. Hardy, *Materials for the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, III, cxxiii.

<sup>28</sup> *Gesta abbatum monasterii Sancti Albani a Thoma Walsingham compilata*, ed. H. T. Riley ("Rolls Series," No. 28), I, 57.

<sup>29</sup> C. Jenkins, *The Monastic Chronicler*, p. 25.

<sup>30</sup> *Gesta abbatum*, I, 73.



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examination, Ralph declined to admit him to the brotherhood, whereupon the disappointed Nicholas left England and in after years no doubt felt that the abbot had done him a great service. At any rate, he cherished a lifelong love for his father's abbey to such a degree that, as Pope Hadrian IV, he granted whatever favors the brethren sought, including freedom from episcopal jurisdiction. There was, indeed, no other convent in England comparable to St. Albans in privileges, says the chronicler proudly.<sup>32</sup>

It is with Ralph's successor, Abbot Simon (1167-83), that the literary history of the monastery truly begins. This man, whom the chronicler calls "litteratus et moralis," labored diligently to attract to the monastery men who were "honestos et litteratos." But, more important than the simple copying of books, Abbot Simon maintained continuously in his own chamber two or three select scribes. That this provision marked the creation of the office of historiographer is a view generally held.<sup>33</sup>

Simon's successor, John of Cella (1195-1214), was a learned man, educated at Paris.<sup>34</sup> Among many books which he added was a *Historia scholastica*. This manuscript, now in the Old Royal Collection, contains also a translation from the Greek of the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, made by Grosseteste, a work regarded by Matthew Paris as a rare treasure because of the scarcity of such translations. Among later abbots who made special benefactions to the abbey was Robert (1260-91), who added to the library several books on canon law, a volume containing Seneca, and some sermons of his own, in his own handwriting.

Although important from the days when Lindum Colonia was a Roman legionary fortress, Lincoln did not become the seat of a bishopric until about 1075, when, in accordance with the decree of the Council of 1075 that bishops should fix their sees in walled towns, Remigius of Fécamp removed his residence from Dorchester to Lincoln.

Henry of Huntingdon, writing about 1145, tells us that Remigius

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128.

<sup>33</sup> Hardy, *op. cit.*, III, xxxvi; *Cambridge History of English Literature*, I, 198.

<sup>34</sup> J. A. Froude, *Short Studies in Great Subjects*, III, 26.

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selected men of learning and reputation as canons of his new cathedral. To the chancellor was assigned charge of the books, and our first real library record refers to the collection at the time of Chancellor Hamo, about 1150. The record itself was written about 1200, probably copied from an older list.<sup>34</sup> The list of 95 titles is predominantly theological in character, but includes Vergil, Vegetius, Priscian, a *Mappa mundi*, Aristotle, and Solinus.<sup>35</sup> There is a rather large proportion of canon law. Perhaps the most interesting title is a *Librum proverbiorum Grecorum inutilem*, which was not really in Greek. This work, which unhappily no longer seems to exist, is quoted by an Irishman, Catrulf, in a letter to Charlemagne, by Sedulius Scotus in his *Florilegium*, and by the unknown author of the *York Tracts*.

About 1220 a dozen more books were added, as is shown by a list scribbled at the end of a volume of sermons in Hamo's collection. Of these, four were the gift of William d'Avalune, probably a kinsman of St. Hugh; all twelve were of ordinary character. Other donations of similar books are recorded from time to time; the books presented by Gerald the Welshman call for mention, as they include this *Topographica Hibernica*, the *Vita Sancti Remigii*, and the *Gemma ecclesiastica*, of which he gave a copy in 1199 to Innocent III.<sup>36</sup>

Eminently distinguished in the line of bishops of Lincoln, which can boast of saints, cardinals, and royal chancellors, is Bishop Robert Grosseteste (1235-53), who exercised a potent influence over the religious, national, and intellectual life of his own time and of the following generations.<sup>37</sup> He accomplished so much that it is impossible to do more here than to touch briefly upon his most significant services to the cause of learning. He led a short-lived revival of Greek study in the thirteenth century, and made or helped make Latin versions of several Greek texts: *Epistles of Ignatius*, *Romance*

<sup>34</sup> Printed in R. M. Woolley, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library*, pp. v-ix.

<sup>35</sup> For the classics in England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries see E. F. Jacob, "Some Aspects of Classical Influence in Medieval England," *Vortraege der Bibliothek Warburg* (1930-31), pp. 1-27.

<sup>36</sup> *Vita S. Hugonis*, ed. J. F. Dimock ("Rolls Series," No. 37), p. 186 and n. 1.

<sup>37</sup> F. L. Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 1.

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of *Asenath*, and *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Cambridge still has the fine tenth-century manuscript used by Grosseteste with notes in a thirteenth-century English hand; seventy historical extracts from Suidas; and some of the works of Dionysius the Areopagite. He is said to have been assisted in his work by Nicholas, a Greek then at St. Albans.<sup>38</sup>

It is obvious that Grosseteste had no classical Greek literature, and no Byzantine except the Suidas; but it is noteworthy that he is the only person in all western Europe who is known to have had that knowledge in the thirteenth century. The rest of his manuscripts were largely spurious; but, as he supposed them to be genuine, they do exhibit his interest in the field of Christian origins, not felt by others until much later. As the thirteenth-century Latin occupation of Constantinople was favorable for the importation of Greek manuscripts, Grosseteste sent his archdeacon, John of Basingstoke, directly to Athens in quest of manuscripts.

Less is known with certainty of Grosseteste's work in Hebrew, although he is said to have been "profoundly skilled" in that language.<sup>39</sup> Indirect evidence of his influence is not entirely wanting, however. At Ramsey Abbey, which was in the diocese of Lincoln, a small group of scholars possessed the entire Old Testament in Hebrew; and one of them, Prior Gregory, had a bilingual Psalter in Greek and Hebrew. In the latter part of the thirteenth century there was projected a literal translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew, traces of which are to be found only in English monasteries. Surely this must have been undertaken through the influence either of Grosseteste or of Bacon, who was his pupil. Henry of Costessey, writing (*ca.* 1336) a commentary on the Psalms, had before him a Hebrew Psalter which had belonged to Grosseteste, with an interlinear translation into Latin.<sup>40</sup> Grosseteste left his manuscripts to the Oxford Franciscans, who allowed them to be slowly scattered. Some went to Durham, and thus perhaps to De Bury.

As chancellor at Oxford, Grosseteste welcomed both the Domini-

<sup>38</sup> Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. H. R. Luard ("Rolls Series," No. 57), IV, 232 (A.D. 1242).

<sup>39</sup> *Cambridge Modern History*, I, 590.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 590.

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cans, who came to England in 1220, and the Franciscans, who arrived four years later. As first lecturer to the Oxford Franciscans, an office in which his great friend Adam Marsh, a member of the order, succeeded him, he laid the foundations of the distinguished school from which came the three eminent schoolmen—Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, and William of Occam. So high was the reputation of the English Minorites that teachers were recruited at the Oxford school for Ireland, France, and Germany.<sup>41</sup> It was Grosseteste's affection for Adam that led to the bequest of his library to the convent of the Friars Minor at Oxford. A glimpse of the library in the making is given in one of Grosseteste's letters, addressed to John of Foxtone, in which he asks the privilege of purchasing the library which the latter is preparing to sell, at whatever price is desired.<sup>42</sup>

The work and example of their great scholar-bishop seems to have produced no marked effect on the canons and library of his cathedral, or, if so, little evidence remains. No notable development took place until the first quarter of the fifteenth century, when the "new" library was built between 1419 and 1426. Most of the building was destroyed by the fire of 1609. The books were chained, as is stated in the catalogue made about this time: "de nove sub serures cathenati"; the form of three lecterns which have survived shows that the chains were attached to a bar above the desk.<sup>43</sup> However, this precaution seems not to have been taken soon enough, for by the time of the fifteenth-century catalogue (*ca.* 1450) many of the books present in Hamo's time have disappeared. The total is now only 109, although over two centuries before there had been nearly one hundred more volumes. During the visitation of Bishop William Alnewich in 1437, Dean John Macworth told him that the common books of the church, which ought to be in the library, were taken out by the canons, and that many more were kept under lock by the chancellor without being entered in an indenture, for fear that they might suffer the same fate.<sup>44</sup> Thus, it is possible that the library was of greater extent than the catalogue shows, a view which the

<sup>41</sup> Stevenson, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

<sup>42</sup> *Ep.* cxx.

<sup>43</sup> B. H. Streeter, *The Chained Library*, p. 21.

<sup>44</sup> H. Bradshaw and C. Wordsworth, *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, III, 367.

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large number of extant manuscripts still at the cathedral seems to support.

The fifteenth-century catalogue is a simple list without any attempt at classification. The contents are of little interest, being, almost without exception, theology and canon law. Additions were still being made at the time of Leland's visit. Among the acquisitions of this period must have been the *Thornton Romances*, a miscellany including four metrical romances in English: *Perceval*, *Isumbras*, *Eglamour*, and *Degrevant*.<sup>45</sup> Leland mentions 11 Lincoln manuscripts, 6 of which he checked as desirable additions to the Royal Library. Four of them, all theological, are now in the British Museum. The *Magna vita* of St. Hugh, which Leland mentioned, has disappeared. The present library contains almost two hundred manuscripts, but a large proportion of them have come since the Reformation. Among these are books from the Franciscans of Lincoln, Canterbury, the Carmelites of London, and several other religious houses. One of the great treasures now in the library is a contemporary copy of *Magna Carta*.

Hereford Cathedral, like Lincoln, belonged to the "Old Foundation" and seems not to have been reorganized on the Norman capitular system until at least the first quarter of the twelfth century. The early history of the library is little known, although from the succession of learned bishops it can hardly be doubted that there were books at the cathedral from the latter part of the eleventh century. The first library room that we know of was built over the cloister and was approached by a spiral stairway; it cannot have been built earlier than 1412, since at that time the cloister was built; it may be much later.<sup>46</sup> But even before that we have some evidence of books. Bishop Charleton in 1369 left some to be chained in the church. There have also survived at Hereford two fourteenth-century chests, too unsubstantial to be used as treasure-boxes, which were very probably used for storing books.

<sup>45</sup> The four romances, named from the compiler of the collection, Robert Thornton of Yorkshire (fl. 1440), were edited by J. O. Halliwell and printed in 1844 as Vol. XXX of the "Camden Society Publications."

<sup>46</sup> Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

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Notwithstanding the lack of definite information, it is difficult to believe that such scholarly prelates as Hereford had, did not take some active part in providing books for their canons. The second Lotharingian bishop, Robert Losinga, was known as "omnium liberalium artium peritissimus";<sup>47</sup> Robert of Bethune, who became bishop in 1131, exerted himself to find men of scholarship and ability as canons. Robert Foliot, a kinsman of the famous Gilbert, bequeathed to his cathedral "multa bona in terris et libris," as did the third bishop of the same family, Hugh. Robert Foliot's successor, William de Vere, a Norman, not only held his "court" in almost royal splendor but had as ornaments to it Walter Map and Giraldus Cambrensis, canons of Hereford at that time. His *Speculum ecclesiae* was dedicated to his fellow-canons. At the close of the thirteenth century a small collection of canon law, 6 volumes, including a *Hostiensis*, was presented by Alen de Creppinge, with the strict stipulation that none of the books should be alienated or carried away, on pain of excommunication.<sup>48</sup> The inventory of Bishop Trefnant's possessions, made after his death in 1404 shows that his collection consisted chiefly of civil and canon law, as might be expected at that period; he had only two classical authors, Valerius Maximus and Quintilian.<sup>49</sup>

Some interesting information on the lending of books has also come down to us. A letter in the register of Bishop Adam de Orleton, dated at Avignon, November 4, 1319, shows that he had borrowed the *Summa* and *Sententiae* of Aquinas, a *Historia scholastica*, Aristotle, Cicero, and a geometry from Lawrence Bruton of Chepyn Norton. The bishop binds himself to return the volumes to Lawrence in England or to pay a just price for them, as determined by the abbot of Hayles, uncle of the owner, and Lawrence himself.<sup>50</sup> Bishop Trilleck, in the latter half of the fourteenth century, when borrowing a *Life of St. Milburga* from the priory of Wenlock, gave

<sup>47</sup> A. T. Bannister, *The Cathedral Church of Hereford*, p. 28.

<sup>48</sup> In spite of this, the *Hostiensis* was sold for £20 in 1324, when the dean and chaplain were in need of funds for the cathedral; cf. Bannister, *op. cit.*, p. 187, and n. 2.

<sup>49</sup> *Proceedings of the Canterbury and York Society*, XX, vi.

<sup>50</sup> F. A. Gasquet, *The Old English Bible*, p. 37, n. 1.

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bond to return it on demand or to forfeit all the "fructus et proven-tus" of his office until he did so; in 1412 Richard the precentor borrowed 6 books, including a *Petrus de Salinis* and a *Hostiensis*, on the same terms.<sup>51</sup>

Dr. M. R. James<sup>52</sup> identifies as old possessions of the cathedral 114 of the 220 manuscripts now in the library; of 60 others, which have no mark of provenance, some may be Hereford books; only 48 can be traced definitely to other libraries. Of these, 16 are from the abbey of Cirencester, generally with notes of local events and telling when and by whom the books were written. Some came to the cathedral from Hereford monasteries; and still others from Ilchester, Gloucester, Oxford, Bury, and Flaxley. There is also one volume written at Conal in Ireland. No direct evidence exists to show how so many "foreign" books reached Hereford; but Dr. James surmises that some may be late acquisitions through the will of Sir John Prise, a Welshman, who at his death, in 1555, bequeathed all his "written works of divinitie" to Hereford.<sup>53</sup>

Of the cathedral books, over fifty are of the twelfth century; about half a dozen, earlier. The only early secular work is a *Rhetoric* of Cicero. A thirteenth-century miscellany contains some lines from Ovid and a *Florilegium* from Juvenal, Lucan, the *Epistulae* of Horace, and Ovid's *Tristia*. There was also a commentary on the *Metamorphoses*, a *Testamentum Ciceronis*, two dictionaries, a treatise on mathematics, and a few works of a semihistorical nature. With very few exceptions all the books are in Latin. There are two documents in Anglo-Saxon; and of later English manuscripts, a Wycliffe Bible, a tract of Richard Hampole, and the *Speculum Christiani*. French appears in only three books, parts of the Bible, and sermons. Numerous ancient bindings, some of great beauty, have survived. In

<sup>51</sup> Bannister, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

<sup>52</sup> In his Introduction to A. T. Bannister's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Hereford Cathedral Library*.

<sup>53</sup> Sir John, who was one of Cromwell's visitors of the monasteries in 1535, retired to Brecknock Abbey, which he had leased; in 1545 he bought St. Guthlac's Priory with all its possessions, and at the suppression of the monasteries he acquired many of their books (Bannister, *ibid.*, p. 147).

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some of the books a price, or two widely differing valuations, is written.

From earliest times there seem to have been books at Worcester, where some of the most ancient manuscripts in England are still preserved.<sup>54</sup> Wulfstan, one of the most vigorous of the Saxon bishops, of Worcester, rebuilt the cathedral, which had been almost entirely destroyed when the Danes sacked the city in 1041. Several times in the next century it was damaged by fire, but in 1218 it was again rebuilt and reconsecrated with great solemnity. From the twelfth century there were aumbries in the cloister, recessed in the east wall.<sup>55</sup> A twelfth-century bookroom existed also, a small apartment over the south aisle of the cathedral, the antechamber to the present library. Toward the end of the fourteenth century, when the vault of the south aisle was raised, a new room was built six steps above the level of the old library. From the account books of Prior Moore (1518-35) it appears that the official archives and service books were kept in the cloister aumbries; and since the cloister was, at least from 1372, the scriptorium of the priory, the ordinary books for reading and copying were probably kept here too. Even though the scriptorium at Worcester did not attain the fame of some others, the work of copying was not entirely neglected. In 1464 a new library for the cathedral was built by Bishop Carpenter (1444-76). This was connected with the chapel or charnel house of St. Thomas. The deed of gift, with its highly interesting provisions, is described in some detail by J. W. Clark, in his *Care of Books*.

Turning to the contents of the library, we find a collection of manuscripts which Dr. James ranks second to Durham in the proportion of medieval volumes preserved to the present time.<sup>56</sup> There are still in the library at Worcester 275 volumes dating from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries, and 66 others from the collection have been identified in other English libraries. Very few of the Worcester books

<sup>54</sup> J. K. Floyer and S. G. Hamilton, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Chapter Library of Worcester*, p. ix.

<sup>55</sup> Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>56</sup> In his Introduction to Bannister's *Catalogue*, p. 11.



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came from other libraries. Most of them are fourteenth-century manuscripts. Besides the ordinary theological works, which make up the largest part of the library, there is a considerable collection of canon and civil law, including copies of Glanvil, Azo, Bracton, and a Vacarius. Next in number are the medical works, many of them early Latin translations of the Arabian school, including a thirteenth-century copy of the *Liber regalis* of "Haly" (Ali ibn-el-Abbas), translated by Stephen of Antioch in 1127. The predominance of medicine may be due to the influence of Bishop Mauger (1200-1214), formerly physician to King Richard. Translations of Aristotle also are numerous: the *Ethics*, *Metaphysics*, *Topics*, *Analyt-ics*, and *Physics*, and also a thirteenth-century collection of Aristotelian works in the Arabic-Latin translation; at least one of these, *De anima*, has Arabic and Latin texts side by side.

Latin classics form only a small part of the library. The most "literary" volume in the whole library is one, now incomplete, with an old index showing what the original contents included—Claudian, Statius' *Achilleis*, and Cato's *Distichs*, the *Doctrinale*, *Gressismus*, "*Pergama flere*," *Gesta ducis Alexandri*, Horace, Juvenal, Persius, "*Cartula*," "*Urbanus*," and Lucan. Among the numerous books of grammar are Priscian, Aelfric, Bacon's *Tractatus de grammatica*, and a collection of grammatical works by William de Monte, the teacher of Giraldus Cambrensis. In addition there are several dictionaries and some mythologies; so attention must have been given to secular studies. Many of the books of the textbook type came into the library, no doubt, through the Worcester students who had been at Gloucester Hall, Oxford.

Several of the manuscripts demand special mention. There is a group of early codices, edited by Professor C. H. Turner, who ascribes to them an antiquity greater than any others in England with the possible exception of some at Durham; "they are," he says, "almost the only surviving proof of the learning in the Church of England in pre-Danish days, of which King Alfred speaks."<sup>7</sup> Of later volumes, one of the most important is the twelfth-century

<sup>7</sup> Quoted by J. M. Wilson, "Worcester Cathedral Library," *Library*, 4th ser., II (1922), 257.

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*Commentary* of Vacarius on Justinian, believed to be the only one in England. This Vacarius, who was lecturing on Roman law at Oxford about 1149, was forced by Stephen to desist; and all his works that could be obtained were destroyed. The *Antiphonale monasticum Wigorniese*, compiled about 1218, is of unique interest as being the only complete English Benedictine antiphonary now known. English ritual seems to have been retained at Worcester even after the time of the first Norman bishop, Sampson of Bayeux. Rich and varied in human interest is the *Liber albus*, the priors' letter book, 1301-1446; the first third of it, edited by Canon J. M. Wilson (London, 1920), presents, as he says, a vivid picture of life in a great Benedictine monastery in the fourteenth century. There were very few books in any language except Latin; two or three glosses on the Psalms, two tracts of Richard Rolle of Hampole, and a Wycliffe's New Testament make up the English books, French is found only in fragments. Among the Worcester books in other libraries are several in English, one of which is believed to be the original of the translation of the *Pastoral Care* which Bishop Wereferth made for Alfred. There is also a miscellany in French and Latin, a Palladius, Solinus, Aethicus, and a Priscian. The contemporary copy of Florence of Worcester's *Chronicon* is at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Transferred from Lindisfarne to Chester-le-Street and thence, at the end of the tenth century, to Durham, the church of St. Cuthbert assumed from the first a position of utmost importance; its bishop, not merely ruler of his see but also lord of a palatine county, kept almost regal state in Durham Castle, built on an impregnable rock, where for hundreds of years the fortress-monastery held off repeated raids from the Scottish border. In the time of the second Norman bishop, William de St. Carileph (1081-96), the secular canons were replaced with monks from Wearmouth and Jarrow. No better example than Durham could be found to illustrate the Benedictine interest in learning; its library was one of the most notable medieval English establishments both in extent and in the proportion of classical authors it contained. In addition, the places for keeping books, and in particular the special provisions for individual study, are so important that they merit consideration even before the books themselves.

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Our knowledge of the careful regulations for places and times of study and the disposition of books at Durham rests in part upon an unusual and vastly interesting document, the *Rites of Durham*.<sup>58</sup> It furnishes us with a detailed description of the buildings, equipment, and daily practice of the monks. In the account of the cloisters (Sec. XLI) occurs the passage so often quoted that it has become a classic:

In the north syde of the cloister, from the corner over against the Church Dour to the corner over againste the Dorter dour, was all fynely glased from the hight to the sole within a little of the grownd into the Cloister garth, & in every wyndowe iij<sup>o</sup> pewes or carrells where every one of the old monks had his Carrell severall by him selfe, that when they had dyned they dyd resorte to that place of cloister, and there studyed upon there books, every one in his carrell all the after noone unto evensong tyme, this was there exercise every daie: all there pewes or carrells was all fynely wainscotted, and verie verie close, all but the forepart, which had carved wourke that gave light in at there carrell doures of wainscott: and in every Carrell was a deske to lye there bookes on; and the carrells was no greater than from one stanchell of the wyndowe to another. And over against the carrrells against the church wall did stande certaine great almeries of waynscott all full of books wherein dyd lye as well the old auneynt written Docters of the Church as other prophane authors, with dyverse other holie mens wourkes, so that every one dyd studye what Docter pleased them best, having the librarie at all tymes to goe studie in besydes there Carrells.

A recent history of the library at Durham<sup>59</sup> names five places in which books were kept. The first Norman library was in the east cloister on the upper floor over the parlor.<sup>60</sup> Little is known of the early history of this room. It is generally referred to as the work of Prior Wessington (1416-46) because he spent on it over £90 for building two windows, repairing the roof, desks, doors, and books.<sup>61</sup> To this place the books seem to have been gradually transferred, as is indicated in the catalogue of 1416 by the words "In libraria" or

<sup>58</sup> Definitive text edited by J. T. Fowler and printed in 1903 (for 1902) as Vol. CVII of the "Publications of the Surtees Society."

<sup>59</sup> Introduction and a chapter on "Some Later Durham Bibliophiles" by J. Meade Falkner, in H. D. Hughes, *A History of Durham Cathedral Library* (Durham, 1925).

<sup>60</sup> "There is a Lybrarie in the south angle of the Lantren which is now above the Clocke standing betwixt the Chapter House and the Te Deum Wyndowe being well replenished with ould written Docters and other histories and Ecclesiastical writers" (*Rites*, p. 31).

<sup>61</sup> *Historiae Dunelmensis scriptores tres*, ed. J. Raine ("Publications of the Surtees Society," IX), p. cccxxiii.

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"*Ponitur in libraria*" after many of the entries. The next principal repository was the spendiment, or treasury, called in the catalogue of 1391 the "*cancellaria*." Here were kept many books, divided into two classes: those in the "*commune armariolo*," to which all monks had access, and books considered too valuable for unrestricted use, put away securely in the "*libraria interior*." Within the doorway leading to the infirmary were located the books used by the reader of the refectory; but they were drawn from the spendiment for this purpose and did not form a permanent collection. The last place for keeping books was the "*commune armariolum noviciorum*," in the west cloister near the treasury door.

There are two principal catalogues<sup>62</sup> preserved for Durham, listing over 500 volumes, about 360 of which still remain in the library. The volumes in the first inventory (of the twelfth century) are, for the most part, without other classification than the name of the donor, except in the case of the English books, the medical books, and those which were read in the refectory. Durham, like Whitby, was unusually rich in literature of the humanistic type. It was the proud owner of one of the two Homers—even in a Latin translation—to be found in English libraries at this time.<sup>63</sup> There was also a copy of Chalcidius' translation of the *Timaeus*. The Latin authors represented are Terence, Sallust, Cicero, Vergil, Ovid, Lucan, Juvenal, Horace, Cato, Quintilian, Statius, Persius, Seneca, Macrobius, Solinus, Claudian, Sidonius, Priscian, Victorinus, some other rhetorical treatises, and Donatus and Remigius' commentary. In addition there were *Esopus et alii tres libri de fabulis*, Dares, Pompeius Trogus, the *Gesta Francorum*, *Gesta Normannorum*, a *Historia Anglorum*, and *Cronica duo Anglica*. Mathematics is represented by two arithmetics, two astrolabes, and a geometry. The collection of medical works is quite large; about twenty of these were among the books which "Magister Herebertus medicus" gave to Saint Cuthbert. The group of books entitled "*Libri Guarini*" is of the highest interest; half of these are classical or other secular authors—Terence, Horace,

<sup>62</sup> *Catalogi veteres librorum ecclesiae cathedralis Dunelm.*, ed. J. Raine, with Introduction by B. Botfield ("Publications of the Surtees Society," VII).

<sup>63</sup> *Rheinisches Museum*, VIII, 59. The other was at Whitby.

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Juvenal, Vergil, Ovid, Priscian, Donatus, Boethius, Martianus, and a rhetoric—all in one collection of less than twenty volumes.

The famous library of York Minster, celebrated in verse by Alcuin, had been saved from destruction by the Danes, to perish by fire in 1069. It was rebuilt by Thomas of Bayeux, the first Norman archbishop, but the cathedral was burned again during the Scottish border wars early in Stephen's reign (1137). Thomas furnished his new church with books; but the library never regained its former glory, even though the new school made the cathedral a center of learning.<sup>64</sup> About 1415 a library building was erected.<sup>65</sup> Even before the Reformation most of the books seem to have disappeared. The great inventory made shortly after 1500 mentions only Bibles.<sup>66</sup> A catalogue of the cathedral library lists nearly a hundred manuscripts, but most of them apparently were acquired in modern times.<sup>67</sup>

Information about the former contents of the library comes principally from the wills and inventories of various persons connected with the minster.<sup>68</sup> In the bequests made to the church the predominance of civil and canon law, especially the latter, is very noticeable. Toward the end of the fourteenth century William de Feriby, archdeacon of Cleveland, left to the church twenty marks and all the books (not named) which had belonged to William de Melton;<sup>69</sup> in 1396 Walter de Brugge, a canon of York, left "one book Pers Plewman," a Catholicon, and several others.<sup>70</sup> Stephen le Scrope, archdeacon of Richmond, left several books on canon law which were to come ultimately to the library of St. Peter's.<sup>71</sup> William Cawod, canon residentiary of York, left some books on canon and civil law, with others not named.<sup>72</sup> The will and inventory (1421) of Thomas Greenwood,

<sup>64</sup> Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

<sup>65</sup> A. Clutton-Brock, *The Cathedral Church of York*, p. 17.

<sup>66</sup> Dugdale, *op. cit.*, VI, 1202-12.

<sup>67</sup> Printed in the *Appendix to the Report of the Commissioners on Public Records, 1837*, pp. 286-87.

<sup>68</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, p. 176, quotes Botfield on the existence of four old catalogues among the manuscripts of the dean and chapter, but I have not been able to discover them in print.

<sup>69</sup> *Testamenta Eboracensia*, ed. J. Raine ("Publications of the Surtees Society," IV), I, 105.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 209.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 389.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 395.

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canon, show that he had 18 or 20 volumes, chiefly of a legal nature.<sup>73</sup> Thirty-three books left by Archbishop Henry Bowet at his death in 1423 were chiefly parts of the Bible, theology, and canon law; the collection was valued at £33.<sup>74</sup> A few years later Advocate Robert Ragenhill bequeathed several books to the cathedral: Nicholas of Lyra and some commentaries on the *Digest* and *Codex*.<sup>75</sup> In 1432 Robert Wolveden, treasurer, assigned to the foundation his books on theology, provided the library did not already possess copies of them; he owned also a glossed Cato.<sup>76</sup> Another officer of the ecclesiastical court, Robert Alne, presented several books on canon law and an Azo, while he gave to Cambridge his copy of Petrarch's *De remediis utriusque fortunæ*. A more notable collection was that of William Duffield, who left to two of his friends an Isidore and a Catholicon, both of which were eventually to come to the cathedral;<sup>77</sup> he had Bede, Cato, some volumes on medicine and canon law, a *Historia scholastica*, several of Augustine's works, and a copy of the *Polychronicon*.<sup>78</sup>

The great Benedictine abbey of St. Mary's at York founded shortly after the Conquest, is mentioned by Leland as having the following books: Ralph de Diceto, a work on the astrolabe, Trivet's commentaries on the *De civitate* and on the tragedies of Seneca, Albertus Musacus, Hilasius' *De Hercule*, and two works of Grosseteste.<sup>79</sup>

Of great importance and interest was the library of the Augustinian friars at York, which had not only the large number of 646 volumes but a considerable variety in subject matter. The catalogue<sup>80</sup> was drawn up in 1372 and is arranged by subjects, with space for later acquisitions. There are two important groups in addition to the regular convent library: the large and comprehensive collection of John Erghome, whose books make up nearly one-third of the

<sup>73</sup> *Testamenta Eboracensia*, ed. J. Raine ("Publications of the Surtees Society," XLV), III, 62.

<sup>74</sup> *Historians of the Church of York*, III, 14-16.

<sup>75</sup> *Testamenta Eboracensia*, III, 90.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.

<sup>79</sup> Dagdale, *op. cit.*, III, 543.

<sup>80</sup> Edited by M. R. James, in *Fasciculus Johanni Willis Clark dicatus* (Cambridge, 1909).

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whole number, and those given by John Bukwode, apparently in the later fifteenth century, of no very great significance but listed separately in the catalogue. Of this whole collection not more than four volumes are known to survive. Erghome's books, which are distributed in the proper classes throughout the catalogue, include many of the works which make the library of special interest, though his own works do not exhibit profound learning. Among his books were a Psalter and Canticles in Greek, and Maimonides. Also his were probably the books listed under *Historiae gentium*, among which were Gildas, Arthurian romances, Caesar, Sallust, Lucan, Solinus, Florus, Giraldus, Geoffrey of Monmouth, the prophecies of Merlin, Dictys, and the *Polychronicon*. He had also Joachim of Flora and some books on magic, *De pentagono Salomonis*, *Ad inclusionem spiritus in speculo*, *Vinculum Salomonis*, *Sapientiae nigromanciae*. The section headed "Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, and Perspective" consisted entirely of his books.

Several other monastic libraries in the north of England may be conveniently dealt with here. Whitby, destroyed during the Danish wars, was restored by William de Percy soon after the Conquest. About 1180 it had a library of 74 volumes,<sup>81</sup> among which, besides theology, were 15 volumes of classical and other early authors, including Avienus, Boethius, Cicero's *De senectute* and *De amicitia*, Juvenal, Isidore, Persius, Liber Platonis (the *Timaeus*), Prudentius, Statius, the *Bucolica*, and a Homer—the last doubtless in Latin translation.

The Cistercian abbey of Rievaulx (founded *ca.* 1130) was a center of learning which produced the saintly Ailred, abbot and author of the *Relatio de standardo*. In the fourteenth century there was a rather large library here, for the most part of the ordinary medieval character with some profane authors: Seneca, Cato, Justinian, Cicero, a rhetoric, and Porphyry on Aristotle.<sup>82</sup>

At Meaux, also a Cistercian abbey (founded *ca.* 1150), there were

<sup>81</sup> Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, No. 109.

<sup>82</sup> E. Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries*, I, 333-41. On Ailred see F. M. Powicke, *Ailred of Rievaulx and His Biographer Walter Daniel* (Manchester, 1922).

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350 volumes in 1396.<sup>83</sup> Among the books were Priscian, Papias, and Hugucio, and *Ars rhetorica*, Macrobius, Donatus, Seneca, Plato's *De naturis rerum*, and the *Ibis*. For history there were Brutus and "many other chronicles of England," the *Bellum Trojanum*, the *Cronica Martini*, Henry of Huntingdon, Sallust (two copies), Suetonius, and Valerius Maximus. Besides these there were Grosse-teste's *Manuel de Pechiez* and the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*; Thomas Aquinas on *Physics*, *Metaphysics*, and *Ethics of Aristotle*; and the *De senectute*.

Of the medieval library at St Paul's, scarcely a vestige now remains. Only three extant volumes from the old foundation are known: a treatise of Avicenna in the cathedral library; the *Chronicle* of Ralph of Diceto, now at Lambeth; and a *Miracles of the Virgin*, at Aberdeen.<sup>84</sup> Mauritius, chancellor of William the Conqueror, built the Norman cathedral, destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666.<sup>85</sup> A little later came Gilbert the Universal, a noted scholar, a canon of Lyons and head of the school at Nevers; after him a more famous Gilbert Foliot, the antagonist and rival of Thomas à Becket, and renowned for his learning, Richard Fitz-Neal, author of the *Dialogus de scaccario*, endowed the school of his cathedral with tithes from two of his manors.

The earliest mention of books in connection with the cathedral appears to be in the *Abbreviationes chronicorum* of Ralph of Diceto. He names forty-seven sources—classical, patristic, and medieval—which he has used;<sup>86</sup> and, as his editor has shown, he actually quotes from some of them. We have, unfortunately, no means of knowing whether the books he mentions were in the library at St. Paul's; doubtless he consulted some of them at Paris, where he had studied, but it seems highly probable that some were at the cathedral. Evidently, he himself did not own a large private library, for the collec-

<sup>83</sup> Thomas of Burton, *Chronica monasterii de Melsa*, ed. E. A. Bond ("Rolls Series," No. 43), III, lxxxiii ff.

<sup>84</sup> W. S. Simpson, *St. Paul's Cathedral Library* (London, 1893), pp. xv, 66.

<sup>85</sup> W. M. Sinclair, *Memorials of St. Paul's Cathedral* (London, 1909), p. 16.

<sup>86</sup> Ralph de Diceto, *Opera historica*, ed. W. Stubbs ("Rolls Series," No. 68), I, 20-24.



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tion which he bequeathed to the deanery consisted chiefly of homilies, martyrologies, and books of similar character, together with a copy of his own chronicle. During his term as dean, a binder of books was an officer in the church.<sup>87</sup> The first catalogue of the library that we have is an inventory of 1245,<sup>88</sup> in which almost all the works listed are church books. The next inventory was taken in 1295, when Dean Ralph Baldock, later bishop of London, visited St. Paul's; the books mentioned here are Bibles and a commentary of Thomas Aquinas.<sup>89</sup> At his death in 1313 he bequeathed to the cathedral 15 volumes, chiefly theology.<sup>90</sup> Just before his time Richard de Gravesend, bishop of London, left to the cathedral about one hundred volumes, valued at a little over £116, chiefly of theology and canon and civil law.<sup>91</sup> A treatise of Avicenna valued at £5 is the highest-priced book in the list, a *Liber naturalis* at three shillings the lowest.

The monastery of St. Peter at Westminster, a mitred abbey, dates back to the eighth century. Destroyed by the Danes, it was rebuilt by Edward the Confessor and added to by later kings. Although the medieval catalogues, if there were any, have disappeared, along with the greater part of the library, we know from the *Customary*, begun under Abbot Ware in 1266,<sup>92</sup> that, as usual, the precentor was in charge of the books and also of the scriptorium, assisted by the succentor, who looked after the church books, and by the sacrist, whose care it was to provide and repair missals and altar books generally. Here, as at Durham, there were "almeries of wainscott" in the north walk of the cloister against the church wall, for storing books, with carrells opposite the arches, which at some time were at least partially glazed. The *Customary* of Abbot Ware shows that the carrells were in use during the second half of the

<sup>87</sup> Savage, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

<sup>88</sup> W. S. Simpson, "Two Inventories of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, 1245 and 1402," *Archaeologia*, L (1887), 496-97.

<sup>89</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 487; Savage, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-20.

<sup>90</sup> *Ninth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission* (1883), p. 46.

<sup>91</sup> Edwards, *op. cit.*, I, 373.

<sup>92</sup> J. A. Robinson and M. R. James, *The Manuscripts of Westminster Abbey* (Cambridge, England, 1909), pp. 1-2.

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thirteenth century at least. A provision for the training of the novices states that, when they have finished the work assigned to them, they may look at the books of the older monks, but they must not be permitted to write or to have carrells.<sup>93</sup> There is special direction also for a cresset light to be placed near the aumbry of the master of the novices, whose books are thus shown to have been kept apart from the "communis libraria."<sup>94</sup> As at Canterbury, there was a fixed time early in Lent for the return of all books to the chapter house and a redistribution. A pupil of Lanfranc, Gilbert Crispin, became abbot about 1085;<sup>95</sup> and doubtless it was largely due to him that Lanfranc's *Constitutions* were thus adopted. Gilbert was a man of considerable learning and the author of several treatises. The most famous of these, the *Disputation with a Jew*, was dedicated to Anselm; but his *Life of Herluin*, the first abbot of Bec, is the most important of his writings, as the chief source of our knowledge of that great abbey.

The old collection of St. Peter's is sadly dispersed, but we can gather some information about it. In 1376 Simon Langham, on his death at Avignon, bequeathed to the abbey seven chests of books—116 in all. They were chiefly theology, with a dictionary, a Boethius, Aquinas on the *Physics* and *Metaphysics*, and some canon law. To identify extant Westminster manuscripts is difficult unless a definite subscription is found, for no pressmark appears to have been used. In the British Museum are some chartularies and other documents, a Psalter, Gervase of Chichester, Jerome's *De viris illustribus*, Innocent's *De contemptu mundi*, Lincoln's *De veneno*, Gratian, and a few others; at Lambeth the *De regimine principum* of Egidius; at Cambridge the only known copy of the *Speculum historiale* of Richard of Cirencester, together with Simeon of Durham and one or two others; at Manchester the *Flores historiarum* of "Matthew of Westminster"; and at Trinity College, Dublin, a few, including Flete on the foundation of Westminster.

The famous Benedictine abbey at Peterborough was not only the

<sup>93</sup> J. W. Clark, "On Ancient Libraries: Westminster Abbey," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, IX (1899), 47-48.

<sup>94</sup> Gaaquet, *op. cit.*, p. 12.    <sup>95</sup> J. A. Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster*, p. 20.

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last stronghold of Anglo-Saxon historiography but a center for the "new learning." Several sources of information concerning the library survive.<sup>96</sup> There are records of books given by various abbots. Altogether these amount to about 220 volumes, many of which are service books. Of two catalogues which have been preserved, one, containing nearly 70 titles, is of the twelfth century, the other of the fourteenth. We have also a short inventory of the books seen there by Leland and extant volumes formerly belonging to the abbey. The most valuable of these sources is the second catalogue, containing about 1,700 separate titles in 346 volumes. This catalogue was probably made for private use, since a great many of the works that made up the ordinary monastic library are missing, though many of such books appear in the bequests of the abbots. Classical authors appear conspicuously in the collection, usually in duplicate. Ovid, Vergil, and Horace seem the most favored of the Latin poets; but there are also Persius, Martial, and a gloss on Statius. Seneca's tragedies appear along with many of his other works, and also Cato and several copies of Macrobius. There is likewise a goodly array of Cicero's writings, including the *Orations against Catiline* and *Pro Marcello*. Sallust appears more than once, and among the other historical writers are Valerius Maximus, Dares Phrygius, and Apollonius of Tyre. There are several *Gesta*, among which are three or four copies of the *Gesta Karoli*, a *Historia Britonum*, and a *Historia Tartarorum*. Aristotle is well represented, and Plato by the *Timaeus* and the *De deo Socratis*. Books in French, several of them romances, are numerous. Among these are *Guy de Burgoyne*, *Amours ou estis venus*, *Lumer de lais*, *Tristrem*, *Amys et Amilion*, *De bello Vallis Runcie cum aliis*, and a *Gesta Otuelis*. There are also: *Versus de urbanitate* in Latin and French, and in English a book of *Housbondrie*. A few Peterborough books still survive. Of these the most famous is the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, now in the Bodleian. Among others are the *Gesta Henrici II*, given by Abbot Benedict, a Florence of Worcester, Bede, and some later chronicles of the abbey.

Ramsey Abbey, founded in 969, was among those foundations

<sup>96</sup> All included by M. R. James in *Lists of Manuscripts Formerly in Peterborough Abbey Library* (Oxford, 1926).

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which participated in the intellectual and religious awakening after the Conquest. Specific information is somewhat late, perhaps because of the depredations suffered by the abbey when, during Stephen's reign, it was made the headquarters of the notorious Geoffrey de Mandeville. Herbert Losinga, abbot in the early Norman days, had been educated in Normandy at the abbey of Fécamp.<sup>97</sup> His letters bear eloquent testimony to his enthusiasm for study and teaching. He mentions Terence, Seneca, Ovid, Aristotle, and asks that Suetonius be copied for him abroad, since the book is not to be found in England. Herbert often requested that the Fécamp copy of Josephus be sent him, but had been informed that it was tumbling to pieces; and he rejoices to learn that it has been rebound. He says many times that mere acquaintance with the names of books is not knowledge of books, that talking about books and being taught by books are different things. The most important document concerning the Ramsey library, however, is a fourteenth-century catalogue, imperfect at the beginning, but even so listing over six hundred volumes exclusive of service books. The most striking feature is the number of Hebrew books it contains. Prior Gregory, who lived in the latter part of the thirteenth century, is credited with purchasing many of them under Edward I, from the suppressed synagogues at Huntingdon and Stamford.<sup>98</sup> Undoubtedly, Ramsey had the best collection of Hebrew books in any English monastery at the time—a Hebrew Bible, "Notulae," Psalter, and an *Ars loquendi et intelligendi in lingua Hebraica*. Grosseteste perhaps was the inspiration of the little group of Hebrew students here, for the abbey was in his diocese.

The abbey of Reading was founded in 1121 as a Cluniac house but by the thirteenth century had adopted the English Benedictine Rule. In the thirteenth century it had a collection of about 228 books. The catalogue<sup>99</sup> lists most of them according to the place or

<sup>97</sup> E. M. Goulburn and H. Symonds, *The Life and Letters of Bishop Herbert Losinga* (London, 1878), p. 9.

<sup>98</sup> *Chronicon abbatae Ramsesiensis*, ed. W. D. Macray ("Rolls Series," No. 83), p. xlii, n. 1.

<sup>99</sup> S. Barfield (*English Historical Review*, III, 117-23) apparently is mistaken in assigning this catalogue to the early fifteenth century; cf. M. R. James, *Abbeys* (London, 1926), p. 83. A recent article on the collection is by "J. R. L.," "Some Notes on the Library of Reading Abbey," *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, VIII (1936), 47-54.

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person whence they came. Some are books from "Burdegal(ia)," others from the chapel of the Abbot of Hyde; but the group of greatest interest is the books once owned by Ralph, "presbyter de Witkir," among which were the *Bucolics* and *Georgics*, two volumes of Horace, and a Juvenal. Appended to the catalogue is a list of 130 books at the dependent house of Leominster. About 60 manuscripts from Reading have been preserved. Among them is the famous round, "Sumer is icumen in," in a beautiful hand of about 1226, now in the British Museum. In the last years of the fifteenth century a Greek scribe, Joannes Sertopoulos, was at Reading and transcribed several works in Greek; two of these are now at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and one at New College.<sup>100</sup>

Abingdon, a Benedictine foundation of the seventh century, had in the early twelfth century a famous abbot, Faricius (1100-1117), an Italian from Tuscany, who was skilled as a physician and a "litterarum apprime scientia optime eruditus."<sup>101</sup> In the scriptorium which he instituted, hired scribes copied books for the monastery, including many medical treatises. The *Customary* of the abbey provides for the care of books, in charge of the cantor. In the cantor's absence the succentor is to take over the office, unless he be "giddy and light-minded," in which case the keys are to be handed to the prior or subprior.<sup>102</sup> The librarian could not sell or pledge the books, but might lend them—apparently to persons outside the monastery—upon security of greater value. Not many volumes from Abingdon survive, but James<sup>103</sup> records a manuscript of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, now in the British Museum, a twelfth-century *Florence of Worcester*, at Lambeth, and a fine fourteenth-century copy of the abbey chronicle, in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Evesham Abbey on the Avon, founded about 700, was, at least by the third decade of the eleventh century, a center of some learning, as Abbot Aelward's gift (ca. 1035) of books of divinity and gram-

<sup>100</sup> Savage, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

<sup>101</sup> *Chronicon monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson ("Rolls Series," No. 2), II, 44; Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

<sup>102</sup> Gasquet, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>103</sup> James, *Abbeys*, p. 41.

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mar shows.<sup>104</sup> The library appears to have been an extensive one, although no catalogue has survived and we are dependent upon the records of gifts for our knowledge of it. Of Abbot Walter, the chronicle states "libros multos fecit."<sup>105</sup> This abbot, a Norman who entered upon his office in 1077, was no doubt following Lanfranc's precept as well as his own inclinations, in supplying his abbey with more books. Prior John of Worcester was the donor of books in grammar, logic, physics, theology, canon and civil law, and others. Six treatises on law were presented by Prior John de Marcle, and 14 volumes by a sacrist, John de Brymesgrave. One of the more notable collections was that given in 1392 by Prior Nicholas of Hereford, 96 volumes and a map of the world. Among them were *Bevis of Hampton* and the *Mort d'Arthur*.

The most interesting benefactor of the library, however, and the one about whom our information is most complete is Prior Thomas de Marleberge (d. 1236), a scholar and the author of the greater part of the abbey chronicle. He had studied at Paris, Rome, and Bologna, spending six months at the latter university in daily attendance upon lectures in both branches of jurisprudence. Before becoming a monk, he is said to have lectured at Oxford and at Exeter on civil and canon law. On coming to the abbey, he brought with him a large collection of books: law, medicine, Isidore, Cicero (*De amicitia*, *De senectute*, and *In paradoxis*), Lucan, Juvenal, and many other authors; sermons, theology, and a number of works on the *ars grammatica*. As prior he had many books copied, chiefly service books and parts of the Bible.<sup>106</sup>

The work of the scriptorium was evidently considered a matter of importance at Evesham. It was provided during Marleberge's time that the prior should receive tithes to buy parchment and to pay scribes, while the precentor had five shillings a year from the manor of Hampton and ten shillings eightpence from Stokes and Alcester to furnish ink, colors for illumination, materials for binding, or whatever was required of such supplies.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>104</sup> *Chronicon abbatiæ de Evesham*, ed. W. D. Macray ("Rolls Series," No. 29), p. xxii n.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xxi, 267-68.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 208-10.

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To pass over Malmesbury, the home of two such scholars as Aldhelm and William of Malmesbury, seems unthinkable; yet, definite information about it is sadly lacking. We do know, however, that the library of Aldhelm was still preserved there in the Conqueror's day, and that to William, the historian, fell the congenial task of assisting in the formation of a new library under the direction of Abbot Godfrey, a Norman from Jumièges. Abbot Godfrey's work of reform had already been begun when William entered the abbey school to study logic, physics, philosophy, and especially history.<sup>108</sup> From his own statement we know that he later collected, at his own expense, "some histories of foreign nations," finding the library deficient in this respect. His writings show a wide acquaintance with both classical and Christian authors, implying a rich library to draw upon. Among the special treasures contained therein was apparently at least one of the lost *Decades* of Livy, to which William refers in comparing Robert of Gloucester to Julius Caesar.<sup>109</sup> Very little remains of the Malmesbury library. Even in Leland's time few books were left, for he mentions only 24, mostly of a theological nature.

The significance for the history of literature of Glastonbury Abbey has thus been described by a recent writer:

... we may regard the following facts as established: (1) Glastonbury Abbey was in contact with the cultural currents of Irish, Welsh, Anglo-Saxon and Norman life through its position first in British and then in Anglo-Saxon territory, through the visits of Irish and Welsh monks, and through the importation of documents; (2) the continued contact of this abbey with other intellectual centers through the transfer of Glastonbury monks to prominent positions in the clerical and political world, and through the patronage of kings and nobles established it in a situation most favorable not only to the collection, but also to the dissemination of literary material; (3) the particularly close connection of Glastonbury with the intellectual life of the twelfth century enabled it to place at the disposal of Anglo-Norman writers a culture that had been gradually gathered and then preserved and fused through six centuries of close contact with the diverse national elements of Britain.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>108</sup> K. Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, I, 85.

<sup>109</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, tr. J. A. Giles, p. 505.

<sup>110</sup> C. H. Slover, "Glastonbury Abbey and the Fusing of English Literary Culture," *Speculum*, X (1935), 160.

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The library, founded by St. Dunstan, had reached very large proportions by the time of the great fire of 1184, which destroyed the whole monastery. After the fire the first record of books is a list of 14 transcribed about 1210 by order of Prior Thomas; they are, however, of little interest. Within less than forty years the Abbey built up a collection of nearly 500 works, bound in about 340 volumes, as we learn from a catalogue drawn up in 1247-48.<sup>121</sup>

Of special interest in this catalogue are the brief notes, describing the condition of 264 of the volumes when the catalogue was begun. "Boni" is applied to 104 entire, "legibiles" to 50, "vestusti sed legibiles" to 29; there are 24 "vestusti," 8 "vetustissimi," 11 "vestusti et inutiles," and 12 "inutiles."

The books are classified either according to their contents or by authors' names. Textually, the collection was not of great importance. Leland mentions a "liber Melchini, qui fuit ante Merlinum," the *Historia novella* of William of Malmesbury, the *Grammatica Eutychii*, containing the picture of the saint at the feet of Christ, all supposed to have been Dunstan's own books; he also enumerates an Orosius in Anglo-Saxon, an English-Latin dictionary, and others—about 40 in all. Another codex, said to have belonged to St. Dunstan, contains selections from the Bible in Latin and Greek, written in Wales a century before his time, one of the rare examples of the learning of the ancient British church, and the "patriarch of Welsh books known."<sup>122</sup>

At Wells there seems to have been a collection of books quite early, for in 1060 Bishop Duduc gave "plurimos libros" to the cathedral,<sup>123</sup> and there are various mentions of other gifts in the records. John of Tours, a skilled physician, came to Bath and Wells as bishop in the reign of William Rufus, and lived to an advanced age, dying in 1122. He collected books for Bath Abbey and probably also for the cathedral library.<sup>124</sup> In early days the books were probably

<sup>121</sup> T. W. Williams, *Somerset Mediaeval Libraries* (Bristol, 1897), pp. 52 ff.

<sup>122</sup> James, *Abbeys*, p. 26.

<sup>123</sup> Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

<sup>124</sup> William of Malmesbury, *De gestis pontificum Anglorum*, ed. N. Hamilton ("Rolls Series," No. 52), p. 195.



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To pass over Malmesbury, the home of two such scholars as Aldhelm and William of Malmesbury, seems unthinkable; yet, definite information about it is sadly lacking. We do know, however, that the library of Aldhelm was still preserved there in the Conqueror's day, and that to William, the historian, fell the congenial task of assisting in the formation of a new library under the direction of Abbot Godfrey, a Norman from Jumièges. Abbot Godfrey's work of reform had already been begun when William entered the abbey school to study logic, physics, philosophy, and especially history.<sup>108</sup> From his own statement we know that he later collected, at his own expense, "some histories of foreign nations," finding the library deficient in this respect. His writings show a wide acquaintance with both classical and Christian authors, implying a rich library to draw upon. Among the special treasures contained therein was apparently at least one of the lost *Decades* of Livy, to which William refers in comparing Robert of Gloucester to Julius Caesar.<sup>109</sup> Very little remains of the Malmesbury library. Even in Leland's time few books were left, for he mentions only 24, mostly of a theological nature.

The significance for the history of literature of Glastonbury Abbey has thus been described by a recent writer:

... we may regard the following facts as established: (1) Glastonbury Abbey was in contact with the cultural currents of Irish, Welsh, Anglo-Saxon and Norman life through its position first in British and then in Anglo-Saxon territory, through the visits of Irish and Welsh monks, and through the importation of documents; (2) the continued contact of this abbey with other intellectual centers through the transfer of Glastonbury monks to prominent positions in the clerical and political world, and through the patronage of kings and nobles established it in a situation most favorable not only to the collection, but also to the dissemination of literary material; (3) the particularly close connection of Glastonbury with the intellectual life of the twelfth century enabled it to place at the disposal of Anglo-Norman writers a culture that had been gradually gathered and then preserved and fused through six centuries of close contact with the diverse national elements of Britain.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>108</sup> K. Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, I, 85.

<sup>109</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, tr. J. A. Giles, p. 505.

<sup>110</sup> C. H. Slover, "Glastonbury Abbey and the Fusing of English Literary Culture," *Speculum*, X (1935), 160.

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The library, founded by St. Dunstan, had reached very large proportions by the time of the great fire of 1184, which destroyed the whole monastery. After the fire the first record of books is a list of 14 transcribed about 1210 by order of Prior Thomas; they are, however, of little interest. Within less than forty years the Abbey built up a collection of nearly 500 works, bound in about 340 volumes, as we learn from a catalogue drawn up in 1247-48.<sup>111</sup>

Of special interest in this catalogue are the brief notes, describing the condition of 264 of the volumes when the catalogue was begun. "Boni" is applied to 104 entire, "legibiles" to 50, "vestusti sed legibiles" to 29; there are 24 "vestusti," 8 "vetustissimi," 11 "vestusti et inutiles," and 12 "inutiles."

The books are classified either according to their contents or by authors' names. Textually, the collection was not of great importance. Leland mentions a "liber Melchini, qui fuit ante Merlinum," the *Historia novella* of William of Malmesbury, the *Grammatica Eutychii*, containing the picture of the saint at the feet of Christ, all supposed to have been Dunstan's own books; he also enumerates an Orosius in Anglo-Saxon, an English-Latin dictionary, and others—about 40 in all. Another codex, said to have belonged to St. Dunstan, contains selections from the Bible in Latin and Greek, written in Wales a century before his time, one of the rare examples of the learning of the ancient British church, and the "patriarch of Welsh books known."<sup>112</sup>

At Wells there seems to have been a collection of books quite early, for in 1060 Bishop Duduc gave "plurimos libros" to the cathedral,<sup>113</sup> and there are various mentions of other gifts in the records. John of Tours, a skilled physician, came to Bath and Wells as bishop in the reign of William Rufus, and lived to an advanced age, dying in 1122. He collected books for Bath Abbey and probably also for the cathedral library.<sup>114</sup> In early days the books were probably

<sup>111</sup> T. W. Williams, *Somerset Mediaeval Libraries* (Bristol, 1897), pp. 52 ff.

<sup>112</sup> James, *Abbeys*, p. 26.

<sup>113</sup> Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

<sup>114</sup> William of Malmesbury, *De gestis pontificum Anglorum*, ed. N. Hamilton ("Rolls Series," No. 52), p. 195.

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scattered; toward the end of the thirteenth century they appear to have been collected in the eastern aisle of the north transept, whence a door led directly into the choir. In addition to a library the cathedral had a school in which, after 1240, the chancellor gave lectures in theology as a part of his regular duties.<sup>115</sup>

Exeter Cathedral library had its foundation in the bequest in 1072 of the collection of its bishop, Leofric. The preponderance of English books in that collection, the survival of the *Exeter Book* of Anglo-Saxon poetry in the Exeter library, and of others elsewhere have already been noted.<sup>116</sup>

Leicester Abbey, a great and rich house founded in 1143 for canons regular of St. Augustine, had amassed, by the close of the fifteenth century, one of the larger collections in English monasteries. Just how and when the library was brought together we are not told, although it seems very probable that our catalogue was copied from an old one; this is suggested by the compiler's statement that he transcribed it from paper to parchment and by his use of the word "renovatum" in the heading. In this catalogue,<sup>117</sup> which can be dated between 1492 and 1496, there are listed slightly over a thou-

<sup>115</sup> Savage, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

<sup>116</sup> Chap. iv, above. See also J. W. Clark, "On the Work Done to the Library of Exeter Cathedral in 1412 and 1413," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, X (1904), 294 ff.

<sup>117</sup> Printed in John Nichols' *The History of the County of Leicester*, I, Part II, Appen., pp. 101-8; corrections by M. V. Clarke, *English Historical Review*, XLV, 103-7. Dr. Ramona Bressie, in a communication to the *London Times Literary Supplement* of October 24, 1935, called attention to the considerable number of Leicester Abbey manuscripts now in the libraries of Queen's and Trinity Colleges, Cambridge. This elicited a reply from Provost M. R. James in the following issue, who wrote:

"For some eight years I have had by me a full transcript of the Leicester catalogue (contained in Laud Misc. 623 in the Bodleian) prepared for press; and there have been prospects of its being printed by the Leicester Archaeological Society. It is certainly the most important English catalogue of its kind yet unpublished. Up to the present moment, however, identifications of extant manuscripts have been few, and those now supplied are particularly welcome, as pointing to the probability of further discoveries. Such discoveries will be forthcoming if the text of the catalogue can be printed; for it is duly provided throughout with "*dictiones probatorias*"—i.e., the first words of the second leaf in each volume, whereas the manuscripts themselves rarely if ever contain the name of the abbey, or a pressmark. The search will therefore be somewhat laborious, but is likely, as your correspondent's able letter shows, to produce notable results. My own identifications extend only to two volumes of Cicero's *Rhetoric*, and a comment, in York Chapter Library, and the Cotton MS. Tiberius C. vii. of Henry Knighton's *Chronicle*."

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sand volumes. Excluding duplications, service books, rent-rolls, and other miscellaneous documents, a total number of about 450 volumes remain—a most respectable collection. The library at Leicester Abbey was a large and varied one. Astronomical and medical science appear to be the chief profane interests, with the classical poets and history next. There is a somewhat strange lack of the works of Aristotle, or perhaps the name of specific works have simply been omitted.

## CHAPTER IX

### Byzantine Libraries

By S. K. PADOVER

**B**YZANTINE history began with the founding of Constantinople in 330 and ended with the capture of that city by the Turks in 1453. These eleven centuries may be divided, culturally, into three periods. The first three hundred years represent a survival of the Graeco-Roman classical spirit; the next two, down to about 850, were transitional and chaotic; while the last half-millennium was an era of revival in some ways not wholly unlike the Italian renaissance.

The problem of reconstructing Byzantine literary culture presents great difficulties, for many manuscripts have been destroyed, and of others, though still extant, we have but scanty information. This is especially true concerning libraries, although a number of catalogues, private and public, have been published.<sup>1</sup> Many of these book lists, however, are disappointing, for they contain only patristic, liturgical, and pedagogical works of questionable value.

Possibly the historian of libraries need not concern himself with passing judgment on the value of Byzantine literature. Nevertheless, it must be emphasized that most of the books found in the old

<sup>1</sup> For general references to Byzantine library catalogues see K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur* (2d ed.; Munich, 1897), pp. 509-15; L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris, 1868-81), especially Vol. III; K. Boysen, "Ein Catalog der griechischen Manuscripten der Bibliothek von Fontainebleau," *Philologus*, XLI (1882), 753-55; C. Müller, *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum* (Paris, 1841-70), V, 96 ff.; S. E. Miller, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de la bibliothèque de l'Escurial* (Paris, 1848); H. Omont, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de Fontainebleau sous François I et Henri II* (Paris, 1889). For a general account see Joan Hussey, *Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire* (London, 1937).

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Byzantine libraries were of a religious nature; the "tyranny of orthodoxy" and the "authority of the ancients" effectively stifled creative spirit. To quote a famous English historian:

It is notorious that the Byzantine world, which produced many men of wide and varied learning, or of subtle intellect, such as Photius, Psellos, and Eustathios . . . never gave birth to an original and creative genius. Its science can boast of no new discovery, its philosophy of no novel system or explanation of the universe. Age after age, innumerable pens moved, lakes of ink were exhausted, but no literary work remains which can claim a place among the memorable books of the world. To the mass of mankind Byzantine literature is a dead thing; it has not left a single immortal book to instruct and delight posterity.<sup>2</sup>

The value of Byzantine culture lies not so much in its own contributions as in its preservation of Greek, and even Roman, thought and literature. Without the faithful and laborious copying of Byzantine scribes it is probable that many Graeco-Roman classics would have been lost.<sup>3</sup> Hence, a knowledge of Byzantine libraries is of great significance. For, it must be remembered, that while western Europe was passing through the "dark ages," Byzantium had a brilliant civilization with imposing palaces, libraries, and schools, where the classics were taught and imitated.

The imperial library in Constantinople had been foreshadowed by that of Diocletian in his great palace in Nicomedia. Before A.D. 303, when Diocletian instituted his persecution of the Christians, Bishop Theonas of Alexandria (*ca.* A.D. 282-300) wrote a long letter to Lucianus, the imperial chamberlain, on the duties of his office and devoted one paragraph to the administration of the library:

He ought, therefore, to know all the books which the emperor possesses; he should often turn them over and arrange them neatly in their proper order by catalogue; if, however, he shall have to get new books, or to have old ones transcribed, he should be careful to obtain the most accurate copyists; and if that cannot be done he should appoint learned men for the work of correction, and recompense them justly for their labors. He should also cause all manuscripts to be restored according to their need, and should embellish them, not so much with mere superstitious extravagance as with useful adornment; and therefore, he should not aim at having

<sup>2</sup> J. B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (London, 1912), p. 448.

<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, some classical authors, particularly Galen, have been preserved in Arabic, rather than Byzantine, literature; see M. Meyerhof and J. Schacht, "Galen über die medizinischen Namen. Arabisch und Deutsch," *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil.-hist. Kl.), 1931, pp. 1-43.

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all the manuscripts written on purple skins and in letters of gold unless the emperor has specially commanded that. With the utmost submission, however, he should do everything that is agreeable to Caesar. As he is able, he should, with all modesty, suggest to the emperor that he should read or hear read, those books which suit his rank and honor, and minister to good use rather than pleasure. He should himself be thoroughly familiar with those books, and he should often commend them in the presence of the emperor, and set forth in an appropriate fashion the testimony and the weight of those who approve them, in order that he may not seem to lean upon his own understanding only.<sup>4</sup>

When Constantine transferred his capital to the Bosphorus, he, or more probably his son Constantius, built a library which was located in the portico of the palace and contained almost seven thousand books, many of them Christian. As there was a stronger survival of classical literature in the East than in the West,<sup>5</sup> the "New Rome" did not display that indifference to libraries of which Ammianus Marcellinus had so bitterly complained.<sup>6</sup> Constantine was interested in securing for his library Latin, rather than Greek, works, and those chiefly legal or historical. Latin, it will be remembered, was still the official language of the Eastern Empire until the sixth century.<sup>7</sup>

The library at Constantinople was greatly enriched by the emperor Julian, who diligently gathered Christian, as well as pagan, books. In A.D. 372 Emperor Valens (*Cod. Theodos.* 14, 9, 2) ordered that four Greek and three Latin scribes be employed in copying manuscripts and repairing damaged ones. Finely written and illuminated books were frequently given by the emperors to churches and foreign princes. Constantine himself had ordered to be copied for the new church at Constantinople "by calligraphic artists, thor-

<sup>4</sup> Text in L. D'Achery, *Spicilegium* (ed. 1723), III, 297, translated in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VI, 158-61. The epistle is in Latin and, according to some, was translated from a Greek original.

<sup>5</sup> This is true especially of the laity and is shown by the number of laymen who were historians: Zosimus, Agathias, Priscus, Socrates, Sozomen and Evagrius.

<sup>6</sup> "Bibliothecis sepulchrorum ritu in perpetuum clausis [The libraries were closed like tombs]" (Ammianus Marcellinus XIV. vi. 18).

<sup>7</sup> Latin, however, gained little ground among the Greek-speaking population; see A. Budinsky, *Die Ausbreitung der lateinischen Sprache* (Berlin, 1881), p. 236; L. Hahn, "Zum Sprachenkampf im römischen Reich bis auf die Zeit Justiniana," *Philologus*, X (1907), Supplement, pp. 677-718.

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oughly skilled . . . . fifty volumes of the sacred writings, such as he knew to be most necessary for the . . . . use of the church, on well-prepared parchments, legible and portable for use."<sup>8</sup> The government employed only learned writers, *antiquarii*, in the library and paid them from the state treasury.<sup>9</sup> By the fifth century the imperial library at Constantinople had an estimated 120,000 volumes, certainly the largest book collection in Europe. This great library was burned in 477, in the revolt of Basilacius. Apparently the flames consumed all the 120,000 volumes, including a Homer in gold letters, inscribed on a roll of snake skin 12 feet long. But there must have been many books scattered throughout Constantinople, for the library was soon restored under Emperor Zeno and continued to function in undiminished efficiency. There is an unconfirmed story that Leo the Isaurian burned the library in the eighth century, but this is incredible; at any rate, it is not mentioned until as late as 1276.<sup>10</sup>

In the fifth century there was, no doubt, a great loss of books when many Asiatic-Syrian cities were destroyed by earthquakes. Fire, also, was a constant menace to manuscripts, especially in Constantinople, where the dissatisfied populace often turned to "direct political action" in the form of incendiarism. Fortunately, book collections were not confined to the capital. The fifth-century writings of John of Stobi in Macedonia show that he either had a private collection of secular Greek works or else had access to a public library in the province. There was, also, at Constantinople in this period, a university, and presumably a library, with a faculty of fifteen Greek and thirteen Latin professors. Emperor Theodosius II (408-50) was himself an excellent scholar and a zealous book-collector. He knew Greek and Latin and did his own copying and illuminating, working late into the night by the light of a lamp of his own invention.<sup>11</sup>

In Constantinople proper—at least in the sixth century—there

<sup>8</sup> Eusebius *De vita Const.* iv. 36.

<sup>9</sup> V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie* (Leipzig, 1879), pp. 309-10.

<sup>10</sup> On the library see A. H. L. Heeren, *Geschichte der classischen Litteratur im Mittelalter* (Göttingen, 1797-1801), I, 41-42; W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, pp. 599-60.

<sup>11</sup> Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, LXVII, col. 785.



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were few private book collections, but there were some bibliophiles who cherished beautiful bindings and fine calligraphy. Regardless of the contents, such volumes were gorgeously decorated, preferably in purple, gold, and silver, and bound in jeweled covers of carved ivory; these treasures were kept in cabinets and displayed only to visitors to show the affluence of their owners.<sup>12</sup> An exception, however, must be made for the patriarchal library in the palace of the patriarch, near St. Sophia.<sup>13</sup> In the early seventh century we have an account of at least one private library in Constantinople. Somewhere around A.D. 620 Ananias of Shirak (600-650) left Armenia to study in the Byzantine capital under a teacher named Tychicus. Ananias relates:

And I lived with him eight years and read and learned many writings which were not translated into our tongue. For he had an enormous library, secret books and open, ecclesiastical and profane, scientific and historical, medical and chronological. But I need not enumerate them in detail, for there is no book which was not found with him, and in translating he had such grace as comes from the Holy Spirit.<sup>14</sup>

But, of course, to a naïve provincial, fifty or one hundred volumes may have seemed an "enormous library," and the account should be taken with caution.

During the Persian occupation of Alexandria in 617, "while many libraries perished, some certainly escaped destruction."<sup>15</sup> Fortunately, the great monastery of Ennaton survived by reason of its distance from the capital. The public libraries in Alexandria had long since disappeared, but there were some private and many monastic

<sup>12</sup> W. G. Holmes, *The Age of Justinian and Theodora* (London, 1905-7), I, 118.

<sup>13</sup> This library was burned in 780 but was restored later. Cf. Buerlier, "Sur l'organisation des archives et de la bibliothèque du patriarchat de Constantinople," *Bulletin de la société des antiqu. de la France* (1895), p. 92; H. Steinacker, *Regierungswesen* ("Wiener Studien," XXIV [1902]), p. 307. Emperor Justinian was in the habit of preserving in the treasury of the church a copy of every law he passed; cf. Carasmar, in *Semanario erudito*, XXVIII, 55 ff. The church of St. Sophia was, it seems, the religious and intellectual center of Byzantium; here were stored not only sacred vessels and records but also books. A vast swarm of officials was, therefore, attached to the church, one of whom, Choeroboscus, the grammarian known as the "immortal swineherd," was librarian in the patriarchal library; cf. A. Hilgard, "... Georgi Choerobosci scholia," *Grammatici Graeci*, Part IV, Vol. II (Leipzig, 1894).

<sup>14</sup> F. C. Conybeare, "Ananias of Shirak (A.D. 600-650), His Autobiography," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, VI (1897), 573.

<sup>15</sup> A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt* (Oxford, 1902), pp. 74, 115.

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libraries in Egypt, though few of the latter had much except theological and liturgical works. The only extended information on these is in John Moschus' *Pratum spirituale*. Moschus was a Syrian who settled in Egypt at the end of the sixth century with his pupil and friend Sophronius. The two spent much time in the monasteries of the Thebaid, and the latter finally became a monk. There is a remarkable passage in the work describing the intimacy of the two friends with Cosmas the Student, who "possessed the finest private library in Alexandria and freely lent his books to all readers."<sup>16</sup> We know also from a statement in Zacharias of Mitylene's *Syriac Chronicle* that Alexandria was still important for its book trade. The art of illuminating manuscripts also peristed and was carried to great perfection.

We come now to the second, or "dark," period of Byzantine history, which included the hundred years of iconoclastic emperors. In 727 Leo the Isaurian issued an edict against images and thus started the era of destruction, which was to last until 843. Leo himself had no interest in learning.<sup>17</sup> He abolished the imperial college, or Academy, whose professors were all laymen, not clerics, and were chosen from the "highest dignitaries of the empire."<sup>18</sup> The library was said to have contained some 36,000 volumes. The historian Zonaras perpetuated the story that Leo, furious at his inability to win over the icon-worshiping professors of the Academy, burned the building and the library, as well as the twelve obstinate teachers. Even Gibbon accepted this incredible tale.<sup>19</sup> Yet, as historical criticism has established, the whole story is a pious lie, invented by the religious opponents of the iconoclastic emperor.

Perhaps something should be said here about Theodore of Studium, famous as a monastic reformer and theological polemist. He had been well educated in Constantinople, where books were easy of access. Like his uncle, Abbot Plato, he devoted much time to copying manuscripts and was a lover of books. He made severe

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

<sup>17</sup> J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, I, 391.

<sup>18</sup> C. Zervos, *Un Philosophe néoplatonicien du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*; Michel Psellos (Paris, 1920), p. 106.

<sup>19</sup> On the whole subject see Heeren, *op. cit.*, I, 103-5; also A. Gardner, *Theodore of Studium, His Life and Times* (London, 1905), pp. 18-20.

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rules regulating writing in his monastery at Studium, which influenced other monasteries, especially those on Mount Athos.<sup>22</sup> Some of the penalties which he imposed for inferior or slipshod work are curious. The monk who failed to keep his copy and the original clean, to mark exactly the stops and accents, and to observe lines and spaces was subjected to a penance of one hundred and thirty prostrations. If he wandered from the text of the original, the penalty was three days' exclusion from the community; if he read the text carelessly, he was compelled to live on bread and water for three days; if he broke his pen in a fit of petulance, the offence had to be purged by thirty prostrations. The services to learning and scholarship of Greek monachism in its palmy days, through the initiative and example of Theodore, were not unlike those of the Benedictine Order to the West in the seventeenth century.

In the ninth century iconoclasm did not cause as much damage to literature as in the preceding epoch, for Leo the Armenian, who became emperor in 813, preferred propaganda to force and ordered a number of learned men to search in the libraries for proof against image-worship.<sup>23</sup> Next came a period of much intellectual activity, largely due to the efforts of Caesar Bardas (d. 866), who restored the University of Constantinople. He was educated in law, mathematics, and philosophy and was a friend of literature and science, in constant correspondence with the mathematician Leo, whose reputation was so great that the caliph Al-Mamun had invited him to Bagdad. Bardas was the center of a remarkable circle of learned men, which included, besides Leo (now archbishop of Thessalonica), also the patriarch Photius and the Slavic apostle Kyrillos,<sup>24</sup> who became, in later life, head of the patriarchal library in St. Sophia.<sup>25</sup> These men taught and propagated the classics, which henceforth became the source of inspiration for Byzantine culture.

<sup>22</sup> Theodore also deserves to be remembered for spreading the new form of writing, the elegant Greek minuscule, which, by the middle of the ninth century, had superseded the uncial. See Gardner, *op. cit.*, pp. 230-33.

<sup>23</sup> C. W. F. Walch, *Historie der Ketzereien* (Leipzig, 1762-85), X, 670.

<sup>24</sup> R. Byron and D. T. Rice, *Birth of Western Painting* (New York, 1931), p. 90.

<sup>25</sup> F. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1926), pp. 20-21.

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In 867 a new dynasty came in with Basil I (867-86) and ruled practically throughout the tenth century. Many of the princes of this house were patrons of learning and even authors; hence the ground was ready for a revival of learning. Basil continued the intellectual tradition of his predecessor. Although no scholar himself, he appreciated learning. Photius lived in the palace as tutor to the imperial children and gave the court its intellectual atmosphere. One must remember, however, that the whole tenor of learning was theological; profane literature was appreciated only for use as a weapon in religious polemics. Nevertheless, this limited interest achieved the preservation of the classics in both private and monastic libraries, of which there were many, especially on Mount Athos and the islands of Patmos and Lesbos. Beyond doubt, the greatest scholar of the ninth century was Photius, whose *Myriobiblion*, or *Bibliotheca*, is the most important medieval contribution to bibliography. His home was a combination of salon and reading-room; here persons interested in literature and scholarship used to gather regularly and read aloud literature of all kinds, pagan and Christian, theological and secular. Photius was an omnivorous reader and a discerning literary critic, although his *Bibliotheca* contains no poets, but only prose-writers.

The origin of this work was curious. Photius was sent on a diplomatic mission to the East. There he received a letter from his brother Tarasius, asking for a synopsis of the books that were being read there. Photius, who was then probably in Samarra, accordingly began to make this record. He wrote to his brother, Tarasius:

After our appointment as ambassador to Assyria had been confirmed by the assent of the embassy and approved by the emperor, you asked to be furnished with summaries of those works which had been read and discussed during your absence. Your idea was to have something to console you for our painful separation, and at the same time to acquire some knowledge, even if vague and imperfect, of the works which you had not yet read in our company. We believe that their number is exactly 279. Accordingly, regarding the fulfillment of your request as a sacred obligation, we engaged a secretary, and set down all the summaries we could recollect. No doubt we have not been expeditious enough to satisfy your feverish eagerness and vehement desire, but still we have been quicker than might have been expected. The summaries will be arranged in the order in which our memory recalls them. Certainly, it would not be difficult, if one preferred it, to describe historical events and

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those dealing with different subjects under separate headings. But, considering that nothing would be gained by this, we have set them down indiscriminately as they occurred to us. If, during your study of these volumes, any of the summaries should appear to be defective or inaccurate, you must not be surprised. It is no easy matter to undertake to read each individual work, to grasp the argument, to remember and record it; but when the number of works is large, and a considerable time has elapsed since their perusal, it is extremely difficult to remember them with accuracy. As to the commonplaces met with in the course of our reading, so simple that they can hardly have escaped your notice, we have devoted less attention to them, and have purposely refrained from examining them carefully. You will be better able than ourselves to decide whether these summaries will do more than fulfill your original expectations as to their usefulness. Certainly, such records will assist you to refresh the memory of what you have read by yourself, to find more readily what you want, and further, to acquire more easily the knowledge of what has not as yet been the subject of intelligent reading on your part.<sup>24</sup>

However much of this is literally true and how much rhetorical fiction, students of history are greatly indebted to Photius, because about eighty of the books he mentioned no longer exist. But unfortunately, he says nothing of where he obtained the books, perhaps because it was not politic to do so. Some of them may have come from unorthodox sources; we know, for example, that Caliph Al-Mamun's academy in Bagdad had an admirable library of Greek, Arabic, and Persian manuscripts.<sup>25</sup> A few random extracts will show Photius' bibliographical method:

Read the *Ecclesiastical History* of Salamanes Hermeias Sozomen, in nine books. Dedicated to the emperor Theodosius the Younger, it begins with the consulship of Crispus and his father Constantine, and goes down to the reign of Theodosius the Younger. Sozomen was at one time an advocate in Constantinople. His style is better than that of Socrates,<sup>26</sup> from whom he differs in certain particulars.

Read the treatise of Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, *Against the Blasphemies of Nestorius*, in five books. In these he preserves his characteristic style and curious phraseology. But he is clearer than in his letters to Hermeias and his work *On Adoration in the Spirit*. The language is ornate and elaborate, forced into agreement with its peculiar form, which resembles prose poetry that despises metre.

<sup>24</sup> J. H. Freese, "The Library of Photius," *Translations of Christian Literature*, Ser. I: "Greek Texts" (London and New York, 1920), I, 15-16. Cf. Lester Condit, "Bibliography in Its Prenatal Existence," *Library Quarterly*, VI (1937), 568-72; A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire* (Madison, Wis., 1928), I, 359-60; K. Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, pp. 515-22, and Bibliography, pp. 522-24.

<sup>25</sup> G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, I, 557-58.

<sup>26</sup> This, of course, is the fifth-century Christian historian, not the philosopher.

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Read the *Adventures of Clitophon and Leucippe* by Achilles Tatius, of Alexandria, in eight books. It is a dramatic work, introducing some unseemly love episodes. The diction and composition are excellent, the style distinct, and the figures of speech, whenever they are employed, are well adapted to the purpose. The periods as a rule are aphoristic, clear and agreeable, and soothing to the ear. But the obscenity and impurity of sentiment impair his judgment, are prejudicial to seriousness, and make the story disgusting to read or something to be avoided altogether. Except for the names of the characters and his abominable indecency, the story, in method of treatment and invention, has a great resemblance to the *Aethiopica* of Heliodorus.

Most of the works are, of course, theological; the rest are grammatical, rhetorical, historical, philosophic, scientific, and imaginative. The Greek Church Fathers dominate Photius' library—he mentions only two Latins, Gregory and Cassian. History is represented by Herodotus, Ctesias, Theopompus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Appian, Flavius Josephus, Arrian, Plutarch, Diodorus, Dion Cassius, Herodian, and Procopius. Almost all the ten Attic orators are mentioned except Lycurgus, whose speeches, Photius says, he had not yet read. Most important is his mention of works now lost, notably those of Memnon, Conon, Arrian, and Diodorus Siculus. "No art or science, except poetry," Gibbon comments on the encyclopedic Photius, "was foreign to this universal scholar, who was deep in thought, indefatigable in reading, and eloquent in diction."

The stimulus which Photius gave to learning continued into the following century. There was Arethas, his disciple, who sometime around A.D. 900 became archbishop of Caesarea. Next to Photius, he had perhaps the largest private library of the time, including in it both theological and classical authors. Many of his volumes survive, scattered in Florence, Rome, Paris, Oxford, London, and Moscow.<sup>27</sup> Some bear notes concerning their purchase. In 888 Arethas bought the Euclid now in the Bodleian, and for it paid four nomismata, or the equivalent, in modern money, of about sixty dollars; to the scribe who copied another book for him he paid thirteen nomismata.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> There is a large literature on Arethas. For bibliography see Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, pp. 524-25; A. Harnack, "Der Erzbischof Arethas von Cäsarea, seine Studien und seine Bibliothek," *Texte und Untersuchungen*, I (1883), 35-36; Gardthausen, *op. cit.*, I, 127.

<sup>28</sup> Bury, *op. cit.*, pp. 447-48.

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Classical literature found a patron in Constantine Porphyrogenitus,<sup>29</sup> who came to the throne in 911 and died in 959. He was himself an author and a student, and established a library in the palace. He also provided his capital with four main schools—of philosophy, rhetoric, geometry, and astronomy. Contemporary historians relate:

He did this because he held a knowledge of rhetoric and philosophy as indispensable for those who were to serve the state. He himself paid great attention to the students; he made them his daily companions, and encouraged them through financial gifts and friendly advice. . . . These schools produced educated men whom he used as judges, senators and governors of his provinces.<sup>30</sup>

The reform of the schools necessarily meant an improvement of the libraries. Although contemporary historians do not specifically mention this, their scattered remarks show that Constantine collected many books. The main literary occupation of this period was the copying of classics rather than original creation. The emperor himself, interested mainly in history, had extracts made from the old historians, two of which, *De legationibus* and *De virtutibus*, are preserved in incomplete form. There was also a revival of the study of languages and the production of dictionaries, especially those of Suidas, Hesychius, and the *Etymologium magnum*.

The schools founded by Constantine continued, for some time, to radiate intellectual life, especially at the court; but with the death of Constantine a noticeable decline set in, particularly under Basil II (976–1025). Michael Psellos comments sadly upon his contempt for learning:

. . . he did not pay any attention to learned men, but for these people, I mean savants, he had absolute scorn. Whence it comes to me as a matter of astonishment that when the emperor so scorned literary culture there was in this epoch an abundant flourishing of philosophers and orators. And I find only one solution of my perplexity and astonishment, a most exact and true solution, if I may say so, which is that men then did not engage in culture for some other end but cultivated it in and for itself. Most men do not proceed thus with regard to intellectual exercise; they consider the chief purpose of letters to be personal profit, or rather it is for this they cultivate them; and if this end is not reached at once they abandon them without delay.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, pp. 59–69.

<sup>30</sup> Quoted in Heeren, *op. cit.*, I, 182–90.

<sup>31</sup> Psellos *Chronog.* xxix; cf. C. N. Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge*, IV, 18.

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Basil II's successors, Constantine VIII (1025-28) and Romanus III (1028-34), were no better. Learning continued to be neglected, or, at best, only superficially treated. "One dwells only on the surface," Psellos complained; "one does not penetrate to the heart of philosophy."<sup>32</sup> But when Constantine IX Monomachos came to the throne in 1042, a renaissance began. Within three years he restored the university in Constantinople and founded a law school, whose director, appointed for life, had to know Latin and was ranked as a minister of state. This school, where the students were educated free of cost, had its own library, in charge of an independent custodian.

The whole intellectual life of the period (in so far as it was not theological) consisted of an intensive cultivation of the Greek classics. Michael Psellos, for example, knew the *Iliad* at the age of twelve; and when he was twenty-five he knew all there was to know in rhetoric, philosophy, geometry, music, law, astronomy, medicine, physics, and Platonism. In a later period Anna Comnena went through the classics from end to end. It was the custom of pretentious intellectuals, a contemporary complains, never to appear in public without a volume of Plato in their hands.

This vogue for the classics stimulated a vigorous book trade and the production of many new manuscripts. Much of this copying was done in the monasteries scattered throughout the empire. Despite this, there was much complaint in the twelfth century that learning and libraries were mainly the possession of the rich. It is certainly true that the members of the Comnenian dynasty were scholars and lovers of books;<sup>33</sup> but the university and the church schools had precious book treasures also, and the patriarch founded a large library, containing juridical, rhetorical, philosophical, and theological works. Books, therefore, must have been easily accessible and widely distributed, for contemporary literature reveals an astonishing number of quotations from the classics. The huge didactic poem of Tzetzes (*ca.* 1110-80) is a veritable anthology of ancient authors. The author cites: of verse, Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, the

<sup>32</sup> Quoted in E. Renauld, *Etude de la langue et du style de Michel Psellos* (Paris, 1920), p. 408.

<sup>33</sup> G. Buckler, *Anna Comnena* (Oxford, 1929), pp. 180-84.



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tragic poets, Aristophanes, Theocritus, Apollonius Rhodius, Lycophron, Nicander, Dionysius Periegetes, Oppian, the Orphica, and Quintus Smyrnaeus; and in prose, Herodotus, Diodorus, Josephus, Plutarch, Arrian, Dion Cassius, Procopius, Lysias, Demosthenes, Aeschines, Plato, and Aristotle. In all, over four hundred authors are quoted by Tzetzes. "In the enjoyment or neglect of our present riches," Gibbon comments, "we must envy the generation that could still peruse the history of Theopompus, the orations of Hyperides, the comedies of Menander, and the odes of Alcaeus and Sappho."<sup>34</sup> Nor was science neglected. The interest of the Byzantine court in this is reflected in an extant catalogue of the imperial library which lists several score of rare occult works, some of which may have found their way to Italy.<sup>35</sup>

In the provinces, also, there were libraries where books were carefully copied and preserved. This was particularly true of the monasteries. Eustathius, the archbishop of Thessalonica (*ca.* 1175-92), was a great scholar who did much to foster learning in his diocese. "Why on earth, you illiterate," he once rebuked a monk, "will you be putting the monastery library on the level of your own spirit? And because *you* are void of letters do you empty it too of its lettered gear? Let it shelter its treasures; one will come after you who will be, if not versed in letters, at least friendly to them."<sup>36</sup>

Eustathius' pupil, Michael Acominatus, who became archbishop of Athens about 1175, likewise did much for scholarship. Athens, formerly so glorious, was now a desolate ruin, where sheep fed on the ruins of the Painted Porch. Its people could not understand the

<sup>34</sup> Gibbon-Bury, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, VI, 106.

<sup>35</sup> C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (Cambridge, 1924), *passim*. There was, in this period, some culture-contact between Byzantium and the West, especially southern Italy. When, for example, the Venetian quarter of Constantinople was burned early in the twelfth century, Moses of Bergamo, a poet who knew Greek and Latin, lost not only his fortune but also "his whole collection of Greek manuscripts, brought together by long effort at the price of three pounds of gold" (C. H. Haskins, "Moses of Bergamo," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXIII [1914], 134-35). The Greek monastery of St. Nicolas di Casole, near Otranto, founded at the end of the eleventh century, had many Greek books, including Aristophanes, Aristotle, Erotemata, etc.; see H. Omont, "La bibliothèque de Saint-Nicolas di Casole," *Revue des études grecques*, III (1890), 389-91.

<sup>36</sup> Eustathius *De emendanda vita monastica* cxxviii; cf. Sandys, *op. cit.*, I, 420-22.

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classical discourses of the new prelate. In his loneliness the archbishop consoled himself with the books which he had brought from Constantinople and which he deposited in two chests near the altar of the Parthenon. This library, then the largest in Athens, contained manuscripts of Homer, Aristotle, Euclid, Thucydides, and Galen.<sup>37</sup>

Perhaps the largest provincial library, at least the one about which we have most information, was that of Patmos. In 1088 Alexis Comnenus gave the monastery of Patmos to Christodulus. Although the foundation was constantly menaced by foreign enemies and exacting officials, it continued to flourish, so that in the twelfth century it had about one hundred and fifty monks. Fortunately, a curious inventory of its treasures has been preserved in the monastic archives, throwing an interesting light on the literary conditions of the age and, incidentally, revealing the character of St. Christodule,<sup>38</sup> for he was a great lover of books. In his instructions to the monks the abbot advised: "He who is clever in the art of writing, should, with the authorisation of the *hegoumon* [head or abbot] exercise his talents." This was done, and the manuscripts thus produced were placed among the previous possessions of the monastery.

The founder of Patmos was also the head of the convent of St. Paul of Latros, where he also accumulated books. So great a value did St. Christodulus attach to his manuscripts that, when the Turks menaced Latros in 1079, his first thought was for his literary treasures, which he hastily gathered and brought to his new retreat in Patmos. Again, toward the end of the saint's life, the Turks menaced the pious foundation, and again St. Christodulus gathered his passionately loved books and fled with them to a more distant monastery. On his deathbed he bequeathed his library to Patmos. To make sure that his will would be executed, he drew up a catalogue, gave it to one of his loyal disciples, with the warning that he hand all the manuscripts over to the new abbot, and added menaces of eternal damnation if his injunctions were violated. He forbade the alienation

<sup>37</sup> Sandys, *op. cit.*, I, 422.

<sup>38</sup> On Christodule see J. Sakkellion (ed.), *De vita Christoduli* (3d ed. by K. Boine; Athens, 1884), pp. 109-33; F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata Graeca* (Vienna, 1890), VI, 21-90. The catalogue here discussed is of 1201; there is a second of 1355 and a third of 1832; cf. Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, p. 508.

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of even a single volume. "And if ever anyone should try, in the name of the monastery of Stylos or the abbey of Latros, to claim any of the books which have been given me by the very holy patriarch, his claim should be rejected and he should draw upon himself the curse of the three hundred and eighteen fathers as well as my own."

St. Christodulus' successors at Patmos continued the tradition of jealously preserving and enriching the library; some monks bequeathed their private books and others copied for the monastic library. In the twelfth century, individuals from all over the empire—Rhodes, Chios, and Crete—hoping to assure eternal salvation for themselves, sent gifts of books to Patmos. One of the donors, in an inscription accompanying a book, enumerated the sums which he had expended in buying paper for the copy. Hence, by the beginning of the thirteenth century, Patmos had a considerable library. The catalogue lists 267 parchment manuscripts and 63 books on paper—a total of 330 volumes. But the number, although impressive, is not very significant. There are many which were duplicates of the same text, and all except about a dozen were of ecclesiastical nature. The catalogue lists 2 volumes of grammar, 2 on medicine, 2 on chronology, and 1 lexicon. More valuable are the *Barlaam and Josaphat*, Aristotle's *Categories*, Josephus, and Eustathius' commentary on his *Antiquities*. The catalogue of 1382 lists only a total of 300 volumes of the same general character. In modern times the Patmos library consisted of about 750 manuscripts, most of them recent.<sup>39</sup>

Next, the book collections of the Mount Athos monasteries deserve mention. Although the Turks destroyed many valuable manuscripts in 1820, the library, occupying three floors of a large tower, still contained some 10,000 works at the end of the nineteenth century. Most of these manuscripts, however, are of recent origin. Of the older works, the majority are, as usual, ecclesiastical. The Mount Athos catalogues list few Byzantine historians; but other profane writers are fairly numerous: writings of Photius, Psellos, Philes, the

<sup>39</sup> Some notes on the old manuscripts show that Patmos followed the contemporary practice of lending books to other foundations. Most of these were liturgical. Cf. C. Diehl, "Le Trésor et la bibliothèque de Patmos au commencement du 13<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, I (1892), 488-525.

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fables and oracles of Leo the Wise, the letters of Michael Glycas, the history of Josephus, and the famous codex of Ptolemy's Geography.<sup>40</sup>

All the cultural centers of the Byzantine Empire had their libraries.<sup>41</sup> This was also true of Jerusalem, where existed an ancient Christian library, whose history has to be carefully pieced together from scattered fragments.<sup>42</sup>

The oldest dated volume is the so-called *Psalterium Uspenskyanum* of the year 862. This gives our first medieval evidence of the existence of the patriarchal library in Jerusalem. Theodore, the writer of the codex, was deacon of the church of the Holy Sepulcher, which also had a writing school. Since a writing school without books is unthinkable, we infer that the library of the Holy Sepulcher is identical with the patriarchal collection.<sup>43</sup>

Jerusalem library catalogues which were published in the nineteenth century<sup>44</sup> listed about 645 manuscripts, some of which belong to the ninth century. Only three of the older fragments are uncial; the rest are in minuscule, including a ninth-century Bible, 6 codices from the tenth century, 24 from the eleventh, 10 from the twelfth, 8 from the thirteenth, 20 from the fourteenth, 11 from the fifteenth, and 29 from the sixteenth. Few of the classical manuscripts have any value. The most important are 34 palimpsest folios, containing fragments of Euripides, which originally belonged to St. John's Monastery near the Jordan and were brought to Jerusalem by Tischendorf. This Euripides text probably belongs to the tenth cen-

<sup>40</sup> B. Murphy, "The Greek Monasteries of Mount Athos," *Catholic World*, XXXIII (1881), 163-75; W. Wagner, *Carmina Graeca medii aevi*, pp. 242-47; for catalogues see A. Boltz, *Die Bibliotheken der Klöster des Athos* (Bonn, 1881); H. von Rickenbach, *Ein Besuch auf dem Berge Athos* (Würzburg, 1881); S. P. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts of Mount Athos* (Cambridge, 1895).

<sup>41</sup> Closely connected with the Greek church, although later divorced, was the Coptic church, whose monasteries had their own libraries; see J. B. Chabot, "La Bibliothèque du convent de S. Michel au Fayoum," *Journal des savants*, 1912, pp. 179 ff.

<sup>42</sup> R. P. Blake, *Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens de la bibliothèque patriarcale grecque à Jérusalem* (Paris, 1924), first published in *Revue de l'orient chrétien*, XXIII (1922-23), 345-413, and XXIV (1924), 190-210.

<sup>43</sup> Gardthausen, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

<sup>44</sup> Listed in Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, pp. 510-11.

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ture. Among the other classical works are Aristotle's *Opera quaedam logica*, a sixteenth-century compilation from Galen and Hippocrates, and a fourteenth-century *Anthologia epigrammatum*, by Maximus Planudes.<sup>45</sup>

On the whole, the book collections in the Byzantine Empire, particularly of classic literature, were the largest and most valuable in Christendom. Unfortunately for their preservation, western Europe was then far behind the East in learning and scholarship, and this made possible one of the greatest cultural devastations of the Middle Ages. The Fourth Crusade, as is well known, was deflected by the Venetians. Instead of proceeding to the Holy Land and wresting it from the Saracens, the Crusaders besieged and sacked Constantinople. In the course of the siege the city was thrice burned. The second conflagration, originating in the wilful act of some Flemish soldiers in August, 1203, lasted two days; and, according to Villehardouin and Nicetas, "splendid palaces, filled with works of ancient art and classic manuscripts, were destroyed." Eight months later, on April 13, 1204, the city was finally taken by the Crusaders; and the brutal mob of ignorant "Franks" showed their contempt for a nation of "scribes and scholars" by marching through the streets with pens, inkhorns, and sheets of paper on their lances. The Greek historian Nicetas, who witnessed this, remarks bitterly that one could expect nothing more from "ignorant and utterly illiterate barbarians."<sup>46</sup>

There is no record of the number of books which the Crusaders destroyed in 1204, but it must have been enormous. The vandalism continued during the occupation by the Franks. Even the Turks, when they took the city in 1453, spared manuscripts to a considerable extent.<sup>47</sup> "It was Christian, and not pagan, barbarians," to

\* Planudes was a famous translator; cf. Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, pp. 543-45, and bibliography, pp. 545-46; J. Dräseke, "Zur byzantinischen Schnellschreibekunst," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XX (1911), 140-46.

\* Cited in Gibbon-Bury, *op. cit.*, VI, 409.

\* "The sack of Constantinople by the Crusaders," Provost Montague James says, "was, in its obliteration of works of art and of literature, far more disastrous than the capture of the city by the Turks in 1453"; quoted by H. R. Willoughby in *Press Impressions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), VI, 2.

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quote a well-known work, "who damaged classical literature beyond recall."<sup>48</sup>

Some of the Greek manuscripts found their way westward and helped to fan the spark which ultimately blazed in the Renaissance. We know that even before 1204 many Greek manuscripts reached Italy; in 1185 the Normans took Thessalonica and sold many books to Italians. Shiploads of Greek manuscripts were bought by Italians. Leonardo of Veroli, chancellor of Achaia in the thirteenth century, not only possessed in his library a "Greek book" and a "Chronicle" but had a certain Greek work copied for him by two scribes in the royal library at Naples and carefully corrected by a French priest and two Italians. Obviously, therefore, some Franks knew Greek; there is reference to one archbishop who even translated Aristotle.<sup>49</sup> A double current of literature is discernible in the thirteenth century. Greek manuscripts and Greek literary ideas flowed westward, where some of them were translated into Latin or Old French;<sup>50</sup> and at the same time Old French romances of chivalry flowed to the East.<sup>51</sup> Simultaneously the Greeks, for the first time, evinced an interest in classical Latin literature. Maximus Planudes (ca. 1260-1310), a monk with a good knowledge of Latin, translated into Greek Caesar's *De bello Gallico*, Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae*.<sup>52</sup>

But to return to Byzantium. After the city was captured by the Crusaders, the court moved to Nicaea, which thus became the center of Hellenic civilization. In the second half of the thirteenth century, according to George of Cyprus, Nicaea was said "to be an Athens in her abundance of scholars." Theodore Lascaris (1204-32), the first ruler of Nicaea, invited Greek scholars to his court. His successor, John III Ducas Vatatzes (1222-54), despite his military activities, found time to establish libraries in his cities. Theodore II (1254-58), like his father John III, was a disciple of Nicephorus Blemmydes

<sup>48</sup> Heeren, *op. cit.*, I, 270-72.

<sup>49</sup> W. Miller, *Latins in the Levant* (New York, 1908), pp. 153-54.

<sup>50</sup> *Journal des savants*, 1899, pp. 108 ff., 539 ff.; 1910, p. 40.

<sup>51</sup> J. B. Bury, *Romances of Chivalry on Greek Soil* (Oxford, 1911).

<sup>52</sup> Sandys, *op. cit.*, I, 428.

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and interested himself not only in the founding of libraries but also in collecting and distributing books; he even permitted readers to take books home. This interest in cultural activities was due to Blemmydes, whom the monarch sent through the provinces to buy or, if unpurchasable, to copy rare manuscripts.<sup>53</sup>

In 1261 the Byzantines, under Michael Paleologus, reconquered Constantinople; and for the following two centuries no violence was done to books.<sup>54</sup> Although Constantinople was no longer the center, there was a continuation of Hellenic tradition. Michael restored the library in a wing of the palace of Blachernae. Numerous manuscripts scattered throughout Europe today show by their bindings and device that they came from Constantinople. In the National Library at Paris there is a collection of theological works, of 1276, which the scribe copied, he says, "at the command of Michael Paleologus, the new Constantine, and Theodora, the august and most pious." Recently the University of Chicago Press issued a facsimile edition of the Rockefeller-McCormick Bible, a newly found manuscript with ninety-eight striking illustrations, which apparently came from the Paleologus library.

New types of libraries now made their appearance: book collections were attached to monastic schools throughout the empire.<sup>55</sup> That the classics were still taught and fostered we see from the list of books which Joseph Bryennios left to the church of St. Sophia. He taught grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy to Greek and Italian students. In his library we find textbooks on metrics and prosody, Aristotle, Ptolemy, and the mathematician Nicomachos of Garasa.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>53</sup> A. A. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, II, 241-44; cf. Alice Gardner, *The Lascaris of Nicaea*, chap. xiv.

<sup>54</sup> An exception must be made for the library of Brussa that was carried off by Timur in the fourteenth century. On his trip through Turkestan, E. Schuyler was told that there were "many books, written in languages unknown to the learned men of Bukhara" in the treasury of the Amir. "These books are said to have come down from very ancient times. It immediately occurred to me that they might be a remnant of the famous library said to have been carried off from Brussa by Timur, the fate of which has so long excited the curiosity of scholars" (E. Schuyler, *Turkestan* [New York, 1877], II, 97-98).

<sup>55</sup> Fuchs, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60. The Serbian empress Elizabeth, whose dynasty was intimately connected with the Byzantine ruling family, had a Greek library in the fourteenth century; see L. Poltis, "Griechische Handschriften der serbischen Kaiserin Elisabeth," *Byzantinoslavica*, II (1930), 288-304.

<sup>56</sup> Fuchs, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

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The end of Byzantine civilization came in 1453, when the Turks finally took Constantinople. Since the conquerors had no use for "infidel" literature, and manuscripts were by this time valuable commercial goods for which Westerners were willing to pay money, the Moslems sold wagonloads of Greek books, mainly to Italian buyers. In the following decades impoverished Greek families sold their libraries at auction, as did Michael Cantacuzenos in 1578. Sultan Solymán II gave a small collection to Diego de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador. Greek monks bought and preserved some books in their monasteries.<sup>57</sup>

The former Byzantine, and now Turkish, provinces retained a number of Greek manuscripts, many of which are still to be found in the lands which compose modern Rumania. At the end of the sixteenth century the Wallachian metropolitan Euthymius asked Meletius Pigas, the patriarch of Constantinople, to send him a Greek Evangel and a nomocanon.<sup>58</sup> In the following century we find a Greek library in the palace of Basil Lapu, prince of Moldavia. Other "Rumanian" nobles, such as Constantin Cantacuzenos and Constantin Brancoveanu, not only had Greek collections but were patrons of Hellenic culture.<sup>59</sup> The majority of Greek manuscripts which have been preserved are to be found scattered throughout Europe. They are treasured in the libraries of Italy, France, Austria, Germany, England, Spain, and Russia.

<sup>57</sup> Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, p. 506 and note. For a fifteenth-century library see S. P. Lambros, "Das Testament des Neilos Damilas," in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, IV (1895), 585-87; E. Legrand, "Testament de Nil Damilas," *Revue des études grecques*, IV (1891), 178-81.

<sup>58</sup> Bishop Melchizedek, in *Annales de l'académie roumaine*, III, 28; see also XX, 203, and XXXVII, 85.

<sup>59</sup> S. Dragomir, "Nouvelles notes sur les relations entre roumains et grecs," *Bulletin de l'institut pour l'étude de l'Europe sud-orientale*, VIII (1921).



## CHAPTER X

# Libraries of the Greek Monasteries in Southern Italy

By ISABELLA STONE

**T**HERE is no evidence of the existence of Greek monasteries in southern Italy before the tenth century; yet Greek immigrants were coming from the east long before then. Undoubtedly, many came in the seventh century to escape the Persian, Arabic, and Slavic invasions, for even the emperor Constans II deemed the Orient lost and went to Syracuse to pass the last five years of his life (663-68). Again, in the eighth and ninth centuries, when the iconoclastic persecutions in Byzantium dispersed so many monks, southern Italy was the place of refuge for many, as it was again for Greek settlers in Sicily driven out by the Saracens. But Italy, too, was subject to Saracen raids, and so the refugees from Sicily in the ninth century were forced to go ever farther inland and farther north to avoid these hostile attacks.<sup>1</sup> The spread of culture by this Greek population was an important factor in the evolution of medieval Italy and is not so generally known as it deserves to be.

The earliest of the refugees were probably illiterate hermits, who lived in caves or wandered around the country as mendicants; such was Elias Junior, who thought literature sinful. There is a legend that once, when he was on a journey with a certain Daniel, who had written a beautiful Psalter, he ordered the latter to throw the book into a swamp. Daniel did so; but after the two had traveled six

<sup>1</sup> K. Lake, "The Greek Monasteries in South Italy," *Journal of Theological Studies*, IV, 352; P. Batiffol, *L'Abbaye de Rossano*, pp. 5-6.

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miles, he was permitted to go back and retrieve it, and fortunately he found it unharmed.<sup>2</sup> Gradually, however, as monasticism developed to the cenobite stage, culture increased and scriptoria were established. The most illustrious representative of this phase was Nilus of Rossano, one of the greatest figures of the tenth century, whose *Vita* is the chief source for the monastic history of southern Italy.<sup>3</sup>

In Nilus' youth, books on magic were popular in Rossano, but his taste was for much more serious literature. He went first to Mount Mercurion, near Seminara, where there was a group of monasteries; between 950 and 958 he returned to Rossano and founded St. Adrian's; in 976 he went to Capua and Monte Cassino. There he was cordially received and later was sent to the dependent house at Vallelucio. Here he stayed for several years; then, considering the Benedictine monks not sufficiently austere, he left them and founded a monastery in Gaëta. Finally, in 1002, he founded St. Mary's at Grottaferrata, which is preserved as a national monument and still uses the Greek ritual.<sup>4</sup> It possesses both mosaics of Nilus' time and manuscripts probably by his hand.<sup>5</sup> While still at Mercurion, Nilus became noted for his knowledge of literature and his skill as a scribe. The literature he discussed was chiefly ecclesiastical or biblical, and what he copied was of the same variety. Yet profane literature must have been accessible, for Proclus, the abbot, was a man who "had made his soul a treasury of sacred and profane books." Nilus used to write every day from dawn until the third hour, filling four sheets a day with his small, compact writing. If the sheets were as large as those in the Grottaferrata manuscripts, it would take a very skilful scribe to fill a quaternion in three hours.<sup>6</sup> Nilus had neither chair nor inkwell, but "devised a substitute for

<sup>2</sup> *Acta sanctorum* XXXVII. 497D.

<sup>3</sup> G. L. Schlumberger, *L'Épopée byzantine*, II, 288; Migne, *Pat. Graec.*, CXX, col. 20.

<sup>4</sup> H. F. Tozer, "The Greek-speaking Population of Southern Italy," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, X (1889), 11-42.

<sup>5</sup> Schlumberger, *op. cit.*, I, 581; II, 287-89, with illustrations; A. Rocchi, *La Badia di Grottaferrata* (2d ed.; Rome, 1904).

<sup>6</sup> Lake, *op. cit.*, IV, 520.

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the latter by applying wax to wood." Just what this means is not very clear; it does not imply the use of wax tablets to write on, as Wattenbach misconstrued it. A monk, Stephen, bought the parchment at Rossano. The monks in Nilus' company read the Scriptures and such theological works as Basil, Athanasius, Chrysostom, and Theodore of Studium. Sometimes they memorized sermons of Gregory Nazianzen. Nilus commented on the passages read, and discussion and argument followed.<sup>7</sup> He was strict with the dull-witted. For one who could not keep awake to read the Scriptures he made a one-legged stool, to induce wakefulness. Yet he succeeded in making "barbarians into theologians and herdsmen into teachers."<sup>8</sup>

Probably Nilus founded a distinct school of writing, for manuscripts written under his influence are different from contemporary work produced in Byzantium. Both decoration and script show characteristic features<sup>9</sup> of the Beneventan style of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Batiffol applies the term "Graeco-Lombardic" to this style. Its general effect is of an inelegant, crowded hand on yellowish, poorly ruled parchment with rough, almost grotesque illumination. Another style of writing may also be traced to Nilus, the tachygraphic.<sup>10</sup> Three such manuscripts written by him in 965 are extant at Grottaferrata and form our oldest specimens of this style.

It is impossible, from surviving records, to determine how many Byzantine monasteries there were in southern Italy during the earliest period. Lake<sup>11</sup> gives a tentative list of thirteen and thinks that there were not many others until after the Norman Conquest, in 1071. Then came a great increase, but here again the evidence is too scanty to establish the exact number. The four greatest houses were St. Nicholas' at Casole, St. Mary's at Rossano, St. Elias' at Carbone,

<sup>7</sup> Schlumberger, *op. cit.*, I, 466 f.

<sup>8</sup> Migne, *Pat. Graec.* CXX, col. 141.

<sup>9</sup> Batiffol, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-90.

<sup>10</sup> S. Gassisi, "I Manoscritti autografi di S. Nilo iuniore," *Oriens Christianus*, IV (1904), 342-53.

<sup>11</sup> Lake, *op. cit.*, IV, 529. He mentions Salinae; Aulinae; Armo; Melicucca, in a cave near Seminara; the Mercurion group; St. Nazarius (location unknown); St. Anastasia, a nunnery, at Arenario; St. Adrian's at Rossano; Vallelucio; Gaëta; Nola; Argentum; Rapora; and Grottaferrata.

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and St. John's at Stilo—one in each of the following divisions of the Norman kingdom, Apulia, Sila, Basilicata, and Calabria.

St. Nicholas' of Casole was founded in 1099. Its third abbot, Nicholas (1153–90), established the library and spared no expense in collecting books from all parts of Greece. The monks, most of whom came from the east and were instructed in Greek literature, provided a residence with free board and tuition for all who wished to study Greek.<sup>12</sup> Around it were grouped the daughter-houses at Vaste, Policastro, Trulazzo, Alessano, Castro, Minervino, etc., whose monks borrowed books from St. Nicholas'.<sup>13</sup> Even Brindisi obtained books here. Evidently the abbey was the great center of Greek culture for all Apulia. Its history, compiled in 1480, has unfortunately been lost; but its *Typicon*, written in 1174 by Nicholas himself, was preserved in Turin until the fire of 1904. Besides annals and regulations, this volume contained marginal notes recording seventy loans of books from the library, with the names of the borrowers.<sup>14</sup> The books borrowed were mostly religious, but there was also one loan each of a lexicon, a lapidary, a dream book, a *Nominion*, an Aristotle, and even an Aristophanes! Apparently the monks were not confined strictly to works of edification, as has sometimes been assumed. The *Typicon* also contained some of the rules of the scriptorium, modeled on those of Studium, which will be discussed later.

About 1460 Cardinal Bessarion removed to Rome, and later to Venice, the richest treasures of St. Nicholas', thus preserving them for posterity in another locality of Byzantine origin. It is possible that the Aristophanes mentioned in the *Typicon* is the one now in the Marciana. A few other Casole manuscripts are in Rome, Paris, and Madrid. Those left behind by Bessarion were probably destroyed by the carelessness of the Latins or by the attack of the Turks shortly after 1480.<sup>15</sup>

What St. Nicholas' was to Apulia, St. Mary's of Rossano was to Sila—a center of Greek culture for the whole district. It was founded

<sup>12</sup> Batiffol, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

<sup>13</sup> C. Diehl, *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome*, VI, 173–88.

<sup>14</sup> H. Omont, *Revue des études grecques*, III, 389–91.

<sup>15</sup> C. Diehl, *L'Art byzantin*, pp. 170–80, and his article cited in note 13 above.

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by Bartholomew, as agent of the Normans; and its first books came from Byzantium. Bartholomew, who went there to get them, was received by Alexius and Irene with veneration and given all that he asked for.<sup>16</sup> Later he took twelve monks from St. Mary's and half of its books, and founded the monastery of St. Salvator in Messina, probably before 1129. In its *Typicon* one of the abbots, Luke (1129) tells of his efforts to collect the best books—not only Chrysostom, Basil, and Gregory but also historical works and various other kinds of literature.

Another monastery, also named St. Salvator, was located just outside of Messina at Bordanaro. Some remains of its buildings could still be seen until the earthquake of 1908, for it had not been destroyed by the Saracens, as were so many Sicilian monasteries. It was unusually fortunate in having been bequeathed a collection of books by a very wealthy and learned Greek, Scholarius (or Sabas),<sup>17</sup> who had been Roger's palace chaplain and who had brought many treasures from Greece. This thorough bibliophile, who lived about 1050–1130, specified in his will that no one was ever to alienate these books from this monastery, and then enumerated the volumes.<sup>18</sup>

This collection must have been one of the richest in the West at that time, and it undoubtedly included some profane works. Some light on the latter class may be derived from a reference made by Aristippus of Catania, who flourished about 1156. He mentions two libraries in Sicily, one at Syracuse and one called the "Argolic." The second, which is almost certainly the Sebas Collection, he describes as rich in Greek works, such as Hero's *Mechanics*, Euclid's

<sup>16</sup> Batiffol, *op. cit.*, pp. 6 ff.

<sup>17</sup> There is a valuable biography with exhaustive discussion of his library by Father Lo Parco, in *Atti della reale accademia di archeologia, lettere, e belle arti di Napoli*, I (1910), 207–86.

<sup>18</sup> R. Firro, *Sicilia sacra* (Panormi, 1733), II, 1004: "Item missalia membrana sex, quorum tria continent Missam Beati Basilii, tria vero S. Jo. Chrysostomi, et alia duo cum Missa Consecrata, et Chrysostomi. Item evangelia quatuor; duo cotidiana cum titulis aureis, et ornamentis exterioribus deauratis, alia duo cum ornamento argenteo. Retro evangelium unum magnum, cujus ornatus argenteus est; et alterum sine tabulis. Codices duos graecos Epistolarum S. Pauli. Codices Actuum S. Apostolorum duos. Codices Juris canonici tres. Martyrologia duo totius anni. Cataniistica. Minoes totius anni. Et alios codices pulchros, et diversos numero trecentos" (dated January of the year 6622 from the beginning of the world).

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*Optics*, Aristotle, Anaxagoras, Themistius, Plutarch, and the philosophers.<sup>19</sup> Aristippus also states that this library was the sole depository of Greek works, which would be sought for in vain elsewhere. It is likely that he found there the *Phaedo* and *Meno* of Plato and the Diogenes Laertius that he was translating. Another translator who consulted this same library was probably Batholomew of Messina, who lived in the thirteenth century and translated Aristotle's *De principiis*, a work not known in twelfth-century collections. Since the *Timaeus* of Plato was all that was known of that author before Aristippus translated the *Phaedo* and *Meno*, it appears that Sabas' library made a substantial contribution to the knowledge of Plato and Aristotle in the West. What became of this library in after years? The classics had disappeared before the visit of Constantine Lascaris in the fifteenth century, but some of the religious works were taken to the other Messina monastery in 1499. Fortunately, they escaped the 1908 disaster.

St Elias' monastery at Carbone in Basilicata was also closely connected with St. Mary's of Rossano. It was founded by Luke of Armentum, who died in 993.<sup>20</sup> It was burned in 1174 and rebuilt on Montechiaro; but again it was burned, in 1432, and removed to the site of the present ruins, where it rose to wealth and power, owned wide domains and exercised feudal authority, and kept alive and spread Greek learning.<sup>21</sup> From its connection with Rossano it must have received a great impetus to produce fine manuscripts. But if any escaped the fires, they were stolen by the commendatory abbots, legalized robbers who ruined what it was their duty to protect. The decline continued until 1809, when the French suppressed the monastery, which then contained only three monks.

Too little is known of the other chief monasteries for one to say anything about their books, but no doubt the general literary trend in all was the same. At least this is certain: these Greek monasteries

<sup>19</sup> Lo Parco, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

<sup>20</sup> G. Robinson, "History and Cartulary of the Greek Monastery of St. Elias and St. Anastasius of Carbone," *Orientalia Christiana*, XI (1928), 271-348.

<sup>21</sup> A document dated 1171 states that Carbone gave Greek liturgical books to Urso, priest and abbot of St. Simeon's of Bari, in exchange for a house.

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of southern Italy were not isolated and foreign institutions, but entered into the life of the whole countryside and left a religious and cultural imprint upon all the people, rural and urban alike. Beyond this they also served as a refuge and furnished leaders to the panic-stricken populace during the period of the Saracen invasions. And still later in the revival of learning the North found here both its first Greek teachers and its first Greek books. The debt of the Renaissance to these Byzantine monasteries of Italy can never be exactly appraised; but, beyond all doubt, it was large.

Attention was first directed in recent times to the monastic libraries of southern Italy by the discovery at Rossano in 1879 of a codex of the Gospels written in silver uncials on purple vellum and elaborately illustrated. Investigation of the origin and later history of the volume initiated studies which have led to highly significant discoveries concerning this forgotten period when Byzantine culture flourished in the West. In every way this Rossano Codex<sup>22</sup> is a most extraordinary book. Only three other codices and two palimpsest fragments in silver on purple are known,<sup>23</sup> and all are of the sixth century. It is the only Gospel manuscript before the eighth century to contain illustrations of the life of Christ. These miniatures, very curiously, are pasted into the volume, not painted directly on its leaves, and may come from a different locality than the text. Indeed, stylistically they belong to Asia Minor,<sup>24</sup> while both the script and the purple parchment suggest an origin in the imperial scriptorium of Justinian. It has therefore been assumed that the codex was presented to the Bishop of Rossano by this emperor shortly after Belisarius conquered Italy. A rival theory makes it one of the volumes given to St. Mary's by Alexius Comnenus in the time of Abbot Bartholomew. No local tradition survives to favor either view. At present the codex consists of only 188 leaves in an eighteenth-century binding and contains only Matthew and a part of

<sup>22</sup> O. von Gebhardt and A. von Harnack, *Die Evangelien . . . Codex graecus purpureus Rossanensis* (Leipzig, 1880); A. Haseloff, *Codex purpureus Rossanensis* (Berlin, 1898), with reproductions of the miniatures; A. Munoz, *Il Codice purpureo di Rossano e il frammento Sinopense* (Rome, 1907), with colored plates.

<sup>23</sup> P. Batiffol, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, V (1885), 358-76.

<sup>24</sup> O. M. Dalton, *East Christian Art*, p. 312.

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Mark; originally, it no doubt included all four of the Gospels. This book is now a national monument of Italy, preserved in the archives of the Archbishop of Rossano. When exhibited in 1906 at the Exposition of Grottaferrata, it traveled with a guard of armed carabinieri.<sup>25</sup>

Comparable to this biblical codex is the oldest known Greek secular text (except papyri fragments), which was likewise discovered in southern Italy.<sup>26</sup> This is a palimpsest, with a three-column uncial text of Strabo dating from the end of the fifth or the early sixth century, written over with the Old Testament. It probably came from a collection at Grottaferrata, where similar fragments from southern Italy have been found. Yet, here again the original source may have been Constantinople, for there Strabo first began to be quoted according to the lexicon of Stephanus, in the time of Justinian.

<sup>25</sup> N. Douglas, *Old Calabria*, p. 114.

<sup>26</sup> Munoz, *op. cit.*; and A. Wolf, in *Sitzungsberichte, Heidelberg Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil.-hist. Kl.), I (1928-29).



## CHAPTER XI

### Jewish Libraries<sup>\*</sup>

By S. K. PADOVER

**M**ANY aspects of medieval life will always puzzle the modern mind, and among these none is more elusive of realistic understanding than the cultural activities of the Jews. Few scholars have clear vision in these matters: many are blinded by racial antipathies, and others can see only dimly through their tears, with everything haloed in iridescence. On the one hand, the Jewish community is caricatured as a self-seeking, intrusive, foreign minority obstinately resistant to any form of social assimilation; on the other, it is sublimated as a heroic band, possessed of the only intelligence, devotion, and idealism in a world of ignorance, superstition, and brutality. Actually, of course, the Jew in the Middle Ages was merely a medieval European who was impelled, probably less by his Semitic heredity than by a whole complex of adverse social pressures, not only to retain but to cherish his anti-Christian religious connections.

In many ways the Jewish religion promoted a Protestant attitude toward letters long before the Reformation was ever dreamed of. It had no true priesthood; its synagogue was essentially an assembly for teaching, edification, worship, and discipline,—not a temple of sacrament. Moreover, the head of each household, and therefore

<sup>\*</sup> Scattered material on Jewish libraries is to be found in various literary studies. The pioneer in the field is M. Steinschneider; see his "Vorlesungen über die Kunde hebräischer Handschriften," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Beiheft XIX (1897), and his "Allgemeine Einleitung in die jüdische Literatur des Mittelalters," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, XVI and XVII (1904-5), *passim* (this periodical, containing much of the literature cited, will be referred to as "JQR").

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potentially every male, had a definitely ministerial character. Because of all this a Jewish community had to have a widespread ability to read and the possession of certain books.

But Jewish literacy, unlike that of later Protestantism, was not in the local vernaculars or even in Latin, the international language of scholarship, but in Hebrew. This peculiarity had two definite results for Jewish culture. In the first place, the studious Jew was thrown back, even more than his Christian contemporary, to a dialectic elaboration of a narrow traditional material, and ended in a deadening scholasticism, repressive of all intellectual progress. But, at the same time, this same Jew, through his Hebrew, which was very closely related to Arabic, could find easy access to a rich store of philosophical and scientific literature completely unknown to Christians. Here, when the time came, Jewish scholars not only achieved a great intellectual advance for themselves but made a permanent and lasting contribution to the cultural history of all western Europe.<sup>2</sup>

In our appreciation of this uniqueness of the Jews we must not overlook the degree to which they also reflected the intellectual temper of the people among whom they lived. If the dominant non-Jewish culture was religious and pietistic, then Jewish writings were theological and exegetical; this occurred in northern Europe down to the twelfth century and in Byzantium.<sup>3</sup> But, wherever there was creative intellectual activity, the Jews likewise developed originality. Thus, at one and the same time in Arabic Spain, the Jews were scientists, philosophers, and poets; while in Germany and England, they, like their Christian neighbors, were immersed in the dulness of theological quibbling.

The Jewish library was always, of course, that collection of books known as the Bible. This work, throughout Jewish history, was sedulously studied and preserved with the utmost reverence.<sup>4</sup> The oldest-known biblical fragment, the Nash Papyrus, contains in Hebrew the

<sup>2</sup> M. Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher* (Berlin, 1893).

<sup>3</sup> A. Andréadès, "The Jews in the Byzantine Empire," *Economic History*, III, (1934) 1-23.

<sup>4</sup> L. Blau, *Studien zum alt-hebräischen Buchwesen* (Budapest, 1902).

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text of the Ten Commandments and dates back to the first century after Christ.<sup>5</sup> Other Hebraic papyri texts are six or seven centuries younger than the Nash Papyrus.<sup>6</sup>

The Bible accompanied the Jews in all their migrations. Indeed, it was easier to carry than the more bulky and voluminous Talmud, which, with its accumulated commentaries upon commentaries, was a veritable corpus juris. The most isolated Jewish communities possessed the Scriptures but not always the rabbinical writings. The Jews of Yemen, in southern Arabia, where they settled forty-two years before the destruction of the First Temple and where they founded a kingdom, maintained the Hebrew language and biblical laws, but apparently did not have the Talmud. It was from them that Mohammed acquired his knowledge of the Bible and the Prophets (including Jesus), which he incorporated in his Koran.<sup>7</sup> In the twelfth century these same Yemenite Jews, according to the Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, knew Maimonides' Arabic commentary on the Mishna and his philosophic treatise, *Guide to the Perplexed*.<sup>8</sup> This also was true of the equally isolated Jews of Persia, who are probably remnants of the captivity of Babylon. A modern Jewish scholar who traveled through Teheran, Samarkand, and Bokhara in search of ancient Hebrew manuscripts acquired works on astrology, belles-lettres (mostly Persian), the Bible, dictionaries and grammar, folk lore, cabala, liturgies, Maimonides, and medicine.<sup>9</sup>

In the Middle Ages the Jews were intellectually active in the great centers of Islamic culture. Bagdad, Cairo, and Cordova had distinguished Jews who enriched Muslim philosophy and science. Like their Arabic compatriots, they encouraged scholars and collected libraries. The Muslims generally treated the Jews fairly and toler-

<sup>5</sup> F. C. Burkitt, "The Hebrew Papyrus of the Ten Commandments," *JQR*, XV (1903), 392-408; XVI (1904), 359-61.

<sup>6</sup> A. Cowley, "Hebrew and Aramaic Papyri," *JQR*, XVI (1904), 1-8.

<sup>7</sup> A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthum aufgenommen* (Bonn, 1833); J. Gastfreund, *Mohammed nach Talmud und Midrasch* (Vienna, 1875); H. Hirschfeld, *Jüdische Elemente im Koran* (Berlin, 1878).

<sup>8</sup> A. Neubauer, "The Literature of the Jews in Yemen," *JQR*, III (1891), 604-22.

<sup>9</sup> E. N. Adler, "The Persian Jews: Their Books and Their Ritual: I, Their Books," *JQR*, X (1898), 584-601.

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antly, the Prophet himself having ordered that they be dealt with indulgently. Consequently, Jews and Arabs mingled freely and exchanged ideas. Hebrew and Arabic are so similar that many Arabic works, when transliterated in Hebrew letters, could be read by an educated Jew, and thus were preserved in Hebrew literature. In the thirteenth century, a Tortosa Jew, Shemtov ben Isak, who settled in Provence, tells in the Preface to his translation of Zahrawi's great work that for twenty years he had applied himself to transcribing Arabic books into Hebrew. Other Jews were similarly occupied.<sup>10</sup> Jewish scholars also adopted Arabic names; hence, it is difficult to disentangle the Hebraic from the Islamic. They wrote on medicine, astronomy, and philosophy, mostly derived from the Greek classics. In fact, certain writings of Hippocrates,<sup>11</sup> Galen, and Ptolemy are known only from Hebrew sources, for the Arabs had borrowed from the ancient Greeks, and Jews in turn translated the Arabic into Latin.

Jews had a reverence for books. They never discarded or sold old manuscripts, particularly those of a religious nature, but placed them in the genizah, or dead-storage deposit, of the synagogue. The form of this genizah varied according to the local cultural tradition. In some places it was a closed vault surmounted by a chimney-like opening through which unwanted books were dropped to disintegrate by natural processes; in others it was a storeroom whose contents were listed. In the latter case, there is a close approximation to certain Christian institutional libraries. About forty years ago many of the manuscripts from the Genizah at Cairo, an "inexhaustible treasury of valuable manuscripts,"<sup>12</sup> were brought to Cambridge University Library and there catalogued. Some of these books date back to the eighth century; others are three or four centuries younger. Most of them are biblical or talmudic and contain the names of

<sup>10</sup> M. Steinschneider, "An Introduction to the Arabic Literature of the Jews," *JQR*, XII (1900), 481-501; M. Schwab, "Manuscripts hébreux de la bibliothèque mazarine," *Revue des études juives*, XI (1885), 158-59.

<sup>11</sup> L. Modona, "Deux inventaires d'anciens livres hébreux," *Revue des études juives*, XX (1890), 117-35.

<sup>12</sup> I. Abrahams, "An Eighth-Century Genizah Document," *JQR*, XVII (1905), 426-30; S. Schechter, "Genizah Specimens," *ibid.*, X (1898), 197-206, etc.; R. Gottheil, "Some Hebrew Manuscripts in Cairo," *ibid.*, XVII (1905), 609-55.

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the former owners.<sup>13</sup> Genizah collections were always preponderantly religious. One catalogue, now in the Frankfort library, lists, among 200 volumes, only 19 secular books of medicine and fiction.<sup>14</sup> A Cairo bookseller's catalogue of the twelfth century shows the same ratio; it lists 77 bound books, mostly liturgical, but also some on grammar, medicine, and arithmetic.<sup>15</sup>

Cultured Jews, especially physicians, moved in non-Jewish society and imitated their Muslim colleagues by supporting scholars and collecting libraries. One of them, Yakub ben Yusuf ben Killis, was a veritable tenth-century Maecenas. After unscrupulous dealings in Bagdad, he fled to Cairo, where he rose to eminence in the service of the caliph (A.D. 979), built a magnificent palace, and not only entertained writers but employed many copyists for the transcription of legal, medical, and scientific books. The literati suffered Yakub's eccentric ways, for he was lavish with his money; scholars, copyists, and binders together cost him the vast sum of 1,000 gold dinars monthly.<sup>16</sup>

Another Jewish bibliophile in Cairo was the physician Ephraim,<sup>17</sup> who lived in the second half of the eleventh century and was the pupil of the famous Arabic doctor, Ali ibn Ridwan.

He put great value on the acquisition and increase of books, so that he possessed great collections of medical and other works. He constantly employed copyists who were supplied by him with all necessities. Among them was Mohammed ben Said al-Hagarin, known as Ibn Milsaka. I found a whole series of books written by his hand for Ephraim. My father told me that once there came a man from Iraq to Egypt in order to buy books and take them with him. He met Ephraim and they agreed that Ephraim sell him ten thousand books. This happened in the time of Afdal, the son of the Amir al-Guyush. When Afdal heard of the deal he ordered that the books remain in Egypt and that they should not be taken abroad. He therefore sent to Ephraim the sum of money which the man from Iraq had promised to pay

<sup>13</sup> E. J. Worman, "Two Book-Lists from the Cambridge Genizah Fragments," *JQR*, XX (1907), 450-63.

<sup>14</sup> S. Poznanski, "Ein altes jüdisch-arabisches Bücher-Verzeichnis," *JQR*, XV (1903), 76-78.

<sup>15</sup> E. N. Adler and I. Broydé, "An Ancient Bookseller's Catalogue," *JQR*, XIII (1901), 52-62, 550-51.

<sup>16</sup> A. Grohmann, "Bibliotheken und Bibliophilen im islamischen Orient," *Festschrift der Nationalbibliothek in Wien* (Vienna, 1926), pp. 437-38.

<sup>17</sup> M. Steinschneider, *Die arabische Literatur der Juden* (Frankfort, 1902), pp. 175-76.

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him; the books were transported to the library of Afdal, who put his honorary title on them. Thus I saw many medical and other works which carried the names of both Ephraim and Afdal. Ephraim left behind him more than twenty thousand volumes and much property in cash and real estate.<sup>18</sup>

In 1223 the library of the deceased Palestinian physician Abraham ben Hillel (Arabized as "Abu'l-Izz") was sold at auction, and the names of the books and their buyers are recorded. Apart from the biblical works the library contained Maimonides, Galen, Averroes, Hippocrates, and treatises on astrology and on the diseases of sheep.<sup>19</sup> An even richer library was that of Leo Mosconi, a Jewish physician in Majorca in the early fourteenth century. Besides being a well-known doctor, he was a scholar who composed a commentary on the commentary of Ibn Ezra on the Pentateuch. After his death, his widow Muna made an inventory of all the movable property, including medical instruments and books, which were sold at auction. The public notary made a notation of every book sold, listing the title, price, and name of purchaser. The sale of books brought in 147 livres and 19 sous. In Mosconi's library there were about as many secular works as theological. Of the nonreligious authors, we may mention Aristotle (on physics, ethics, and metaphysics), Averroes, Galen, Maimonides, Ptolemy (almagest in Hebrew or Arabic), Hippocrates, Avicenna, Abraham ibn Ezra, and Samuel ibn Tibbon. There were treatises on astronomy, anatomy, meteorology, medicine, physics, music, logic, ethics, and grammar. Literature was represented by a few romances, especially the famous *Barlaam and Josaphat*.<sup>20</sup>

Other libraries of Jewish physicians show the same content as that of Mosconi. Thus, the collection of David d'Estella, a Jewish doctor who lived in France at the end of the fourteenth century, included

<sup>18</sup> Quoted from Ibn Abi Usaibi's history of Greek and Arabic physicians, in M. Meyerhof, "Ueber einige Privatbibliotheken im fatimidischen Aegypten," *Rivista degli studi orientali*, XII (1929-30), 287-88.

<sup>19</sup> The catalogue is given by Worman, *op. cit.*, XX, 460-63; cf. J. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs* (Oxford, 1922), II, 327 n.; W. Bacher, "La Bibliothèque d'un médecin juif," *Revue des études juives*, XL (1900), 55-61.

<sup>20</sup> I. Lévi, "L'Inventaire du mobilier et de la bibliothèque d'un médecin juif de Majorque au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue des études juives*, XXXIX (1899), 242-60.

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Aristotle, Galen, Averroes, and Maimonides; and he also had treatises on grammar, fevers, physics, therapeutics, and zoölogy.<sup>22</sup>

In northern Europe the Jews were less intellectually active than in the Mediterranean lands. There is no record of Jewish book lovers or collectors in Germany in the early Middle Ages.<sup>23</sup> As for northern France, the Jews occupied themselves with the Talmud. The greatest of these Talmudists were the commentators Solomon ben Isaac of Troyes, known as Rashi (d. 1104), and his disciples, Reb Tam and Rashbam. Although they displayed a vast erudition, they do not seem to have been much affected by the "twelfth-century renaissance" in which the southern Jews participated. In Spain, for example, Maimonides was an influential disseminator of Aristotelian philosophy, Moses ibn Ezra and Jehuda Halevi wrote beautiful poetry, Kimchis founded Hebrew grammar, Alfasi codified the laws, and ibn Tibbon participated in the restoration of Greek learning in Europe.<sup>24</sup>

In England the Jews were not entirely stagnant. Some of them translated secular works, a few compiled scientific books, and all were interested in learning. Reb Elchanan, known as Deodatus Episcopus Judaeorum (d. 1184), wrote an astronomical treatise; Samuel Nakda, of Bristol, compiled a Hebrew grammar in 1194; Benedict of Oxford translated many scientific works from Latin or French into Hebrew. Among Benedict's translations was Adelard of Bath's *Quaestiones naturales*, containing dialogues between uncle and nephew on natural history. Benedict's translation was neither literal nor accurate; he left out proper names and referred to Aristotle only as one of "the wise men of Arabia and Keder."<sup>25</sup>

The English Jews' attitude toward books and learning is illustrated by Abraham ibn Ezra's *Yesod Moreh*. He gently chided those whose chief interest lay in a knowledge of the law, the Prophets, lexicography, and grammar. He did not altogether approve of the

<sup>22</sup> D. Kaufmann, "Une Liste d'anciens livres hébreux conservés dans un manuscrit de Paris," *Revue des études juives*, XIII (1886), 300-304.

<sup>23</sup> L. Zunz, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur* (Berlin, 1845), pp. 210-11.

<sup>24</sup> J. Jacobs, *The Jews of Angevin England* (London, 1893), pp. 401-6.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 196-98.

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latter. "It is true," Abraham admitted, "that it becomes a sage to learn something of this science, but he should not spend all his days in reading the oldest grammarian. But," he concluded, "grammatical study is also vanity." What Abraham urged was a cultivation of the Talmud, which contained all necessary wisdom. He also wrote:

He alone who knows the doctrine of phenomena and its demonstrations, the art of dialectics by which are established the axioms that are the guardians of the wall of reason, who has learnt astronomy according to accurate deductions drawn from arithmetic, geometry, and the art of computing ratios, he alone, I say, can arrive at any high degree in knowing the mysteries of the soul.

Books, talmudic or other, were always scarce and expensive.<sup>25</sup> Often Jews were too poor to buy even prayer books, and the precentor at the synagogue had to recite the service aloud. This, to quote a Jewish scholar, "increased the instinctive reverence with which Jews always regarded books in the middle ages."<sup>26</sup>

Many Hebrew manuscripts were illuminated, although Jewish artists, by their religion, were forbidden to draw figures and were limited to geometrical decorations. Although the price of books, even of unilluminated ones, was forbidding, Jews circulated their manuscripts. Ibn Tibbon taught his son the virtue of lending books, only cautioning him to "make a memorandum of it before it leaves your house."<sup>27</sup> The twelfth-century *Book of the Pious* is equally specific: "If A has two sons," it says, "one of whom is averse to lending his books and the other does so willingly, the father should have no doubt in leaving all his library to the second son, even if he be the younger."

But Jewish libraries were always at the mercy of persecutors. Jewish books were scattered, confiscated, or destroyed. In 1391 the books of the exiled Jews were given to the University of Heidelberg,

<sup>25</sup> In 1150 a copy of the Pentateuch cost 3 marks, while a Hebrew teacher's salary was only 10 marks annually. In 1200 a Torah sold for 60 marks; in 1272 an Isaiah cost 3 ounces of gold; in 1301, at Seville, the medical Almanzor cost 6 gold gulden; in 1302 a Pentateuch sold for 18 livres; in 1384 Maimonides' *Guide* brought 9 ducats; in 1427, in Brandenburg, a Hebrew Bible in 3 folio volumes was sold for 33 gulden; in 1441 Manetti of Florence paid 21 gulden for a thirteenth-century Hebrew Bible; in 1454, at an auction in Algiers, Leviticus and Deuteronomy texts were sold for 4 gold pieces (cf. Zunz. *op. cit.*, pp. 211-13).

<sup>26</sup> I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1896), p. 352.

<sup>27</sup> Abrahams, *op. cit.*, p. 353.



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which, in turn, sold them. At the plunder of Jewish communities in Germany and Castile, Hebrew books were destroyed, together with other Jewish properties. At Lisbon, Jewish manuscripts were seized and given to Christian libraries. In Savoy in 1440 the Jews, terrorized by Fra Vicenze, hid their books in a well. Elsewhere Jews were compelled to sell their manuscripts to raise money for ransom.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Zunz, *op. cit.*, pp. 230-31.

## CHAPTER XII

### Muslim Libraries<sup>1</sup>

By S. K. PADOVER

**B**EFORE the time of Mohammed, who died in A.D. 632, the Arabs had no considerable written literature. Legends, poetry, and genealogies—the only form of history—were transmitted orally from generation to generation. Even today the folk literature of the Arabs is largely of this character. Mohammed could neither read nor write, and the Koran was not collected into a continuous book until a year after his death. Although written in the Arabic language and in Arabic script, much of Arabian literature is of ancient Persian origin, while “Arabian science” was derived from the Greeks and the Hindus. The history of Islamic libraries, then, must begin with the adoption of Persian literature and Greek science after the Arabic conquest of the Persian Empire and Egypt in the seventh century.

The culture history of the Graeco-Roman Orient from 330 B.C. to A.D. 225 was one of retrogression or stagnation. It was the period of Parthian domination in the East, and the Parthians were vastly inferior to the Persians in point of civilization. The most significant

<sup>1</sup> Much the best, and in some ways the only comprehensive, account of Muslim libraries is that by Mrs. Ruth Stelhorn Mackensen found in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, LI, LII, LIII, and LIV (1935-37). The seven articles therein extend through the Umayyad period. A single article by the same author, “Four Great Libraries of Medieval Baghdad,” in *Library Quarterly*, II (1932), 279-99, continues the subject into the Abassid period. There is no extended account of libraries in Muslim Egypt and Muslim Spain. S. Khuda Bukhsh's article on “The Islamic Libraries,” *Nineteenth Century*, LII (1902), 125-39, is a mere sketch. The intention of this chapter is to give the reader an idea of the extent, nature, and contents of Islamic libraries, primarily as a storehouse of culture which in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries powerfully influenced western European culture, principally through Sicily and Spain.

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change which took place in this epoch was the disappearance of the Old Persian language, and with it the ancient Persian literature and the wide prevalence of a new language, the Pahlavi, a mixture of Aryan and Semitic, the latter akin to Aramaic. It was a poor language, whose alphabet contained only fourteen letters. Of ancient Persian literature nothing has survived except some religious works, which soon became unintelligible except to the priests. Hence, there were no books and no literature under the Parthians.

The overthrow of Parthian power in A.D. 226 by Sasan, a descendant of the ancient Persian dynasty, brought into being a sort of Persian renaissance, which was, however, deeply tinged with Christian, Greek, and Syrian elements. This neo-Persian culture reached its height in the sixth century in the reign of King Noshirvan (531-79), or Chosroes the Great, the formidable contemporary of the emperor Justinian. His heroic reign revived Persian literature and—what is more important—introduced Greek philosophy and science, though not Greek literature, into Persia. In this time it may be said that the history of medieval oriental libraries began.

The Arabian domination over the last Persian Empire, which was completed in A.D. 641, brought Arabian culture directly into contact with the last Persian culture and soon conquered the conquerors. But Persian culture in the fifth and sixth centuries had already been deeply penetrated by Greek influences, so that it was actually a Graeco-Persian culture which finally prevailed over the Arabs. The intermediates in this transmission of Greek thought to the East were the Syrians. In the schools of Antioch, Berytus, and especially Edessa the chief works of Greek philosophy and science were translated into Syriac; but the Syrians were indifferent to Greek literature, grammar, and rhetoric. The Syrians were Nestorian Christians and, accordingly, were persecuted as schismatics, if not heretics, by the orthodox government of the Eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire, the policy of which was to impose rigid religious uniformity within the empire. In 487 the school at Edessa was closed by the emperor Zeno, and the exiled teachers were given asylum at Nisibis, in the heart of the medieval Persian Empire.

In the Byzantine Empire the orthodox government continued to

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tighten its grip upon the schools until the school at Athens remained the only place where unfettered pursuit of learning survived. The extinction of the Greek spirit and of Greek learning befell in 529, when the emperor Justinian closed the school at Athens. Then seven of the teachers there were exiled, and found refuge at the court of Noshirvan, the greatest ruler of the last native dynasty of Persia, the Sassanid.<sup>2</sup> In the middle of the sixth century, Persia therefore became the repository of Greek philosophy and science, the cultivation of which all but perished in Europe.<sup>3</sup> Hundreds of translators, most of them Hellenized Syrians, were employed in translating the masterpieces of Greek thought into the Persian language. Thus it came about that, when the Arabs conquered Persia, they fell heir to the native Persian literature and science, on the one hand, and Persian-Greek philosophy and science on the other, all of which body of thought was speedily assimilated by them through translation into the Arabic language.<sup>4</sup> Hence, it followed that, when the Arabs became safely settled within the conquered territories and gradually imbibed the amenities of civilization, their libraries were filled with books of Persian literature and Greek philosophic and scientific thought, the only Arabic evidence in them being the language and script in which they were written.

It required nearly two hundred years of slow education, however, before the conquerors reached this state of mind. The Arabs had lived for centuries—perhaps even some thousands of years—in Arabia, isolated, except along the edges of their land, from contact with the outside world, without knowledge of writing and reading, and therefore ignorant of books and the lore of learning. Writing to the majority was a species of magical signs and reading the mummery of necromancy. Such inborn prejudices could not be exterminated in a

<sup>2</sup> These seven were named Damascius, Simplicius, Eudalius, Periscianus, Hermias, Diogenes, and Isidorus.

<sup>3</sup> But Greek medicine may be said to have survived in science.

<sup>4</sup> On this process see W. Kusch, "Zur Geschichte der Syrier-Arabischen Uebersetzungsliteratur," *Orientalia*, VI (1937), 68-82. The great French scholar Ernest Renan was the first to perceive the importance of this Arabic literature.

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day.<sup>5</sup> But gradually the pernicious tradition of exclusion and ignorance was broken down under the impact of Persian and Syro-Greek culture disseminated from Ctesiphon and Nisíbis.

The first Muslim ruler who evinced an eager interest in non-Arabian culture was the caliph Al-Mamun (813-33), of Bagdad, who gathered around him a great number of Syrian translators and scribes, who converted into Arabic the Greek-Syriac-Persian works which the Arabs had found in fallen Persia. One of the greatest of these translators was Ayyub al-Ruhawi, or Job of Edessa (*ca.* 760-835), a Nestorian Syrian. He was a prolific writer, but only two of his works have come down—a treatise on canine hydrophobia and an encyclopedia of philosophical and natural science entitled *The Book of Treasures*.<sup>6</sup> Another famous Syrian adapter or translator of works of Greek science was Hunayn ibn Ishaq (809-77), whose son and nephew followed in his steps. He translated the works of Hippocrates and Galen, and with him the history of Arabian medicine may be said to begin. Following him came al-Razi, known to western Europe later as "Rhazes." He was an Arabized Persian and the greatest physician of the Muslim world, the author of over two hundred works in medicine. Unfortunately, the original Greek texts from which these translations were made, were destroyed, so that the Greek texts themselves were not recovered in many instances until after 1204, when Constantinople fell into the hands of the crusaders.<sup>7</sup> The sack of the greatest capital of Christendom resulted in a prodigious number of manuscripts of all sorts being dispersed, many of which slowly found their way west for years afterward.

For four hundred years Arabian science, of mingled Greek, Persian, and Hindu elements, continued to flourish and expand over the Muslim world, and private and school libraries in Islam were

<sup>5</sup> For this early Arabian distrust of writing and reading see S. Margoliouth, *Lectures on Arabic Historians* (Calcutta, 1930), pp. 42-47. But see F. Krenkow, "The Use of Writing for the Preservation of Ancient Arabic Poetry," *A Volume of Oriental Studies Presented to E. G. Browne* (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 261 ff.

<sup>6</sup> The Arabic text is lost, but the Syriac version was edited and translated by A. Mingana ("Woodbrooke Scientific Publications," I [Cambridge, 1935]). For a review see *Isis*, XXV (1936), 141-44.

<sup>7</sup> A. H. L. Heeren, *Geschichte der classischen Literatur im Mittelalter*, I, 152-56.

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crowded with these works. Of hardly less radius was the spread of Old Persian literature in the new guise of the Arabic language. As the chief names in the history of Muslim science are those of Arabized Syrians and Jews, so the chief names in the history of Arabic literature are those of Arabized Persians. Just as Latin literature drew so heavily upon Greek literature, both for themes and forms, so Arabic literature imitated Old Persian literature.

Creative authorship and erudite scholarship were treated with admiration and reverence in the Muslim world when culture was at its height in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, libraries were numerous, and there was a flourishing book trade. When, in the former century, a distinguished theologian traveled through Persia, all the people in every village thronged to see him. Merchants and artisans threw their wares in his path; sweets and fine cloths were given him; flowers were showered upon him.<sup>8</sup>

Bagdad in its glory abounded with libraries. Even before the caliph al-Mamun, in the time of his father, Harun al-Rashid, the Arabian historian Omar al-Waqidi (736-811) possessed one hundred and twenty camel loads of books.<sup>9</sup> Al-Mamun's "house of wisdom" was founded shortly after A.D. 813; the vizier Ardashir (1024) established the "house of learning" about 991; the Nizamiyah madrasah, or college, was founded in 1064; the Mustansiriyah madrasah in 1233, just twenty-five years before the destruction of Bagdad by the Mongols.<sup>10</sup> These were great collections and of a semipublic nature. But there were many private libraries, as we know from the list, or *Fihrist*,<sup>11</sup> compiled about A.D. 987 by al-Nadim, the son of a bookseller. He was himself probably a bookseller, judging from the nature and extent of his references to books, authors, and the book trade. The scholar al-Baiquani (1033) had so many books that it required sixty-three hampers and two trunks to transport them.

<sup>8</sup> A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams* (Heidelberg, 1922), pp. 163-64.

<sup>9</sup> Margoliouth, *op. cit.*, 192; A. Grohmann, "Bibliotheken und Bibliophilen im islamischen Orient," *Festschrift der Nationalbibliothek in Wien* (Vienna, 1926), p. 439.

<sup>10</sup> O. Pinto, "The Libraries of the Arabs during the Time of the Abbassids," *Islamic Culture*, III (1929), 223-24.

<sup>11</sup> Ed. G. Flügel (Leipzig, 1871-72); R. A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 361-64.

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Another famous bibliophile was Mohammed ben al-Husain of Haditha, who was a friend of the author of the *Fihrist*. His collection of rare manuscripts was so precious that it was kept under lock and key.

All told, Bagdad possessed thirty-six libraries. The last library was that of the last vizier, Ibn al-Alkami, who owned 10,000 books. It perished during the sack of the city by the Mongols in 1258, when every other library also was destroyed. Bagdad also had over a hundred book-dealers, who did business on stalls or in the bazaars and were stationers who sold paper, ink, pens, etc. Some of these were publishers, too, who maintained a corps of expert copyists who worked in a scriptorium.<sup>12</sup> Yet, one must be cautious about reputed statements. It is preposterous to think that the library at Tripoli ever could have had 3,000,000 books—among which were 50,000 Korans and 80,000 commentaries thereon—and employed 180 scribes.<sup>13</sup> Tripoli, when the first crusaders sacked it in 1109, had a population of about 20,000, chiefly engaged in the making of glass and paper; it possessed a splendid mosque, rich bazaars, and houses from four to six stories in height.<sup>14</sup> There can be no doubt that the crusaders destroyed the library and nearly everything else in Tripoli, and there is little reason to doubt the statement that the destruction of the library was instigated by a monk who, seeing so many copies of the Koran, commanded that it be burned.<sup>15</sup>

Farther east, in Persia, there were many private and public libraries. Everywhere the caliphs and princes encouraged learning. This was true of the Samanids in Bukhara, the Hamdanids in Syria, and the Buyyids (or Buwaihids) in Shiraz. In Bukhara, for example, the famous physician and philosopher, Abu Ali ibn Sina, known as Avicenna (980-1037), was summoned by Sultan Nuh ibn-Mansur to come to court. Avicenna was then eighteen years old, and the royal book collection he saw at court astonished him. He relates:

I found there many rooms filled with books which were arranged in cases row upon row. One room was allotted to works on Arabic philology and poetry; another

<sup>12</sup> A. von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen* (Vienna, 1877), II, 483.

<sup>13</sup> This tale is first told by a Muslim writer who died in 1404. See Pinto, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-36.

<sup>14</sup> R. Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem* (Innsbruck, 1898), p. 78.

<sup>15</sup> *Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades* (London, 1932), p. 89; J. S. Beddie, "Books in the East during the Crusades," *Speculum*, VIII (1933), 240.

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to jurisprudence, and so forth, the books on each particular science having a room to themselves. I inspected the catalogue of ancient Greek authors and looked for the books which I required; I saw in this collection books of which few people have heard even the names and which I myself have never seen either before or since.<sup>16</sup>

The young scholar made good use of the royal library; and when it was burned, soon after, he was accused of having set fire to it so that he might be the sole depository of wisdom.<sup>17</sup>

Nuh ibn-Mansur also invited the eminent scholar Ibn Abbad (938-95), the first vizier to be called "Sahib," to become his chancellor. Abbad is said to have refused on the ground that it would require four hundred camels to transport his books.<sup>18</sup> The catalogue of Ibn Abbad's private library filled ten volumes. He was interested in philosophy, science, and technics, and was generous with scholars. "He gave," it was said, "from 100 to 500 dirhems and a garment, but rarely did he give 1,000 dirhems."<sup>19</sup> In the city of Rai (or Rayy) the vizier Ibn al-Amid (d. 971) was not only a fine scholar and ingenious inventor but a passionate book-lover. In 965, wandering sectarians broke into al-Amid's house, plundered the furniture, and carried off his possessions. Ibn Miskawaih, al-Amid's librarian, wrote:

His heart sorrowed for his books, for he loved them better than anything else. There were many of them, including the sciences and all branches of philosophy and literature, over 100 camel-loads. When he saw me, he asked me about the books, and when I told him that they were safe, that no hand had touched them, he brightened up and said: Thou art a child of fortune; all other things can be replaced, but not the books. And I saw that his face shone, and he said: Bring them tomorrow to such-and-such a place; this I did. The books were all that was saved from his property.<sup>20</sup>

Every important city in Persia had its library.<sup>21</sup> Book collections were to be found in Nishapur, Ispahan, Ghaznah, Basrah, Shiraz, Merv, and Mosul. In Mosul the poet Ibn Hamdan (d. 935) founded a house of learning and stocked it with books on all branches of knowledge. It was open to all scholars, and those who were poor

<sup>16</sup> Nicholson, *op. cit.*, pp. 265-66.

<sup>17</sup> E. G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia* (London, 1909), II, 107.

<sup>18</sup> Bukhah, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

<sup>19</sup> Mez, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 166.

<sup>21</sup> See E. Herzfeld, "Einige Bücherschätze in Persien," *Ephemerides orientales* (Leipzig, 1926), No. 28, pp. 1-8.



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were given paper free. Basrah, famous for its grammarians,<sup>22</sup> had a library built by the courtier Adud el-Daulah (d. 982), where those who read or copied received a stipend.<sup>23</sup> In Ispahan a rich landowner established a library in 885 and is said to have spent 300,000 dirhems on books.<sup>24</sup> Ibn Hibban (d. 965), the *qadi* of Nishapur, bequeathed to his city a house with a "library and quarters for foreign students and provided stipends for their maintenance." Books were not to be loaned out.<sup>25</sup>

Of the Persian libraries, perhaps the best were those of Shiraz and Merv. The Shiraz foundation was built by the Buyyid prince Adud ad-Daula (d. 982) on his palace grounds. The library, which contained much scientific literature, was in charge of a director (*wakil*), a librarian (*hazin*), and a superintendent (*muskrif*). The books were stored in a long, arched hall, with stack rooms on all sides. Against the walls stood bookpresses, six feet high and three yards wide, made of carved wood, with doors which closed from the top down, each branch of knowledge having separate bookcases and catalogues.<sup>26</sup>

At Merv, at the time of the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century, there were no less than ten libraries, two of them in the mosques and the rest in the colleges. Yakut al-Hamawi (1178-1229), the famous geographer, stayed in Merv for three years and marveled at the liberality with which the libraries loaned books to him. "My house," says Yakut, "was never clear of 200 volumes, taken on loan, or more, and I had never to give a deposit though their value was 200 dinars."<sup>27</sup> Until the Mongols compelled him to flee from Merv, Yakut browsed among the libraries "with the avidity of a glutton."<sup>28</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *Cambridge Medieval History* (New York, 1923), IV, 291.

<sup>23</sup> Pinto, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-25.

<sup>24</sup> S. Khuda Bukhsh, "The Renaissance of Islam," *Islamic Culture*, IV (1930), 295.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 297; Grohmann, *op. cit.*, p. 441.

<sup>26</sup> Von Kremer, *op. cit.*, II, 483-84; Grohmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 436-37; Pinto, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

<sup>27</sup> Pinto, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

<sup>28</sup> Browne, *op. cit.*, II, 431-32. Mention must also be made of another considerable Persian library, that of Hulwan, which a contemporary poet described in flowery language as the "Treasury of Wisdom, Place of meeting and of Tumult, Center of the educated and the élite, foreign and native" (Grohmann, *op. cit.*, p. 439).

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I remained there three years and found in it no fault except that the people were affected with the "Medina worm" (a disease); for they are in great distress from it, and hardly any one escapes it in any year. Were it not for what happened from the coming of the Tatars to that land and its devastation, . . . I surely would not have left it till death, because of the people's generosity, kindness, and sociability, and the multitude of sound fundamental books there. For when I left it there were in it ten endowed libraries, the like of which, in numbers of books, I had never seen. Among them were two libraries in the mosque; one of them called Al-'Azizija, endowed by a man named Aziz ad Din Abu Basor, 'atiq (freedman) of Az-Zanjāni, or freedman of Ibn Abi Bakr. He was a brewer (or beer-seller) to the Sultan Sanjar; at the beginning of his career he sold fruits and flowers in the market of Merv; then he became a cup-bearer (or butler) to him (the sultan), and was held in high esteem by him. There were in it (the library) about twelve thousand volumes (the word is significant; it means "books bound in skin"). And the other (library) was called the Kamiltiya; I do not know after whom it was named.

And there is the library of Sharaf al-Mulk the Mustaufi (i.e., accountant of receipts and expenditures) abu Sa'd Muhammad ibn Mansur in his collegiate mosque. This Mustaufi died in 494 (A.H.); he was a Hanafite.

And the library of Nitham (Nizam) al-Mulk al-Hasan ibn Ishaq in his mosque; and two libraries (belonging to the Samani faculty), and another library in the Amiduia College. And a library belonging to Majd al-Mulk, one of the later viziers there (in Merv). And the Khâtuniya (Princess) libraries in the mosque-college; and the Damirûja in his (Damir's) monastery (or chapel).<sup>29</sup>

The great Moslem civilization in the East was finally crushed by the invading hordes of Mongols and Tatars, culminating, in 1258, when Hulagu Khan sacked Bagdad. "They came," a contemporary says of the Mongols, "they uprooted, they burned, they slew, they carried off, they departed." Neither Genghiz Khan nor Hulagu Khan had any regard for human life or institutions of culture. They stabled their horses in mosques; burned libraries; used precious manuscripts for fuel; and razed conquered cities, with their populations, to the ground. In the sack of Bukhara 30,000 people were slain. Of all the Mongols, only Timur (or Timurlane) had some respect for the literature of the conquered people. He collected many books and built a large library in his capital at Samarkand.<sup>30</sup>

North Africa, or more specifically Egypt, was the second main center of Islam, with Cairo serving the same function as Bagdad in the East. There is no truth in the oft-repeated statement that,

<sup>29</sup> Yakut, *Geography*, IV, 509, l. 9. The author is indebted to Professor William Popper, of the University of California, for the correct translation of this passage.

<sup>30</sup> Browne, *op. cit.*, II, 12.

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when the Arabs took Alexandria in 642, the city had 400 theaters, 4,000 public baths, and a population of 600,000, of whom 200,000 were supposed to be Romans and 70,000 Jews. Nor is it true that the Moslems destroyed the libraries and used the manuscripts to light the fires in the 4,000 public baths. Alexandria capitulated on terms, and its churches and buildings were spared. The lies about Arabic vandalism first appeared in the twelfth century, or six centuries after the event.<sup>32</sup> In fact, even after the Arabic conquest of Alexandria, that city remained, despite the opposition of Christian teachers, the North African center of Hellenic studies in philosophy, medicine, and mathematics. The Arabs spared the great university, and only under Caliph Omar II was it moved to Antioch (718-20); and thence its influence spread to Bagdad and Persia.<sup>32</sup> The North African Arabs developed their own culture in Cairo, which they preferred to Alexandria.<sup>33</sup>

The first library in Cairo was established by the Fatimid caliph Al-Aziz (975-96) in 988, in connection with his house of learning, where thirty-five students were supported from endowments.<sup>34</sup> This school library had perhaps 100,000 volumes (some say 600,000) of bound books, among which were 2,400 Korans beautifully illuminated in gold and silver and stored in a separate room above the library proper. The rest of the books—on jurisprudence, grammar, rhetoric, history, biography, astronomy, and chemistry—were kept in large presses around the walls, which were divided into shelves, each of which had a door with a lock. Over the door of each section was nailed a list of all the books contained therein, as well as a notice of the lacunae in each branch of knowledge.<sup>35</sup>

A large part of this collection went into the "house of science," or "house of wisdom," founded by Caliph Al-Hakim in 1004, which ac-

<sup>32</sup> S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1901), p. 12.

<sup>33</sup> M. Meyerhof, "Das Schicksal der Schule von Alexandrien unter arabischer Herrschaft," *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, VI, No. 26 (September 10, 1930), 334; and his "Von Alexandrien nach Baghdad, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des philosophischen und medizinischen Unterrichts bei den Arabern" in *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil.-hist. Kl.), 1930.

<sup>34</sup> Meyerhof, *Rivista degli studi orientali*, XII (1929-30), 289.

<sup>35</sup> Pinto, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

<sup>35</sup> Grohmann, *op. cit.*, p. 432.

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quired so vast a collection of rare books that legend exaggerated its number to 1,600,000 books.

On the 8th day of Jumada II, 395 A.H. (1004 A.D.), was opened the building called the House of Wisdom. The students took up their residence. The books were brought from the libraries of the garrisoned Castles (the residences of the Fatimid Caliphs) and the public was admitted. Whoever wanted was at liberty to copy any book he wished to copy, or whoever required to read a certain book found in the library could do so. Scholars studied the Koran, astronomy, grammar, lexicography and medicine. The building was, moreover, adorned by carpets, all doors and corridors had curtains, and managers, servants, porters and other menials were appointed to maintain the establishment. Out of the library of the Caliph al-Hakim those books were brought . . . , books in all sciences and literatures and of exquisite calligraphy such as no other king had ever been able to bring together. Al-Hakim permitted admittance to everyone, without distinction of rank, who wished to read or consult any of the books.<sup>36</sup>

Al-Hakim sent out agents to many lands to buy books for his institution—a combination of library, academy, and auditorium. Poor students were supplied with free ink, inkwells, reed pens, and paper, as was the case with most other Moslem institutions of learning. The budget for Al-Hakim's house of wisdom amounted to the considerable sum of more than 200 dinars. The detailed expenditure<sup>37</sup> was as follows:

	Dinars
Abbadani matting . . . . .	10
Paper for the copyists . . . . .	90
Librarian's salary . . . . .	48
For water . . . . .	12
Servants' salary . . . . .	15
Paper, ink, and pens . . . . .	12
Repairs of the curtains . . . . .	1
Repairs of torn or damaged books . . . . .	12
Felt curtains for winter use . . . . .	5
Carpets for winter use . . . . .	4

In 1068, some sixty years after this house of wisdom was opened, the vizier Abu l-Faraj carried off twenty-five camel loads of books and sold them for 100,000 dinars to pay his soldiery. A few months later the Turkish soldiers defeated the caliph's forces, invaded the palace, and plundered it thoroughly. The military mob tore the fine leather bindings off the books and made shoes of them. The manu-

<sup>36</sup> Al-Maqrizi, quoted in Pinto, *op. cit.*, pp. 227-28.

<sup>37</sup> Pinto, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-33.

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script pages were either thrown in heaps on the sand or burned in a place near Abyar, which long afterward was known as the "Hill of the Books"<sup>38</sup> After this disaster, the Fatimid princes again began to collect books energetically; and when, a century later, in 1171, Saladin entered Cairo, he found a library of 120,000 volumes in the palace. He gave these books to his learned chancellor Al-Qadi al-Fâdil.<sup>39</sup>

Apart from Al-Hakim's house of wisdom, Cairo possessed at least four great private libraries. Two of these belonged to Jews,<sup>40</sup> the third to an Arabic prince, and the fourth to a Cairo physician. Information on Cairo's private libraries is derived from the comprehensive history of Greek and Arabic physicians, written by Ibn Ali Usaibia.<sup>41</sup> We learn there that the eleventh-century Fatimid prince, Mahmud ad-Daula ibn Fatik, was a great admirer of classical science. He had studied medicine, mathematics, and philosophy under the foremost teachers of the age, and himself became a teacher and writer. "He wrote very much," Ibn Ali Usaibia relates, "and I have found many books of the ancients which he had written with his own hand." Mahmud ibn Fatik collected "innumerable books," among which Ibn Usaibia found many that were spotted, "as if they had been immersed in water." The strange appearance of the books was thus explained by the Shaikh Sadid ad-Din, a Cairo logician:

Prince ben Fatik was eager to master the sciences, and he possessed a library. No sooner would he alight from his horse than he would join his books and could not be torn away from them; he did nothing else but read and write, which clearly was most important to him. Now he had a wife, a noble woman, who also belonged to the ruling family. When he died, she went with her slaves into the library, and in her heart there was resentment against the books, because on account of them her husband had turned away from her. Then she began to sing the dirge of the dead for him, and while doing so she and her slaves were throwing the books into a large

<sup>38</sup> Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 193.

<sup>40</sup> The two Jewish libraries, which have already been noticed, were those of Yakub ben Killis and the physician Ephraim; Dr. Pinto (*op. cit.*, p. 216) is in error when she says that, since "in Cairo existed one of the most marvelous public libraries in the world, private persons did not feel the necessity to possess their own collections of books."

<sup>41</sup> *Uyun al-anba' fi tabaqat al-atibba*, ed. by A. Müller (Cairo, 1882, and Königsberg, 1884); extracts in L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe* (Paris, 1876), I, 583-87.

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water basin in the house.<sup>42</sup> Then the books were taken out of the water, but most of them had sunk in the meantime. And this is the reason why many of ben Fatik's books are in such condition.<sup>43</sup>

The fourth Cairo library was that of the poet-physician Al-Muarrif, who wrote a commentary on Aristotle in 1139. To cite Ibn Usaibia again:

The acquisition of books and their reading were of unusual importance to him. Shaikh Sadid ad-Din, the logician, told me that in his [Al-Muarrif's] house there was a large hall filled with books in presses, and Al-Muarrif spent most of his time there, occupied with reading and copying. I say: the most wonderful thing about him is that he possessed many thousands of books on every branch [of learning], but that there was not one of them whose back was not inscribed with fine sentences or notices concerning the contents of the particular book. I saw many medical and scientific books which belonged to Al-Muarrif and which carried his name, but there was not one among them which did not have handsome glosses and useful elucidations.<sup>44</sup>

When the Arabs conquered Spain in 711, they did not have to contend with a deeply rooted homogeneous culture. The Visigoths, who had preceded the Arabs as invaders, were not greatly given to learning. Byzantine influence was confined to the south; Catholicism was limited to Latin; and the Jews had their own academies, wherein were taught Hebrew and Aramaic.<sup>45</sup> Hence the Muslims, who made Cordova their capital, had an almost unlimited field in which to create their own culture.<sup>46</sup>

Spanish-Arabic civilization duplicated the patterns of Muslim activities in Syria and Egypt. At Cordova, as in Bagdad and Cairo, the caliphs were scholars and patrons of letters. In Spain, as in the Near East and North Africa, the Arabs introduced new crops, im-

<sup>42</sup> Every large house in Cairo had water basins of such size that a library of 1,000 books could easily be immersed in them; see A. Gabriel, *Les Fouilles d'al-Foustat* (Paris, 1921), Pl. XII.

<sup>43</sup> Quoted in M. Meyerhof, "Ueber einige Privatbibliotheken im fatimidischen Aegypten," *Rivista degli studi orientali*, XII (1929-30), 286-90.

<sup>44</sup> Quoted in Meyerhof, *ibid.*, pp. 288-89.

<sup>45</sup> R. Altamira, *A History of Spanish Civilization*, tr. by P. Volkov (London, 1930), pp. 45, 47.

<sup>46</sup> The best guide to Arabic libraries and schools is J. Ribera y Tarragó, *Disertaciones y opusculos* (Madrid, 1928), especially his "Bibliófilos y bibliotecas en la España musulmana," I, 181-228, which was separately printed in Cordova (3d ed.; 1925); also H. Derenbourg, *Les Manuscrits arabes de l'Escorial* (Paris, 1929).

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proved agriculture, extended irrigation, built factories, founded rich cities, and raised the general prosperity of the land. Cordova became probably the largest city in Europe after Constantinople, possessing 200,000 houses, 600 mosques, and 900 public baths. The streets were stone-paved, and water was brought to the houses in conduits; public lighting illuminated the streets at night. The palace of the caliphs had 21 doors and was surrounded by 1,293 columns of marble and jasper with gilded capitals; it was illuminated by hundreds of silver lamps. To Christendom, Cordova was a marvelous, a fabulous city; and it attracted many amazed travelers from northern Spain, France, Italy, and even Germany.<sup>47</sup>

Spanish-Arabic schools and science also became famous throughout the world. As in the other Islamic centers, the Arabs cultivated the Greek sciences, wrote original books, fostered learning, founded schools, and established colleges. In the schools the curriculum included, besides religion, grammar and poetry, history and law, philosophy and natural science. Even women were educated. The language of literature and science was Arabic, but popular poetry was sung by minstrels in a vulgar tongue in which Latin was mixed. The so-called "Mozarabes," Christian Spaniards who had become Arabized, neglected Latin in favor of Arabic literature; and some of them translated Latin works into Arabic. San Alvaro of Cordova, a ninth-century Christian ecclesiastic, complained bitterly:

Many of my co-religionists read the poems and stories of the Arabs, and study the writings of Muhammedan theologians and philosophers, not in order to refute them but to learn to express themselves most elegantly and correctly in the Arabic tongue. Alas! All the young Christians who became notable for their talents know only the language and literature of the Arabs, read and study Arabic books with zeal, and at enormous cost from great libraries, and everywhere proclaim aloud their literature is worthy of admiration. *Heu, pro dolor. Linguam suam nesciunt Christiani.*<sup>48</sup>

Arabic Spain had no less than seventy libraries, established in all the important cities. The greatest library—no doubt the largest in the world at that time—was founded by Caliph Hakim II (d. 976) in Cordova. Hakim is reputed to have been of fabulous erudition,

<sup>47</sup> Altamira, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-51; M. Casiri, *Biblioteca arabico-hispana escorialensis* (Madrid, 1760-70), II, 151.

<sup>48</sup> Americo Castro, *Lengua, enseñanza y literatura* (Madrid, 1924), p. 135.

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although the Arabic source on the subject is not above reproach. One Moslem historian writes:

Not one book was to be found in Hakim's library, whatever might be its contents, which the Caliph had not perused, writing on the flyleaf the name, surname, and patronymic of the author; that of the tribe to which he belonged; the year of his birth and death.<sup>49</sup>

Whether this is true or not, there is no doubt that Hakim did not confine himself merely to reading, but gathered in Cordova distinguished men of letters and collected books on an extensive scale. He had agents in all the book marts of the Moslem world. Generous and lavish, Hakim not only supported poor scholars and students (he paid the teachers of his twenty-seven free schools in Cordova out of his own pocket), but once paid 1,000 dinars for the first copy of Abu al-Faraj's *Book of Songs*.<sup>50</sup> "Al-Hakim," the historian Ibn al-Abar relates, "was the most virtuous and liberal of men; and he treated all those who came to his court with the utmost kindness."<sup>51</sup>

The library finally contained from 400,000 to 600,000 volumes, some of which are supposed to have been catalogued and annotated by the caliph himself. To quote Ibn al-Abar once more:

I was told by Talid, the eunuch, who was the keeper of the library and repository of the sciences in the palace of the Beni Merwan, that the catalogue only of the books consisted of forty-four volumes, each volume having twenty sheets of paper, which contained nothing but the titles and descriptions of the books.<sup>52</sup>

A staff of librarians, copyists, and binders was housed in the scriptorium of the palace of Merwan, where the collection was housed.

Cordova also possessed the largest book mart in Spain. In the bazaars manuscripts were bought and sold like any other commodity; and rich men, then as now, purchased books for display. A tenth-century scholar relates:

When I visited Cordova I often went browsing through the book-bazaar, in search of a certain book which I had long wanted. Finally I saw an example of it, written in a splendid hand, and, full of joy, I began to bid for it, but always the auctioneer

<sup>49</sup> Ibn al-Abar, quoted by al-Makkari, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, tr. by P. de Gayangos (London, 1843), II, 170.

<sup>50</sup> Al-Makkari, *op. cit.*, p. 168; Nicholson, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

<sup>51</sup> Ibn al-Abar, quoted in al-Makkari, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-69.

<sup>52</sup> Ibn al-Abar being the only source on the subject, it is necessary to caution the reader that he was writing in 1210, about two and a quarter centuries after the time of Hakim.



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returned with a higher bid, until the price far exceeded the actual value. Then I asked the auctioneer to show me the competitor who offered so much. He introduced me to a gentleman in magnificent garments and when I addressed him as Doctor, telling him that I was willing to leave the book to him if he needed it badly, as it was pointless to drive the price up higher, he replied: I am neither a scholar nor do I know what the book is about; but I am in the process of installing a library, in order to distinguish myself among the notables of the city, and happen to have a vacant space which this book would fill. And since it is also written beautifully and bound attractively, it pleased me; I care nothing for the cost, for God has blessed me with a rich income.<sup>53</sup>

Abu al-Mutrif (d. 1011), a Cordovan judge, possessed a magnificent library largely of rare books and masterpieces of calligraphy. He employed six copyists, who were constantly at work, and bought largely. The judge never lent a manuscript but had copies made for gifts. After Al-Mutrif's death, his library was sold at auction in the mosque for a whole year, bringing in 40,000 dinars.<sup>54</sup>

All these libraries, private and public, met with a tragic end. During the Moslem civil wars and the conflicts between the Moorish and Christian princes, books suffered as much as other property. "Some," says an Arabic historian, "were taken to Seville, some to Granada, some to Almeira and to other provincial cities. I myself met with many in this city (Toledo) that were saved from the general ruin."<sup>55</sup>

"The age of Arabian learning," says Gibbon, "continued for about five hundred years . . . and was coeval with the darkest and most slothful period of European annals."<sup>56</sup> Without taking the great historian's sweeping condemnation of Western civilization in the Middle Ages too seriously, it remains true that science was more backward than any other form of medieval learning for many centuries. The revival of Western science was due to the impact of Arabian scientific knowledge upon the nations of western Europe and the rapid translation of Muslim works of science from the Arabic into Latin, the universal language of learning in that age.

<sup>53</sup> Quoted in Grohmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 441-42.

<sup>54</sup> W. Gottschalk, "Die Bibliotheken der Araber im Zeitalter der Abassiden," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XLVII (1930), 1-6; Grohmann, *op. cit.*, p. 440-41.

<sup>55</sup> Quoted in Bukhah, *Nineteenth Century*, LII, 129-31.

<sup>56</sup> *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. Bury, VI, 28.

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The birth of science in the West is perhaps the most glorious part of the history of Muslim libraries, as it was certainly the last chapter of importance. In order to understand this subject it is necessary to remember that Spain was conquered by the Muslimized Moors in 711 and converted into the caliphate of Cordova, and that Sicily was a Muslim province from 831 to 1090, while the close proximity of the great island to southern Italy subjected the "toe of the boot" to a heavy Muslim influence. Accordingly, it was through Lower Italy and Spain that Muslim science—which it must be remembered was remotely of Greek, Persian, or Hindu origin—penetrated into western Europe.

The first gateway was southern Italy. The beginning of the medical school at Salerno seems to be remotely referable to Byzantine influence, but it was influenced in the tenth century by Arabian medicine through Shabbethai ben-Abraham ben-Joel, a Jew of Otranto in Lower Italy, who was taken captive by Saracen pirates in 925 and carried to Palermo, where he learned Arabic and "studied all the sciences of the Greeks, the Arabs, the Babylonians and Hindus." Southern Italy at this time, it must be remembered, was a Byzantine possession; and Sicily had been conquered by the Mohammedans in the ninth century. Accordingly, Greek and Arabic learning met in the schools of Salerno, Otranto, Rossano, and Monte Cassino. In 950 John, of the monastery of Gorze in Lorraine, brought to Germany from Calabria copies of Aristotle's *Categories* and Porphyry's *Isagoge*.

This same John of Gorze was also the earliest instrument for the conveyance of Arabic science north of the Alps and the earliest agent of its dissemination in Europe. In 953 the German emperor Otto the Great sent John of Gorze on a diplomatic mission to the caliph Abd-er-Rahman III of Cordova, where John fell in with the distinguished Spanish-Jewish scholar Ibn Shaprut, who stood high in the favor of the caliph. John was gone nearly three years and in that time learned the Arabic language. When he returned to Germany in 956, he brought back with him a horseload of Arabic books. We are not told definitely what these were. But constructive evi-

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dence shows that some of them must have been of a scientific nature, for in the eleventh century there was a remarkable outflowing of interest in science, especially in mathematics, in the schools of Lorraine, whence the interest extended down the Rhine into Flanders.<sup>57</sup> There is reason to believe that at least some slight interest in Arabic science must have been cultivated in the Lotharingian and Flemish schools, for, when Knut the Danish king conquered England (1000–1035), he distrusted the native Anglo-Saxon bishops and imported Lotharingian and Flemish churchmen in that capacity, five of whom had some knowledge of Arabian science. The most notable of these was Robert de Losinga, bishop of Hereford, a place which in the late twelfth century was an active center of Arabic studies in England. In the same century Guibert de Nogent, a French abbot who died in 1124, was the author of a remarkable tribute to the value of Arabic astronomy.<sup>58</sup>

The earliest Western translator of Arabic works of science into Latin<sup>59</sup> was Constantinus Africanus, a Christian who was born in Carthage and was for many years a Muslim subject. He had traveled in the Orient and, about 1056, became a monk at Monte Cassino, where he died in 1087. His translations deeply influenced the study of science in southern Italy. The historian Leo of Ostia calls him "the master of East and West." While Salerno adhered to the tradition of Greek medicine, the medical teaching at Monte Cassino was based upon Arabic medicine.

The chief place for the dissemination of Arabic science was Toledo, the recovery of which by the Christians in 1085 is a landmark in the history of medieval science. To quote Victor Rose: "Toledo was the natural place of exchange for Christian and Mohammedan

<sup>57</sup> J. W. Thompson, "The Introduction of Arabic Science into Lorraine in the Tenth Century," *Iris*, XII (1929), 184–94.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 191 and n. 33.

<sup>59</sup> The literature on this subject is large. See the works of Wüstenfeld, Steinschneider, and August Müller, which are described by H. Suter, *Die Araber als Vermittler der Wissenschaft und deren Uebergang vom Orient zum Occident* (Leipzig, 1897); C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science* (Cambridge, 1924); Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York, 1923), II, Book IV.

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learning." At this center of scientific teaching—to complete the thought in words of the late Professor Haskins—

were to be found a wealth of Arabic books and a number of masters of the two tongues, and with the help of these Mozarabs, i.e., Arabized Christians, and resident Jews there arose a regular school for the translation of Arabic-Latin books of science which drew from all lands those who thirsted for knowledge.<sup>60</sup>

Archbishop Raymond of Toledo (1125–51) must be given high credit for his liberal promotion of this movement.

It is significant that the earliest of these translators and the greater number of them were Englishmen. An exact date for this development cannot be given, but Adelard of Bath's *Astronomical Tables* are dated 1126. Four other Englishmen may be mentioned: Roger of Hereford, Daniel of Morley, Alfred of Sareshel, and Alexander Nequam. Adelard, monk of Bath and a cousin of King Henry I, was the pioneer in these studies. Instead of leading a cloistered life, he had traveled far and wide in the East, where he learned Arabic. His *Quaestiones naturales* may be said to have inaugurated an intellectual revolution. Roger was a canon of Hereford and, among other astronomical works, compiled a set of tables for the meridian of Hereford in 1178. But one should not omit observing that Walcher of Malvern, in 1092, had already endeavored to fix the difference in time between England and Italy from an eclipse. Hereford at this time was the first place in England for the study of science. Daniel of Morley left England about 1170 to study in Paris, but found the study of canon law all dominant;<sup>61</sup> so he went on to Toledo, where he worked with Gerard of Cremona, another translator, whom we shall soon notice. He returned to England with many manuscripts, and, in the words of Hunt:

... was on his way to Northampton, where he heard the subjects in which he was interested were studied, when he met the bishop of Norwich who asked for an account of the teaching of Toledo. This he gave in his *Philosophia* which is partly cosmological and partly astronomical. Its interest lies mainly in the use of the new translations, the use of which he stoutly defends. . . .

<sup>60</sup> Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>61</sup> R. W. Hunt, "English Learning in the Late Twelfth Century," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th ser., XIX (1936), 24.

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Alfred of Sareshel was a more important person, but unhappily not much more is known of his life than that he was an Englishman who studied abroad.<sup>62</sup> Presumably, he returned to England. His translation of the Pseudo-Aristotle *De vegetalibus* is dedicated to Roger of Hereford, and the *De motu cordis* to Alexander Nequam. The *De motu cordis* is mainly biological and is of some independent value. According to Haskins, "it shows a wealth of Aristotelian citation such as we cannot find in any other Latin author of the time."<sup>63</sup> The scientific works of Alfred's friend, Alexander Nequam, were not written until after he became a monk; and he set out to impart moral instruction, so that his science is rather incidental. But his work deserves emphasis for the following reason: There is a considerable time lag between the translation of the "new Aristotle" and its diffusion and assimilation. As has recently been shown, the most important people in this process were the naturalists, and in particular the doctors of Salerno. Not only has Alexander the distinction of being the first person in the West to know both the Greco-Latin and Arabic-Latin translations of Aristotle, but he was also acquainted with one, at least, of the Salernitan doctors, for some whole chapters of the *De naturis rerum* are lifted straight from the commentary on the *Aphorismi* of Urso of Calabria.<sup>64</sup>

Though Toledo was always the chief seat of this work of translation, we find translators in Barcelona, Pamplona, Segovia, and in southern France, at Béziers, Narbonne, and Toulouse. The two greatest translators—at least in the matter of quantity—were the Italians Gerard of Cremona and Plato of Tivoli. The former, who died in 1187, spent most of his life in Toledo; and when he died, at the age of seventy-three, he had translated at least 71 scientific works from the Arabic into Latin. Plato of Tivoli was almost as productive. He prefaces one of his translations by a stinging condemnation of Western astronomy.

<sup>62</sup> C. Baumer, "Die Stellung des Alfred von Sareshel," *Sitzungsberichte d. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil.-hist. Kl.), 1913, Abt. 9.

<sup>63</sup> Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

<sup>64</sup> A. Birkenmaier, "Le Rôle joué par les médecins et les naturalistes dans la réception d'Aristote au XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles," *Extrait de la Pologne au VI<sup>e</sup> Congrès international des sciences hist.* (Oslo, 1928) (printed Warsaw, 1930), p. 5. Cf. Hunt, *op. cit.*, p. 25, n. 2.

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The Latins . . . have not a single author in astronomy. For books they have only follies, dreams and old wives' fables. This is the reason which has moved me, Plato of Tivoli, to enrich our tongue with that which it lacked the most, by drawing upon the treasures of an unknown language.

By 1200, in addition to works on optics and physics and perspective in general, the whole corpus of Greek medicine—the works of Hippocrates and Galen—were available in Latin translations, together with a comprehensive summary of Arabic medicine in Avicenna's *Canon of Medicine*. Just as the early Middle Ages had had to digest such science as was contained in Pliny's *Natural History* and Seneca's *Natural Questions* and other ancient Roman writers, so the later Middle Ages had now to digest and to understand the new Greek-Arabic learning. With large omissions, of course, western Europe by the thirteenth century had inherited the legacy of four great cultures—Greek, Greco-oriental, Byzantine, and Arabic.<sup>65</sup>

By this time, too, the "new" science had captivated two sovereigns of the age, Emperor Frederick II and King Alfonso X of Castile (d. 1284).<sup>66</sup> The emperor's brilliant protégé and translator was Michael Scot, who had long studied in Spain and whom Frederick called to his court at Palermo in Sicily.<sup>67</sup> Michael Scot was born about 1200 in Scotland or Ireland—perhaps the latter place is more probable—and after studying at Oxford and Paris, possibly at Padua and Florence, too, he settled in Toledo, where he devoted himself to the translation of divers scientific works from the Arabic into Latin. When at Palermo, he translated Arabic medical treatises for the emperor. His best-known work is the *Liber phisionomie*, which contains a good deal on medicine and physiology.

In Castilian Spain, Frederick II's younger contemporary, Alfonso X, was another promoter of science. Because of his zeal for learning he is known as *El Sabio*—the "Learned," and not the "Wise," as is so often written. He acquired his love of learning from Arab tutors.

<sup>65</sup> Sibyl D. Wingate, *The Medieval Latin Version of the Aristotelian Scientific Corpus, with Special Reference to the Biological Works* (London, 1931).

<sup>66</sup> See Haskins, *op. cit.*, *passim*; E. Kantorowicz, *Frederick the Second, 1194-1250*, tr. E. D. Lorimer (London, 1931), *passim*.

<sup>67</sup> C. H. Haskins, "Michael Scot in Spain," *Homenaje a Bonilla y San Martín*, publicado por la facultad de filosofía y letras de la Universidad Central (Madrid, 1930), II, 129-34.

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Fortunately, he was not a fanatic. It is of him that the famous saying is related: "If I had been consulted at the Creation, there are some improvements which I could have suggested to God." He founded the University of Salamanca, began the writing of the first national Spanish history, and made the earliest code of laws of the kingdom. His great contribution to science was the Alfonsine Tables, a series of astronomical calculations, the work of Arabian astronomers whom he invited to his court, which were in use in Europe until superseded by the enlarged and improved tables made by Regiomontanus at the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>68</sup>

To conclude: Before the middle of the thirteenth century the most valuable material in Islamic libraries had been acquired by European scholarship in the form of translation. It was just in time. As we have already seen, the Mohammedan East was nearly destroyed by the invasions of the Mongols in the middle of the thirteenth century and did not begin to recover until the rise of the Ottoman Turks in the fifteenth century. In the West a longer duration to Islam was granted. The expulsion of the Moors from Spain in 1492 was followed by a holocaust of thousands of Arabic books. What books were saved found lodgment in libraries in Fez or Tunis. In the sack of Tunis in 1536 by the emperor Charles V, all books written in Arabic were burned. Spain was so stripped of Arabic manuscripts that, when Philip II founded the Escorial, no Arabic manuscripts could be found in the kingdom. Fortunately, the capture of a Moroccan galley in which a considerable number of Arabic books and manuscripts was found relieved the royal librarian's embarrassment. But in June, 1674, fire broke out in the Escorial and destroyed 8,000 Arabic books. A century later, when Michael Casiri began to catalogue the Arabic collection in the Escorial, he found only 1,824 manuscripts—forn survivors, perhaps, of the once great libraries of Cordova.

<sup>68</sup> For other translations of Greek science in the thirteenth century see *Journal des savants*, March, 1880, pp. 149-50.

## PART III

# The Close of the Middle Ages and the Italian Renaissance

In omnibus requiem quaesivi, et nusquam inveni nisi in angulo cum libro.

THOMAS À KEMPIS

Monasterium sine libris est sicut civitas sine opibus, castrum sine numerus, coquina sine suppellectili, mensa sine cibis, hortus sine herbis, pratum sine floribus, arbor sine foliis.

JAKOB LOUBER, of the Carthusian house in Basel, from  
L. SIEBER, *Informatorium bibliothecarii Carthusiensis*  
(Basel, 1888)





## Introduction

**T**HE third part of this work deals with the history of medieval libraries at the close of the Middle Ages—the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Both political and material circumstances and the spirit of the time rapidly and profoundly changed in this period, and the history of libraries is reflected in these new conditions.

Europe has become less ecclesiastically minded than before, though not necessarily less religious. Indeed, in some ways it was more religious than formerly. It was also less feudal in structure and in spirit. The rise of strong monarchies in England, France, and Spain, the brilliant princely despotisms established in Italy, the development of commerce and trade, which in turn gave birth to the bourgeoisie—these forces changed Europe profoundly. The partial emancipation of education from the control by the clergy developed the secular mind. Latin ceased to be the sole language of literature, though it was long to remain the language of erudition. A vernacular literature, prose and poetry, arose to meet the demands of the new lay society. A commercial book trade had already arisen in the thirteenth century around the universities; and as the universities multiplied in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the burgher class became increasingly literate and intellectual, more and more the making of books escaped from the cloister and found lodgment in book shops, long before the invention of printing. The monasteries could not meet these new conditions and interests; nor, indeed, did they endeavor to compete with them. Instead, they sank into sloth and lethargy, idly living upon their properties and indifferent to the new ideas of a new age. The few scholars, like Gerson, Trithemius, and Gaguin, who tried to uphold fidelity to a great tradition and protested against the corruption of the monasteries, were voices crying in a wilderness. Some remarkable examples of monastic ignorance at the close of the Middle Ages are given in the ensuing chapters. In the end the monasteries—and their libraries—were doomed

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to spoliation and dissolution for their sin against the light of the time. The retribution was deserved, however much one may regret the ruthless and senseless way in which it was enforced.

Simultaneously with the decay of the monasteries a new instrument, the printing press, was invented for the production of books on a scale never dreamed of and never possible in the scriptorium. The political historian cites great events like the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, the discovery of America in 1492, and the French invasion of Italy in 1494 as "key" events which terminated the Middle Ages, and, like hinges, swung Europe into the arc of modern times. But to the student of culture no event was so significant and so fraught with importance as the invention of movable type. As Victor Hugo wrote: "*Le soleil gothique se couche derrière la gigantesque presse de Mayence.*" The reign of the manuscript book ended with the invention of printing. It had been a long and glorious rule—at least four thousand five hundred years.

## CHAPTER XIII

### English Libraries in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

**A**S ON the Continent, so in England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries we find that great changes took place in the later Middle Ages. The monasteries decayed; and of monastic communities, only the Franciscans and Dominicans remained intellectually alert. More progressive than they, however, were the cathedrals, whose schools and libraries showed light and vigor to the end of the medieval period. During these last two centuries of medieval England, just as across the Channel, we find enlightened nobles manifesting interest in books and learning and becoming collectors. The most eminent of these was Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, the youngest brother of King Henry V. Finally, in the last decades of the fifteenth century, the Renaissance reached England.

The greatest of the cathedral libraries was, very fittingly, that of Christ Church at Canterbury, the seat of the primate of England. Before the middle of the fourteenth century, as the catalogue made by Prior Henry of Estry (1285-1331) shows, this library had grown to embrace 698 volumes, including nearly 3,000 separate works.<sup>1</sup> Twenty leaves of the inventory, written in three columns in a fine, large fourteenth-century hand, contain the library catalogue. This is first divided into two sections, called "Demonstrationes"; the second of these is divided into subgroups, called "Distinctiones," the numbering of which is irregular. These divisions reflected the arrange-

<sup>1</sup> Printed in full in E. Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries* (London, 1859), I, 122-35. See also M. Beazeley, "History of the Chapter of Library Canterbury Cathedral," *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, VIII (1907), 117 ff.

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ment of the books in the presses. The earlier entries seem to represent the Old Library, which we have discussed in an earlier chapter; all the rest are arranged by donors (or possibly, in some instances, former owners), roughly in chronological order, the last being Abbot Robert Winchelsea (1294-1313).

Of the theological works—mostly of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and written in the "Lanfrancian script"—only a few are rare texts, among them a collection of *Homilies* of Hucarius, a deacon of Cornwall, which occurs in only one other place, the Premonstratensian house at Tichfield. There was also a twelfth-century manuscript of Irenaeus. The English books are those already mentioned as belonging to the Anglo-Saxon period.

The books kept in the cloister formed the working library which the monks might use profitably in their spare moments. There were Bibles and books on divinity; the *Histories* of Eadmer, Freculphus, and Josephus; the *Miracles of St. Thomas* and his *Letters*; in science, Pliny, Rabanus Maurus, and Boethius; the decreta and canons of councils; Isidore's *Etymologiae*; and the dictionaries of Hugucio and Papias. The secular books included: Suetonius, Sidonius, Solinus, Vitruvius, Vegetius, Giraldus Cambrensis, Macrobius, Dares of Phrygia, Seneca, Livy, the *Noctes Atticae*, Quintilian, the *Polycraticon* and *Metalogicon* of John of Salisbury, and works of Aristotle and Palladius. There was a large group of medical treatises and many works on civil and canon and Roman law.

The collection of St. Thomas, which he had bequeathed to the cathedral, was important.<sup>2</sup> Although well supplied with glossed copies of the Bible, sermons, and standard theology, it contains not a single work of Augustine or Jerome. The law books formed a large section in proportion to the size of the collection; but its greatest wealth and glory lay in the noble array of Latin classics: Livy (2 volumes), Aulus Gellius, Quintus Curtius, Vegetius, Solinus, Valerius Maximus, Dares Phrygius, Priscian, Donatus, Martianus Capella, Quintilian, Seneca, and Martial—all these in a library of 70 volumes.

The library as a whole, and especially its later accessions, shows something of the general trend of intellectual interests of the period.

<sup>2</sup> J. C. Robertson, *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket* (London, 1875-85), I, 87.

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Scholastic theology still figures largely, but both canon and Roman law have become extremely important. There is no apparent trace of the revival of Greek and Hebrew initiated by Grosseteste and Bacon in the second half of the thirteenth century; not a single work in these languages is listed. A wide variety of reading matter was available, good scientific treatises, some lighter literature, history and medical works, and, of course, a considerable number of works on and by Becket—18 separate titles, including lives, letters, and miracles. Four years after the completion of his catalogue Prior Estry died (1331). He left to the monastery his library of 80 volumes, a collection of theology and civil and canon law—among the former, a Bracton and a volume of English statutes, service books, and 4 registers relating to Christ Church—a very unlitrary collection.

The next document concerning the library is not a catalogue but a list of books missing at the periodical inspection, made on St. Gregory's Day, March 12, 1337. The most interesting feature of this list is its evidence that at Christ Church, as at other large monasteries, books were lent to persons not members of the community, and even to laymen. Of the books recorded on loan, 17 were in the possession of seculars, among them no less a personage than King Edward II, who had the *Miracles of St. Thomas* and the *Vitae* of St. Thomas and St. Anselm. The others, except 3 books, were works of civil law, lent for the most part to persons bearing the title "magister," probably students at one of the universities.

During the fourteenth century, a period of rapid growth for the English universities, Canterbury College was founded at Oxford. It followed almost as a matter of course that books should be taken from the monastery library to supply the new college. Leland mentions having seen there the *Homilies* of Hucarius, the deacon of Cornwall; and later inventories at Canterbury list volumes at Oxford as well as those in the monastery. The longest of these lists enumerates 292 volumes, many of which can be identified in Estry's catalogue; even some of the books which had been left by St. Thomas were included.

The fifteenth century was pre-eminently the time when separate

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library structures were being erected at monasteries as well as at the universities. Hitherto the Canterbury books had apparently been kept in presses in the church and the cloister. Early in this century, however, a library chamber was built at Christ Church by Archbishop Henry Chichele (1414-43) over the Prior's Chapel. This new arrangement may have been necessary to take care of the increasing bulk of the library owing to the general multiplication of books which followed the introduction of paper, but more probably it was a part of the general plan of rebuilding at Canterbury after the nave of Lanfranc's Cathedral was torn down and the cloisters were modified. Chichele's benefactions, as a donor of books as well as a builder, are thus commemorated in his obituary entered in the chapter register under 1432: "et praesertim novam librariam erogavit et ipsam diversis preciosis diversarum facultatum libris habunde supplevit."<sup>3</sup> The treasurer's accounts for 1444-49, under the heading "Expensis nove libraria," record the sums spent for the windows of the library and the prior's study:

In payment to Ricardus Salkyer a London glazier for  
the glazing of the same library . . . . . lxvjs., viijd.  
In payment to the same in Le Gloriet . . . . . lxvjs., viijd.<sup>4</sup>

The last great name connected with the library in the fifteenth century is that of Prior William Sellyng (1472-94), who adorned it with a beautiful ceiling and furnished books especially for the use of "those devoted to the study of letters; these he fostered with wonderful interest and benevolence."<sup>5</sup> He also glazed the south cloister for the convenience of the scholars, building there some "new framed contrivances which we call carrels." Prior Sellyng is interesting to us for other reasons. Educated at Oxford, he had journeyed to Italy, and there became devoted to classical, as well as to the newer, learning. He is described as "a man skilled in divine and worldly letters, trained in Latin and also in Greek."<sup>6</sup> His collection, said to be very large and very precious, remained in his lodgings long after his death

<sup>3</sup> Beazley, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>5</sup> H. Wharton, *Anglia sacra* (London, 1691), I, 145.

<sup>6</sup> F. S. Merryweather, *Serapeum*, XII, 115.

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—until 1538, when a fire broke out there, destroying all except a few books which had been lent. Among them was a Basil, *On Isaiah*, presumably in Greek. Sellyng was the first to import a considerable number of Greek books into England.<sup>7</sup>

Turning now to St. Albans and resuming the story of its library, we find that the first abbots in this period after Abbot Simon were not active as book-collectors, while Abbot Richard de Wallingford (1326–35) “did worse than nothing.”<sup>8</sup> Not satisfied with bribing the famous bibliophile Richard de Bury, with 4 books (Terence; Vergil; Quintilian; and Jerome, *Against Rufinus*) to further the interests of the abbey at court, he later sold him 32 books for £50. If anything could make his crime more heinous, it was that he devoted his half of the proceeds to the kitchen and refectory.<sup>9</sup> But the monks did not forget this loss of their highly prized books, most of which were brought back by the next abbot after De Bury’s death.<sup>10</sup> This new abbot was Michael de Mentmore, an Oxford scholar and schoolmaster at the abbey, who, to give the scholars more time for study, had Mass celebrated at six o’clock instead of at nine. He also gave the abbey books worth £100, many of which were kept in his own study,<sup>11</sup> which was apparently set aside for the use of scholars showing unusual promise.<sup>12</sup>

Michael’s successor, Thomas de la Mare, was remarkable among English abbots of the fourteenth century, for he reformed the discipline and administration of the abbey. His long term of office, nearly thirty years (1370–96), was a period of comparative security—at least within the monastery walls—one result of which was a revival of historical writing under Thomas of Walsingham, at that time

<sup>7</sup> E. A. Savage, *Old English Libraries* (Chicago, 1912), p. 64; see also the *Dictionary of National Biography*. From Sellyng’s dates one might presume that most of his books were printed, but the two Greek codices from his collection still preserved at Oxford show that he has a legitimate place in this history of the manuscript period.

<sup>8</sup> Savage, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

<sup>9</sup> *Gesta abbatum monasterii Sancti Albani a Thoma Walsingham compilata*, ed. H. T. Riley (“Rolls Series,” No. 28), II, 200.

<sup>10</sup> V. H. Galbraith, *The Abbey of St. Albans* (Oxford, 1911), p. 29.

<sup>11</sup> *Gesta abbatum*, II, 363.

<sup>12</sup> F. A. Gasquet, *The Old English Bible* (London, 1897), pp. 12–13.



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precentor and master of the scriptorium.<sup>13</sup> De la Mare took a very real interest in intellectual pursuits; as president of the general chapter of the Benedictines, he ordered every abbot and prior to maintain at Oxford a number of students in proportion to the size of his house.<sup>14</sup> Evidently, St. Albans had a special interest in this university, for he and his successors presented to Gloucester Hall a chapel, a library, and stone to rebuild the house. At home he enlarged the abbot's study at his own expense, providing for it various books, as well as making similar provision for the general library.<sup>15</sup>

But the greatest book-lover of St. Alban's rulers in this period was John Whethamstede, twice abbot (1420-40 and 1452-64). He himself wrote or had written 87 books. He was, in fact, accused by the monks of neglecting their other affairs by his engrossment in study and the acquisition of books, both for Duke Humphrey and for the abbey.<sup>16</sup> In 1430 he had his *Life of St. Alban* translated from Latin into English by the poet Lydgate, then apparently a monk at Bury, paying 100s. for the work, including translation, writing, and illumination. Other books which he had copied ranged in price from a glossed Cato at £6 13s. 4d. to a Duns Scotus at 20s.<sup>17</sup> In his second term of office as abbot he built a library costing more than £150, not including the glazing, lighting, or desks. It was situated in the infirmary.<sup>18</sup> Heretofore the books had been kept, so far as we know, in chests, aumbries, or presses in the church and cloister or in the abbot's study. One of the twelfth-century abbots, Simon, is shown in a Cottonian manuscript seated in front of a chest filled with books.<sup>19</sup>

The books of Whethamstede's own composition, which he had transcribed for the library, were a theological miscellany in 5 volumes called the *Granarium*; the *Propinarium*, on general learning; 2 volumes on the poets; and a book of proverbs. He described events of his own time, such as Jack Cade's insurrection and the battles of

<sup>13</sup> Galbraith, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

<sup>14</sup> *Gesta abbatum*, III, 392, 393.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>16</sup> W. Dugdale, *Monasticon anglicanum*, II, 205.

<sup>17</sup> J. Amundesham, *Annales monasterii S. Albani* ("Rolls Series," No. 28), II, 268 and notes.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 258.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Fig. 138 in J. W. Clark, *The Care of Books* (2d ed.; Cambridge, 1902).

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St. Albans, which were fought near the abbey during the Wars of the Roses; he wrote memoirs, letters, and political pieces. In his prose and verse, which are full of classical allusions,<sup>20</sup> may be discerned early traces of the Renaissance in England. On his visit to Italy in 1423 he could scarcely have escaped the influence of the early humanist movement.

It is extremely unfortunate that our knowledge of the books which formed the reading matter of the St. Albans monks during these centuries is so limited, except for such scattered bits of information as have already been given. Apparently the library was in excellent condition even in the last days of the abbey, for Leland says that, while visiting the Roman remains at Verulam, he went to St. Albans, where "a scholarly monk called Kingsbery" showed him "the manuscript treasures of this great monastery."<sup>21</sup> But within a few years most of the books had vanished, and those which he mentions as having seen when on his mission are few and unimportant, except for a fine copy of Matthew Paris.<sup>22</sup> It seems strange that no catalogues should have been made, or survived, for one of the largest monastic libraries in England.

The nearest approach we have to anything like a catalogue is an account in verse of the portraits in twelve windows of the "library," probably an inclosed portion of the cloister. Schlosser<sup>23</sup> dates this gloss in the thirteenth century, perhaps of the time of John of Hertford, who enlarged the cloister. Under the heading "Hic subsequuntur metra illa omnia quae ponuntur in fenestris in domo libraria monasterii praedicti" five general branches of knowledge are named, with a rhymed description of the authors represented in each class.<sup>24</sup> The poem seems to have been written by a certain Ruffus, who describes himself in a quatrain as "doctor minimus."<sup>25</sup>

From this list and from the books elsewhere mentioned, some ideas

<sup>20</sup> Dugdale, *op. cit.*, II, 205.

<sup>21</sup> Gasquet, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23, n. 1.

<sup>22</sup> *Collectanea*, IV, 163.

<sup>23</sup> J. von Schlosser, "Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte aus den Schriftquellen des frühen Mittelalters," *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna) (Phil.-hist. Cl.), CCXXIII, Part II (1891), 149.

<sup>24</sup> Dugdale, *op. cit.*, I, 183-84.

<sup>25</sup> Schlosser, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

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of the character of the library can be gained. That there was a large collection of historical works we know; in addition, some classical authors were represented. It would be interesting to know whether any of the Greek authors were still present in their original language. In the thirteenth century John of Basingstoke, a deacon of St. Albans, had brought to England a valuable collection of Greek books; and on his return to the abbey he taught Greek to some of the monks.<sup>26</sup> About 1200 "Nicholas the Greek" was clerk to the Abbot of St. Albans. It is not known whether he brought books to England or not; he seems, however, to have assisted Grosseteste in his Greek studies.<sup>27</sup>

Brief mention must also be made of St. Albans' grammar school. This was first mentioned about 1100 and was established and maintained by the abbey but entirely separate from it. It had a secular schoolmaster, and the scholars at first paid fees. In the thirteenth century the sons of lords living in the vicinity were boarded and taught within the monastery; later in the century poor students received free board and education. The school continued to flourish and to furnish primarily secular instruction until 1539.

Early in the thirteenth century the cathedral of Salisbury was removed to New Sarum, but the buildings planned by Bishop Richard le Poore apparently did not make special provision for housing the library. The history of the cathedral collection remains obscure until the fifteenth century, when the chapter records mention provision for the establishment of a separate bookroom.<sup>28</sup> In the year 1444-45, under Bishop William Ayscough, arrangements were made for building a library over the eastern cloister. At about the same time one of the canons gave some books, with instructions that they should be chained in the new library.<sup>29</sup> This room was rebuilt in the eighteenth century.

There are at present in the Salisbury library about two hundred

<sup>26</sup> F. S. Merryweather, *Bibliomania in the Middle Ages*, p. 267.

<sup>27</sup> Savage, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

<sup>28</sup> J. W. Clark, *The Care of Books*, p. 121.

<sup>29</sup> Savage, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

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manuscripts<sup>30</sup> dating from the ninth to the fourteenth century. One of the earliest is a Gallican Psalter of about 970 with curious illuminations. Another Psalter has the Gallican and Hebrew in parallel columns, also with illuminations. There is a twelfth-century manuscript of Geoffrey of Monmouth and Chaucer's translation of Boethius. A fourteenth-century copy of the *Use of Sarum* and other service books are in the collection, as well as a copy of the *Institutes* with the *Glossa accursiana*. There are also some early printed books, about 20 of which belong to the fifteenth century.<sup>31</sup>

The history of the library at Durham during the late Middle Ages is known chiefly through the catalogue begun in 1391, continued in 1395, and completed in 1416. It is arranged by the various places in which the books were kept. The first section records the books (a considerable number in the *spendimentum*) when William de Appelby became librarian—the standard array of biblical and theological works, systematically grouped and then subdivided under individual headings: Boethius, Cicero, Sidonius, Quintilian, various poets, philosophy and logic, medicine, and grammar. The works of Cicero now include the *Philippics*, in addition to the *De amicitia*, *De senectute*, *De legibus*, and rhetorical treatises named in the earlier catalogue. Valerius Maximus and Palladius appear; among the "poets" are Agellius, Claudian, Juvenal, Terence, Vergil, Macrobius, Priscian, and Ovid (*De ponto*). Aristotle is the chief author represented for philosophy, with a fairly large number of his works. Among the grammatical books are a Donatus' *Anglice* and an *Apocalypsis Goliae*. These are the books to which free access could be had by all the monks. Within the *libraria interior*, where they could be kept locked in the inner room of the spendiment, was a smaller number of more valuable books. In 1391 these were some 60 volumes on civil

<sup>30</sup> There is a catalogue of the Salisbury cathedral library listed in the *Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts* (1808), I, 408. No date is given, although several of the other manuscripts in the list belong to the seventeenth century; and they are all described as being in "recenti manu." The catalogue is not mentioned by Gottlieb, Becker, or Edwards, although it was included in 1697 in Bernard's *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae*, II, Part I, 23–26 (reference from E. G. Vogel, *Literatur europäischer Bibliotheken* (Leipzig, 1840), p. 430).

<sup>31</sup> E. Foord, *Winchester and Salisbury* (London, 1925), p. 170.

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and canon law. The last collection in the *libraria interior* is a long list of psalters, followed by a note of 4 that are missing.

Next we have two lists of books sent to Durham College at Oxford, of somewhat later date, about 1409, but probably inserted here because most of them, as the notations show, were taken from the spendiment. Most of these are books of the Bible and theological works. Following this is a list of volumes newly acquired for the common library to replace those sent to Oxford; none of these is of particular interest. In 1395 William continued his catalogue by adding the books found in the *commune armariolum in diversis locis infra claustrum*. Many of the books are marked "in libraria," some "in claustro"; frequently there is nothing to indicate their location. Here, as in the spendiment catalogue, there is a general classification by author or subject. Among the *libri diversi* are several works of Seneca, in addition to the copies which appear under "libri phisicae." In 1416 the catalogue made for the spendiment in 1391 was checked by John Gyshborn, the new librarian, who made notes of missing books, additions, the names of borrowers, and comments such as "modicum valet" and "nullius valoris."<sup>22</sup>

There was formerly at Durham the famous codex known as the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, believed to be St. Cuthbert's own copy; it is now in the British Museum. The most precious of the manuscript treasures remaining in the library is a copy of the Gospels marked in the catalogue of 1391 "de manu Bedae." A *Cassiodorus super psalterium* of the seventh or early eighth century also bears the same notation; but the two manuscripts are not in the same script, and so one or both of these ascriptions is erroneous. Many of the Durham books are magnificently illuminated, not only with initials and designs but also with miniatures of great excellence. The scriptorium at Durham appears to have been an important artistic workshop.<sup>23</sup>

Books in any language other than Latin are extremely few. There is no Hebrew; and the only two Greek manuscripts are of the late

<sup>22</sup> Botfield took these notes to refer to the condition of the book at the time rather than to its original or literary value. Cf. his Introduction to *Catalogi veteres librorum ecclesiae cathedralis Dunelm.*, p. xiii.

<sup>23</sup> H. D. Hughes, *A History of Durham Cathedral Library* (Durham, 1925), pp. 14-15.

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fifteenth century, both written by Emmanuel of Constantinople for George Neville of York in 1472. The English books have been mentioned, and there are a few French works. Individual gifts played an important part in the growth of the library. The benefactions of two bishops, William de St. Carilef and Hugh Pudsey, are especially numerous: the former gave 39 volumes, exclusive of liturgical books; the latter, 72. Bishop Pudsey (d. 1195) shows a slightly more literary taste than his predecessor, for his collection included a Cicero, a Priscian, two rhetorics, and a Claudius. Carilef took a genuine interest in learning and seems to have personally supervised the transcription of books by his monks. Bishop Thomas Langley (d. 1437) presented the library with Lyra's commentaries and other volumes, including a dictionary. Late in the fifteenth century Prior John Auckland (1484-94) made the gift of a Suetonius, possibly a tenth-century manuscript.<sup>34</sup>

The humanistic tendencies and tradition at Durham found their fullest realization in the person of, and the work generally ascribed to, one of the most famous of its bishops, Richard Aungerville de Bury—tutor of Edward III, holder of many benefices, dean of Wells, Treasurer Royal, Lord Privy Seal, ambassador to Rome, and bishop of Durham during the last twelve years of his life (1333-45). In him, though he was rather a patron of learning than a great scholar, we find in existence at Durham "just one hundred years before the time usually given as the beginning of the Renaissance in England, a remarkable familiarity with Scripture and with the poetry and philosophy of the ancients."<sup>35</sup> The book which bears Richard's name, the *Philobiblon*, is concrete expression of that love for books and learning which had never passed away in this community.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>35</sup> Richard Aungerville de Bury: *Fragments of His Register and Other Documents* ("Publications of the Surtees Society," CXIX), p. xxxiii.

<sup>36</sup> From the first the authorship of the *Philobiblon* has been in dispute, as is shown in the fact that, of 30 extant manuscripts, 7 attribute the work to the Dominican Robert Holcot, a noted theologian and close friend of Richard. The opinion that De Bury was not the author finds support in the well-known statement of Adam of Murimuth, who, in writing of the bishop's death, speaks of him thus: "Et licet idem episcopus fuisset mediocriter literatus, volens tamen magnus clericus reputari. . . ." William de Chambre, although he gives a rather long account of Richard's life, does not mention the book but describes him as "suffi-

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The importance of the work lies not in its being written by one person or another but in its being the "speaking likeness" of a fourteenth-century bibliophile. Indisputable evidence of De Bury's interest in books and learning were his library and the group of scholarly men who were his closest companions. Of his books, alas, we know all too little: his careful catalogue of them has disappeared. Only a volume or two remains of what must have been a collection of extraordinary size; Adam of Murimuth says, indeed, that five wagons were scarcely sufficient to transport the books which were too precious to be left behind when he went on a journey.<sup>37</sup> William de Chambre asserts that De Bury had more books than all the other bishops of England, and that, besides the volumes kept separately in his various manors, wherever he was, he had so many books lying about his bedroom that one could scarcely take a step without treading upon them.<sup>38</sup>

Among De Bury's intimate friends were Richard Fitz-Ralph, dean of Lichfield and later archbishop of Armagh, an expert in textual criticism; Thomas Bradwardin, who became archbishop of Canterbury; Walter Burley, tutor to the Black Prince, a lover of Aristotle, and author of 30 treatises on his works; Richard de Kylwyngton, dean of St. Paul's; Chancellor Richard Benworth, later bishop of

cienter literatus." Petrarch, *Epistulae de rebus familiaribus* iii (quoted in the Introduction to De Bury's *Register*, p. xiii), speaks of him as a man of ardent spirit and great capacity, acquainted "to some degree" with history. The modern editor of the *Register* suggests that Richard's high regard for Aristotle may have been due to the influence of some of his scholarly friends, such as Burley, rather than to his own study. Professor Tout ("Literature and Learning in English Civil Service in the Fourteenth Century," *Speculum*, October, 1929, p. 375) rejects Richard's authorship.

On the other side, there is first of all the colophon of the *Philobiblon*: "Explicit Philobiblon domini Ricardi de Aungerbille . . . actatis nostra octavo praeclae completus, pontificatus vero nostris anno undecimo finiente. . . ." Monsignor de Ghellinck, in his masterly treatment of the *Philobiblon* as a whole (*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, XVIII, 271-312; XIX, 157-200), definitely accepts De Bury's authorship, principally on the basis of its obviously autobiographical character and of the marked differences in style between this and all the known works of Robert Holcot. He does not, however, exclude collaboration of some sort and thinks it the best explanation of discrepancies in style and the lack of unity in the work.

<sup>37</sup> *Continuatio chronicarum*, ed. E. M. Thompson ("Rolls Series," No. 93), pp. 171, 175 and note, estimates at least 300 volumes for a wagonload, making, if Adam is to be relied upon, a total of about 1,500; but he does not believe that De Bury's library could have been so large.

<sup>38</sup> *Historiae Dunelmensis scriptores tres*, ed. J. Raine (London, 1839), p. 130.

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London; Walter Segrave, dean of Chichester; John Maudit, Fellow of Merton College; and Robert Holcot, the Dominican, whose commentaries are distinguished for the vast reading to which they bear witness. De Bury always delighted in the companionship of "clerici." It was his custom to have reading at the table and, after dinner, a "disputation" among those present. To this congenial conversation he must have owed much, for it brought him into contact with minds enriched and trained in careful scholarship.

He had many opportunities to collect books, not only in England but also abroad; the eighth chapter of the *Philobiblon* is devoted to a joyous account of his experiences and methods.<sup>39</sup> Adam of Muri-muth's statement that he gathered together "librorum numerum infinitum" is borne out by De Bury's own statement:

We were reported to burn with such desire for books, especially old ones, that it was more easy for any man to gain our favor by means of books than of money. . . . Then the aumbries of the most famous monasteries were thrown open. . . . Thus the sacred vessels of learning came into our control and stewardship; some by gift, others by purchase, and some lent to us for a season.

And when opportunities to acquire books were offered to him, De Bury says, he strove to secure favors for those who thus ministered to his pleasure, yet in such a way that "justice suffered no disparagement." This last provision is not altogether in harmony with his acceptance of 4 precious volumes from the abbot of St. Albans in return for the privilege of imprisoning those whom he excommunicated, an episcopal prerogative.<sup>40</sup> Following this, came the sale of 30 books to him from the abbey for fifty pieces of silver: "factum infame!" says the chronicler.

Traveling on the Continent as Edward III's envoy, he found frequent occasion to visit libraries and to obtain books. He speaks of Paris, the "paradise of the world," with its delightful libraries and book market. His collection was also augmented through his favor to the mendicant orders, whose libraries he visited wherever possible, finding there "utmost riches of wisdom." Further, he made the acquaintance of booksellers in England, France, Germany, and Italy who diligently served his interests, knowing that "their expectation

<sup>39</sup> Ed. E. C. Thomas (London, 1888), pp. 197-206.

<sup>40</sup> *Register*, p. xv.



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would not be defrauded." He likewise also obtained books through schoolmasters and private individuals "of both sexes and of every rank or position."

It is not possible to discuss here in detail the whole of the *Philobiblon*, but some of the subjects of which it treats may be briefly mentioned. Among these are chapters on the importance of books, on the affection due them, the way in which their cost is to be regarded, their enemies, the superiority of ancient to modern authors, De Bury's opportunities for acquiring them, his own preference for liberal, rather than legal, learning, the importance of grammar and the poets, the merit of writing new books and repairing old ones, the proper treatment of books, the manner in which his books are to be lent to students, and a final exhortation to scholars to requite him by their prayers. In much of the work there is little originality; his moralizing on the usefulness of books leans heavily upon Cassiodorus, Peter the Venerable, Gerson, and other medieval writers.<sup>41</sup> The *Philobiblon* is chiefly important because it marks a transition toward humanism, in its enriched vocabulary and attention to style, and most of all in the personal tone which pervades the entire work.<sup>42</sup>

The technical parts, concerning acquisition, care, regulations for lending, and the like, are intermingled with autobiographical reminiscences, personal references, complaints against the lack of studiousness in his contemporaries, and schemes for university foundations. Though he often became pedantic, his sincerity and enthusiasm are always apparent. His regulations for the lending of books only under pledge of greater value and with meticulous record of the transaction seem to have been modeled after the rules of the Sorbonne, a library which he greatly admired.

His plan to leave his library to Durham College at Oxford seems never to have been realized, in spite of assertions of modern writers to the contrary. No evidence exists to show that the books ever arrived there; indeed, from Adam of Murimuth's statement that he died penniless and in debt it seems more probable that they were sold by his administrator.

At St. Paul's, London, in 1358, an interesting bequest came to the

<sup>41</sup> De Ghellinck, *op. cit.*, XVIII, 297-98.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, 196-97.

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Almonry Library by the will of William de Ravenstone, chaplain and schoolmaster.<sup>43</sup> The inventory enumerates 84 works and refers to others. Among the classical and postclassical authors are Avianus, Theodulus, Maximian, Claudian, Lucan, Juvenal (2 copies), Persius (2 copies), Statius, Horace (the *Satires* and the *Ars poetica*), the *Georgics*, the *Metamorphoses*, Cato's *Distichs*, Aristotle, Donatus, Priscian, Hugucio, and some books for singing.

Early in the fifteenth century the library of St. Paul's cathedral chapter was built over the east quadrant of the cloister, at the expense of Walter Shirynton, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster<sup>44</sup> and clerk of the cathedral. After his death in 1458 an inventory was drawn up, listing 171 volumes arranged in a sort of subject catalogue.<sup>45</sup> Of these, there are 7 only of the classical authors, 6 on grammar, 8 on history, and 21 on canon law. Among them are found Seneca's *Epistolae* and *De naturalibus quaestionibus*, Cicero's *Rhetoric*, the *Bucolics*, Suetonius, Josephus, Ralph Diceto, and a few other histories. Of medical works there were the Avicenna already mentioned, Hippocrates, and Galen. The rest, with a *Catholicon*, Isidore, and a few other general reference books, were all theology—parts of the Bible and the like. In a letter of Aeneas Sylvius a curious allusion occurs to a copy of Thucydides which he says was shown to him in the sacristy of St. Paul's when he visited England about 1435.<sup>46</sup> The book, which he says dated from the ninth century, evidently was in Latin, for he adds: "translatoris nullum nomen inveni."

Within less than thirty years over two-thirds of the books had already vanished. An inventory made in 1476, after the death of John Grimstone, the sacrist, shows only 52 volumes, nearly all theological.<sup>47</sup>

An inventory was made of Exeter library in 1327. By this time the cathedral had a library of about 230 separate works, exclusive of

<sup>43</sup> The will and inventory are printed in *Modern Philology* for February, 1932, pp. 257-74, in an article by Edith Rickert, discussing the probability of Chaucer's having been a pupil at this school.

<sup>44</sup> W. Dugdale, *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London* (London, 1818), p. 134.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 60-67.      <sup>46</sup> M. Creighton, *A History of the Papacy*, III, p. 53 and note.

<sup>47</sup> Dugdale, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

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service books; they were, however, chiefly civil and canon law and theology. The books are classified partly by authors, partly under subjects, but mostly by donors.<sup>48</sup> Bishop John Grandison (1328-69) was a book-lover and presented two ecclesiastical works to the cathedral, but his extensive library was distributed among other churches of his diocese.<sup>49</sup> Although there is no other evidence that he was a Hebrew scholar, he had the Hebrew Pentateuch now in the chapter library at Westminster Abbey.<sup>50</sup> He was not merely a collector but also a student, for his hand can be identified in corrections and notations in many of the Exeter manuscripts in the Bodleian. In a Trinity College copy of Gregory of Tours, there is a note in which the bishop calls attention to the rarity of the book and to the bad Latin of its author.<sup>51</sup>

Before 1412 the necessity for a special bookroom was felt, and in May of that year the work was begun; forty weeks were spent in its completion. We have a record of the expenditures for timber, wages, and for repairing to its books.<sup>52</sup> As we know from the catalogue of 1506, the library was built over the east cloister. The accounts of the money spent for repairing books—over £18—is most interesting. Vellum, sheepskin, calfskin, red skins, red and blue string, flour for paste, ink, wire, and needles are included, as well as rushes for the house of William Hayford, who did the work, and a bundle of firewood for him and straw for his bed. Eighty chains for fastening books in the library were purchased, and later forty more, while nine iron bars weighing 105 pounds were made to anchor them. Besides the service books, chained in the cathedral for the use of the people, there were two boxes fastened to the piers at the end of each choir aisle, in which books were kept for the same purpose. In one such

<sup>48</sup> This and the catalogue of 1506 are printed by G. Oliver in *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter* (Exeter, 1861), pp. 301 ff.

<sup>49</sup> Savage, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-12.

<sup>50</sup> J. A. Robinson and M. R. James, *The Manuscripts of Westminster Abbey* (Cambridge, England, 1909), p. 63.

<sup>51</sup> J. W. Clark, "On Two Pieces of Furniture in Exeter Cathedral Formerly Used for the Protection of Books," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, X (1902), 313.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 301 ff. Also J. W. Clark, "On the Work Done to the Library of Exeter Cathedral in 1412 and 1413," *ibid.*, pp. 294-306.

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box is a piece of wood which was once the cover of a book and is still securely nailed to the box in which it rests.<sup>53</sup>

In the first quarter of the fifteenth century a new library was built at Wells by a bequest from Bishop Nicholas of Bubwich, who in 1424 left 1,000 marks to erect it over the east cloister. It was probably fitted up in the fifteenth century on the "Lectern-System"; but the present cases and chains, on the "Stall-System," are of later date.<sup>54</sup>

Only scattered references to the books remain, and a small number of the volumes. The most interesting of the 46 works seen by Leland is a *Dantes trālatas in carmen Latinum*, a book extremely rare in English libraries, either in the original or in translation. Williams<sup>55</sup> suggests that this was probably the version of Matteo Ronto, a monk of Oliveta who died in 1443; but Paget Toynbee believes it was Serravalle's prose translation, made in 1416, which has the appearance of verse because it is cut up into lines corresponding with the original.<sup>56</sup> A *Terentius pulcherrimus* is also mentioned, the only classical author of whom we have record in this library, though there were doubtless others.

No catalogue of the rich abbey of St. Werburg in Chester exists, but we can form some estimate of the nature and extent of its library from the voluminous *Polychronicon* written there by Ranulf Higden in the middle of the fourteenth century. In one passage he cites upward of 40 works which he used, and his text shows there were many others which he failed to mention.

For the Cistercian abbey of Melsa (Meaux) the *Chronicle*, finished in 1437, ends with an inventory of the possession of the house, including a catalogue of the books in the library. E. A. Bond, editor of the *Chronicle*, remarks:

It embraced little besides theological works. Of classical authors we find only Sallust, Cicero *De senectute*, Macrobius, Martial, Suetonius and Eutropius. There is very little law. Of medical writers only Rhases, Platearius and Isaac the Jew. And of lighter literature only *Lives of the saints*, the legend of *Amys and Amilon*, Turpin's *Life of Charlemagne* and the story of the *Trojan War*. There are also a few

<sup>53</sup> Illustrated in Clark's article "On Two Pieces of Furniture . . .," *ibid.*, p. 309.

<sup>54</sup> B. H. Streeter, *The Chained Library* (London, 1935), pp. 273-79.

<sup>55</sup> T. W. Williams, *Somerset Medieval Libraries* (Bristol, 1897), p. 116, n. 5.

<sup>56</sup> Paget Toynbee, *Dante in English Literature* (London, 1909), pp. xviii, 29-30.

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historical works such as Josephus. These works were housed all over the premises—in choro, in capella, in infirmatorio, pro magno altari, in communi almario, in ecclesia, in aliis almariis, officii cantoribus in ecclesia, in suprema theca supra ostium, in suprema theca opposita, in armariolo, in aliis distinctis per alphabetum.<sup>57</sup>

Oxford university by the end of the twelfth century had the nucleus of a library in St. Mary's Church, with the books most frequently used chained to the benches and those less in demand locked in chests, whence they might be lent to any student who gave adequate security for their return.<sup>58</sup> The real founder of the university library was Thomas Cobham, bishop of Worcester, who had studied the arts at Paris, canon law at Oxford, and theology at Cambridge.<sup>59</sup> In 1327 he bequeathed to the university his own books and 350 marks to build a library. As he died in debt, his books were sold; and, being redeemed by Adam de Brome, they were handed over to his own newly founded college, Oriel, instead of to the university library. Ten years later a mob of students burst into Oriel and carried off the books by main force, adding them to the collection already existing at St. Mary's Church, against the northeast corner of which a new bookroom was built; and here, in a space of 45 by 20 feet, the university library remained until 1446.

Rules for the management of the new library were drawn up in 1367.<sup>60</sup> The books were to be placed in the *solarium*, set aside for this special use, above the *cellarium* ("congregation house"), chained in convenient order so that scholars might have free access to them at proper times. Volumes to the value of £40 or more were to be sold to provide an annual income for the chaplain, in whose charge the books were to be kept. In 1412 further regulations were made. A chaplain in holy orders had to be elected to take charge of the library, which had now grown so large that "its mismanagement would cause great evils." He was bound by oath to deliver up to the chancellor and procurator in congregation, on the same day as the beadles surrendered their maces, the keys to the library door; if found faithful to

<sup>57</sup> Thomas of Bruton, *Chronica monasterii de Melsa*, ed. E. A. Bond ("Rolls Series," No. 43), III, lxxxiii. The catalogue is printed in the Appendix.

<sup>58</sup> *Quarterly Review*, CLXXIII, 322-24, a review of W. D. Macray's *Annals of the Bodleian*.

<sup>59</sup> H. Anatey (ed.), *Munimenta academica* ("Rolls Series," No. 50), I, li.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 226-28.

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his trust, he was to be reappointed; if he wished to resign, he had to give a month's notice. His salary, 100s. from the assize of bread and beer, in addition to the 6s. 8d. for celebrating the university masses, was to be paid to him in two yearly instalments "in order that lack of it may not make him careless." Besides this, every beneficed graduate was obliged to give him a robe. At his election he had to swear to observe faithfully the rules of his office, which were to be read to him.

Careful regulations for the use of the books were drawn up. To prevent injury to the books because of a great number of readers, and to keep students from being disturbed by "thronges of visitors," only graduates and clerics who had studied philosophy eight years were allowed to read in the library. The latter and nonresidents privileged to read in the library were obliged to take an oath before the chancellor to use the books properly and to make no erasures, blots, or other injuries. A Bachelor who had not taken his Master's degree had to wear his distinctive dress in the library.

The hours were from nine to eleven and from one to four, except on Sundays or other days, when the university masses were celebrated; at all times except these regular hours, the library was kept closed, unless eminent visitors or the chancellor wished to visit it. Principal benefactors were to be remembered at the masses; those whose names were especially mentioned in this capacity are Henry IV, Princes Henry, Thomas, John, and Humphrey; Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury; Philip Repyntone, bishop of Lincoln, Edmund, Earl of March; and Master Richard Courtenay. A "large and conspicuous board" with names of books and donors was to be hung in the library. Within three days after receipt of a new gift it was to be presented to the congregation, and within fifteen days to be chained in the library. Keys to the chains were kept in a chest with four locks, along with a list of the books.

The increasing size of the library made a new room for it necessary. The most generous gifts were those of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester. The university had already appealed to him (with what effect is not recorded), to use his influence to help them secure the books left by Henry V. In 1435 Humphrey gave books and money, for which the

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university thanked him warmly. In 1439 he gave 129 volumes, to the value of over £1,000. About 1441 two other gifts by him are mentioned, one of 7 volumes, the other of 9 volumes, and in 1444 the largest present of all, consisting of 134 volumes. So great were the crowds using these books that the old library was found to be too small. A suggestion was made to the duke that the new divinity school have a room remodeled to care for the books. In the year before his death Humphrey appeared before the house of congregation and publicly promised to give the rest of his Latin books to the university, together with £100 toward this building. There is no evidence that the university received either the money or the books.

A notable thing about all these gifts is that they were made to the university as a whole, not to any particular college. The university expressed its appreciation repeatedly. Statutes were laid down for the care of the books, masses were ordained for the repose of the souls of the duke and his wife Eleanor. Humphrey's name was inscribed upon the list of benefactors of the university, and as a token of appreciation the university pledged itself to celebrate a splendid funeral service for him within ten days after his death. Although the room which is now the "innermost shrine" of the Bodleian was not completed until 1488, forty years after Gloucester's death, it was named "Duke Humphrey's Library," in gratitude to its benefactor.

It is unfortunate that this library itself has not survived. There is evidence to show that some books were stolen from the collection before its final dispersion and destruction, which came in 1550, when commissioners were deputed under Edward VI for the reformation of the university. These commissioners visited the libraries; destroyed all books ornamented with illustrations or rubricated initials, as being, presumably, popish; and left the rest exposed to injury and robbery. Although no direct evidence of the technique of the commissioners has survived, there is good reason to believe that contemporary accounts of books burned, sold to bookbinders for covers, or to tailors for their patterns, etc., would be applicable here. In any case, the university, in Convocation on January 25, 1555/6, could decree: "Electi sunt hii venerabiles viri Vice-cancellarius et Procuratores Magister Morwent, Praeses Corporis Christi, et Magister

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Wright, ad vendenda subsellia librorum in publica Academiae bibliotheca, ipsius Universitatis nomine,"<sup>62</sup> for there was no need for shelves when the books were departed. Of the total number destroyed, there is much disagreement. Macray thought that Gloucester had given over 600 volumes to the library. Vickers does not try to estimate exactly how many were given, although he says that Duke Humphrey's private library and the books which he presented to Oxford in all must have numbered 500 at least, for which statement he gives no authority. H. H. E. Craster, in the most recent note on the subject says: "It follows that there is no certainty that Duke Humphrey's gifts of MSS numbered more than 281, of which the titles of all but seven have been recorded. Nor were there more than two main donations, one received in November, 1439, the other in February, 1443-4."<sup>63</sup> This is certainly the maximum figure that can be derived from any interpretation of the surviving documents. Of this great collection, very few traces remain. Only three of Gloucester's books can be found in the university library; a few others, in the British Museum, Oxford colleges, English private libraries, and the Bibliothèque nationale.

From the founding of the first colleges at Oxford, libraries were apparently provided. University College library was the earliest of these to be established. Statutes for its administration, drawn up in 1280 and added to in 1292, are the earliest library regulations extant in the university. The library at Balliol, though this college is older than University, came next, when books were presented in 1336 by Bishop Gravesend. Fifty years later it was endowed with a sufficient income to provide for a larger number of poor scholars and for books as well.<sup>64</sup> Walter de Merton, an ecclesiastical civil servant, founded his college in 1263, chiefly to provide for the education of theologians, with a limited number of students in civil or canon law. Very detailed information concerning the books owned by this college and the regulations for their use have come down to us.<sup>64</sup> The

<sup>62</sup> D. Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian*, p. 13.

<sup>63</sup> *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, III, 45.

<sup>64</sup> Savage, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

<sup>64</sup> F. M. Powicke (ed.), *The Medieval Books of Merton College* (Oxford, 1931); H. W. Garrod, "Library Regulations of a Medieval College," *The Library*, 4th ser., VIII (1927), 312-31.



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library building was begun in 1375 and was finished three years later. The library was reserved chiefly for standard reference works, which were chained there, while most of the books were kept in chests in the college treasury as a lending collection. Except for an ordinance of Archbishop Peckham in 1286, directing that *Hugucio*, *Papias*, and *Summa Britonis* be chained "in an accessible place," the earliest reference to chained books at Merton seems to be in 1354, in an account of repairs to books and purchase of supplies. The *libri in libraria* included—in theory, at least—the best, or the only copy if there were but one, of every work. The rest, chiefly of the textbook type, were distributed among the members of the community who deposited pledges in security. The official in charge was at first the bursar, who, on instruction from the warden or subwarden, reassigned the volumes. About the middle of the fourteenth century the bursar was replaced as librarian by the subwarden.

This method of distributing books among the members of the college community was called "*electio*."<sup>65</sup> It was very evidently a development from the earlier monastic practice. The plan was also employed at other colleges, e.g., at Oriel, where the *electio* was held every November, at New College annually also, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, every two years. Merton differs from the rest only in making its redistributions irregularly and at widely separated intervals—a circumstance which inevitably led to confusion and loss.<sup>66</sup> We have records of twenty-one of its *electiones* from 1483 to 1519. The register was carefully kept and evidently considered important. At the *electio* the subwarden presided, with the warden sometimes present. Theological *electiones* were held in the latter's house; philosophical, in the Hall. By the Founder's Statute of 1274 the Fellows were divided into these two classes, although some medical students were admitted in 1284, and four or five could study law on approval of the warden. It was the subwarden's duty to plan the distribution so that each student had uninterrupted use of the books necessary

<sup>65</sup> Powicke, *op. cit.*, p. 13. The word was used in a threefold sense, describing the checking-up before a new distribution, the actual distribution, and the books that made an individual assignment.

<sup>66</sup> Garrod, *op. cit.*, p. 326. In 1528 one Fellow had lost the entire 28 books assigned to him.

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for him in attaining his degree, though little regard was paid to the personal interests of any individual. However, some choice in the selection of books was allowed. From 8 to 40 volumes were available for each student; and in addition to the regular *libri distribuendi* there seem to have been some others, chiefly legal and philosophical, in the warden's possession which also could be borrowed.

The Merton library was a very large one, numbering 1,264 volumes, of which, in 1519, between 450 and 500 were *libri distribuendi*.<sup>67</sup> Many of the books had come to the library as gifts, the most notable of which was that of William Rede, bishop of Chichester, who at his death, in 1382, presented 370 manuscripts to the college. The earliest catalogue, of the philosophical books, was made about 1330 and has 85 entries, including grammar and mathematics. The philosophical works consisted chiefly of Aristotle and commentaries upon him—generally the older translations from the Arabic, William Moerbeke's from the Greek, Averroes, and Aquinas, whom Merton scholars accepted as their model. The theological catalogue of 1360 lists 250 manuscripts, 24 of which are still in the library. Aquinas again is predominant, with some modern professional manuals and *Sentences*, but little else except St. Augustine. Among the notable Merton philosophers and scholars of this period was Thomas Bradwardine, mathematician, theologian, and Humanist. With John Manduit, Richard of Kilmington, Walter Burley, and Walter Segrave he belonged to the brilliant circle about Richard de Bury. It is probably due partly to Bradwardine, in Dr. Powicke's opinion, that the books which came to Merton after the middle of the fourteenth century show broadened and Humanistic interests. Among such books is the *Marco Polo*, given by Richard Wyking.<sup>68</sup>

In 1385 Merton received an important gift of 100 books from William Rede, bishop of Chichester, who was the benefactor also of New College, Exeter, Balliol, Queen's, and Oriel, presenting in all 250 volumes, of which at least 58 survive. It was at this time that Merton's new library building was begun. Rede was a lover and

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>68</sup> Powicke, *op. cit.*, p. 128. This is the only extant copy of this work in any Oxford College library, and was probably very rare in England in the fourteenth century.

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collector of books and had wide humanistic interests, especially in astronomy. He was protégé of Nicholas of Sandwich, Lord of Bilsington and Folkstone, himself a collector of books, many of which he left to his friend Rede. The latter's library of about 370 books must have been one of the largest private collections in England. Aside from a few personal gifts, he left the books to Oxford. Unfortunately, the list of his donations to Merton is lost, though 47 of the volumes survive, all in the college library except for 4 in the Bodleian. In the fifteenth century the library continued to increase, especially through benefactions. The greatest activity of the Merton scholars in this period was in the study of medicine. Many of them were lovers of books, whose libraries reveal them as "cultivated, conservative gentlemen." An especially interesting collection was that of Thomas Bloxham, a Merton physician (d. 1473), who had a taste for metaphysics and theology. Warden Sever, another notable donor, had some important manuscripts, such as the *Dispute between a Dominican friar and the Spirit of Guy* of John Gobi, Giles of Rome's *Contra exemptos*, and Petrarch's *De vita solitaria*. Warden Fitzjames, bishop of Rochester, Chichester, and London in succession, lover of books, and opponent of Tyndale, had a fine collection of the works of Raymond Lull and a Seneca formerly belonging to a French bishop. Fitzjames noted down when and where his books had been purchased; some he had written and illuminated. In 1490 Master Lewis Caerlyon (Charlton), a well-known physician and astronomer, presented to the college his astronomical tables, which have disappeared along with a printed copy of Duns Scotus given in 1498 by Thomas Woodward—the first record of the presentation of a printed book. Theological and philosophical works of the fifteenth century reflect the Scotist revival. Merton seems to have suffered less than most of the other colleges when the commissioners met at Oxford in 1550. Of the nearly 1,300 manuscripts which it possessed during the Middle Ages, 320 survive.

Brief mention must suffice for the other Oxford colleges. Oriel, next to Merton in importance, founded in 1324 by Adam de Brome, chancery clerk and almoner of Edward II, came under the patronage of the king in 1325-26 and received new regulations from Edward

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III, who thus became its nominal founder. In 1375 the college had a library of nearly 100 books, chiefly in theology and philosophy, with some volumes of Roman law, Euclid, Aristotle, Macrobius, and the *Timaeus*—a collection which may be taken as fairly representative of the academic libraries of the period.<sup>69</sup> The first library was not built at Oriel until about 1444, the books being kept in chests until that time. Queen's, founded in 1340-41, by Queen Philippa's chaplain, and under perpetual patronage of the queens of England, received books from Simon de Bredon, the astronomer, in 1368, and in 1388-89 had a library chamber. New College, established in 1380, received from its founder, William of Wykeham, about 240 volumes, of which more than half were theology, the rest canon and civil law and philosophy; it received another gift, from an unnamed donor, of 37 volumes of medicine and 15 books to be chained in the library. From Bishop Rede, New College acquired 100 books, 57 of which were on theology. A library room was included in the first buildings of the college. Similar developments may be traced for the other Oxford foundations, even though many details are lacking.

Even before the end of the fifteenth century the collections began to disappear—stolen, damaged, worn out, pledged, and never redeemed, sold, or given away. With the threat of suppression of religious houses, students fell away until, under Edward VI, the average number of graduates at Oxford was only thirty-three. The Commission descended upon the university in 1550; and although the fate of all the colleges was not so tragic as that of Duke Humphrey's Library, destruction and spoliation were all too frequent. Most of the 200 books given to Balliol by William Gray after his return from Italy suffered destruction. Among them were the letters of Petrarch; orations of Poggio, Aretino, and Guarino; a new translation of the *Timaeus* and another of the *Euthyphron*; Lactantius; the *Golden Verses* of Pythagoras; some hitherto unknown works of Cicero and Quintilian; and many of Seneca's writings. Some of these were the first copies of their texts to reach England; many reflected the spirit

<sup>69</sup> Savage, *op. cit.*, p. 146. The Oriel catalogue is edited by C. L. Shadwell in the Oxford Historical Society's *Collectanea*, 1st ser. (1885), pp. 66-70.

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of Italian Humanism and made important contributions to the new learning in England.

At Cambridge<sup>70</sup> the libraries were generally of later foundation than those at Oxford, but very similar; therefore, these collections need be only briefly discussed here. Not until the first quarter of the fifteenth century was there a common university library.<sup>71</sup> The "founder," if he may be so called, appears to have been a certain John Croucher, who gave a copy of Chaucer's translation of the *De consolacione*; in 1424 Richard Holme, warden of King's Hall, gave 16 volumes. Other gifts were made; and by about 1440 the library numbered 122 books: 69 of theology, 17 of natural and moral philosophy, 23 in canon law, and a few of medicine, grammar, and logic. By 1473, when we have a catalogue,<sup>72</sup> there were 330 volumes. Among these, in addition to the usual scholastic works, were some chronicles, Lucan, the *Metamorphoses*, Claudianus, Petrarch, *De remediis*, and some medical books. The catalogue, drawn up by the procurators Ralph Songer and Richard Cokerham, shows that the books, classified by subjects, were arranged in eight stalls on the northern side of the room and on nine desks at the south side of the room. This library was completed about 1470, replacing an earlier chamber, built between 1438 and 1457, above the Canon Law Schools. Soon after the catalogue was made, the collection was greatly increased by some 200 volumes presented by Thomas Rotherham, chancellor of the university, then bishop of Lincoln, and later archbishop of York. He built a library occupying the entire first floor of the east side of the quadrangle; and here, in the *libraria domini cancellaria*, his own books were stored. Later this room became a private library, the upper room on the south side remaining in use as the common library. In 1529, when some Greek books were given by Bishop Tunstall, the collection was already in decline; within a

<sup>70</sup> J. B. Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge from the Earliest Times to the Injunction of 1535* (Cambridge, 1873), pp. 322 ff.

<sup>71</sup> Savage, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

<sup>72</sup> Henry Bradshaw, "Two Lists of Books in the University Library, 1473 and 1424," *Communication of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, II (1864), 239-47.

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few years, because of a decrease in the number of students and consequent loss of revenue, some of the books were sold, as being "useless." When, in 1547, it was recommended that the great library should be turned into a school for the regius professor of divinity, because "in its present state it is no use to anybody," virtually the whole collection had disappeared. The commissioners had already been at work. A catalogue of 1573 shows only 177 volumes, and these sadly mutilated, no doubt by the same hands that despoiled Duke Humphrey's books.

Peterhouse, oldest of the separate Cambridge colleges, established in 1284 by Hugh Balsham, bishop of Ely, had the first library in Cambridge. The founder provided books; and the statutes of 1344, drawn up by his successor, Simon Montacuto, and modeled after those of Merton College, contain strict regulations for the care of books. In 1418, when a catalogue<sup>73</sup> was made, Peterhouse had 380 volumes, a number exceeded only by New College, Oxford. The largest proportion was of theological works, with philosophy and metaphysics, canon and civil law, grammar and poetry with 23 volumes on medicine, astronomy, alchemy, arithmetic, music, geometry, and rhetoric—a fairly comprehensive list. Aristotle, Plato, Cicero, Ovid, Lucan, Statius, Sallust, Quintilian, Seneca, Vergil, and Petrarch's *Letters* appear. Various gifts of books are recorded after this time: in 1472 Dr. John Marshall gave a large number of volumes, some of which were to be chained in *libraria secretiori*, the rest chained in *libraria apertiori*, where they were easily accessible, even though they could not be borrowed. Within ten years 55 manuscripts were added by John Workworth, master of Peterhouse. Early in the fifteenth century the books were kept in the hall, but by 1431 a new library was necessary and the work was begun; locks and keys for sixteen new cases were bought in 1450.<sup>74</sup>

Pembroke, founded in 1346, received 10 books from the first master, William Styband. In the course of the fourteenth and fif-

<sup>73</sup> M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Peterhouse* (Cambridge, England, 1899).

<sup>74</sup> Savage, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-64.

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teenth centuries 140 volumes were presented by various donors.<sup>75</sup> The books, arranged by date of accession, reflect the controversies of the Dominicans versus the Franciscans and of the followers of Aquinas and Duns Scotus. Two solitary classical authors appear besides Aristotle—Ovid and Seneca. A library was built in 1452.

The founder of Trinity Hall, Bishop William Bateman of Norwich, presented the college with 70 volumes of civil and canon law and theology (1350); his foundation was established "ad cultus Divini ac Scientiae canonicae et civilis universitatisque Cantabrigiae augmentum," and his books are in keeping with his purpose.<sup>76</sup> Henry VI planned to establish five libraries at King's and Eton colleges, and in 1445 sent Richard Chester abroad to search for books. By 1452 King's had about 175 books, including some classical literature—Aristotle, Plato, Cicero, Seneca, Sallust, Ovid, Caesar, Plutarch—and also a volume of Poggio Bracciolini. The only volume now extant belonged to Duke Humphrey, and it is possible that these two colleges received some of the books promised to Oxford after Gloucester's death. A catalogue of St. Catherine's College in 1475, two years after its foundation, lists 104 volumes, 85 of which were given by the founder, Dr. Robert Wodelarke.<sup>77</sup> Included among them were Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. Queen's College, founded in 1448, had 224 volumes within twenty-five years, as a catalogue made in 1472 shows.<sup>78</sup> The books were arranged by subjects in fourteen stalls. Almost the entire collection is made up of theology and philosophy (including such fourteenth-century English writers as Bradwardine and Holcot) and civil and canon law. At Cambridge, as at Oxford, the arrival of Cromwell's commissioners marks the end of the medieval age, and too often the disappearance of the medieval libraries as well.

<sup>75</sup> G. E. Corrie, "A List of Books Presented to Pembroke College by Different Donors during the XIV and XV Centuries," *Communications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, II (1864), 11 ff.

<sup>76</sup> Catalogue edited by G. E. Corrie, *Communications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, III (1865), 73-78.

<sup>77</sup> Savage, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

<sup>78</sup> W. G. Searle, "Catalogue of the Library in Queens College in 1472," *Communications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, II (1864), 165-81.

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From the thirteenth century on, we have scattered notices of private book-owners and collectors, conspicuous among them the kings of England. In the period under Edward II (who once borrowed a book from Canterbury cathedral library and did not return it),<sup>79</sup> Bishop Stapledon's *Exchequer Inventory* mentions some books among the royal possessions: "a book, bound in red leather, *De regimine regum*," a "small book on the *Rule of the Knights Templar*," a "stitched book *De vita Sancti Patricii*," and "a stitched book, in a tongue unknown to the English, which begins thus 'Edmygaw donit duyrmýd dinas.' " Other Welsh books are mentioned, all "very foreign to the English tongue." The last entry in this list is the *Chronica* of Roderick de Ximenez, archbishop of Toledo, "bound in green leather."

Edward III, though his education had been supervised by Richard de Bury, was always a man of action without literary interests. Nor has the half-insane Richard II any place in library history. Not until the beginning of the fifteenth century are the English kings again bookmen. Henry IV enjoyed the society of literary men. He befriended Gower and Chaucer in their old age and granted a pension to Hoccleve. He invited to his court the French poetess and historian, Christine de Pisan.<sup>80</sup> He spoke and understood French as if it were his native language. His correspondence was usually in Latin, but occasionally French and Spanish were used in his private letters.<sup>81</sup> While an exile in Paris, he had followed closely the teaching at the university and was accounted an able judge in theology and moral philosophy. As might be expected, his confessors were chosen for their intellectual attainments. On the list of special benefactors to the university library at Oxford his name stands first. He allowed to enter, free of duty, ten barrels of books sent by Cardinal Easton from abroad to his old cathedral of Norwich.<sup>82</sup> In August, 1406, while visiting Bardney Abbey, Henry IV, after transacting business of state, spent some time in the library, where he "read in divers books according to his will and good pleasure," as one of the brethren

<sup>79</sup> *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, VIII, 127.

<sup>80</sup> J. H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry the Fourth*, I, 200.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 388-90.

<sup>82</sup> Gasquet, *op. cit.*, p. 35.



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noted on the flyleaf of the *Miracles of St. Oswald* belonging to the abbey.<sup>83</sup> He gave his sons the best education the times could afford: the eldest, as Henry V, became known as a learned king; John, Duke of Bedford, purchased in France the library of Charles V; while the most famous of all, Humphrey of Gloucester, a bibliophile, has already been discussed.

Henry V inherited his father's interest in books and learning. It was said that from boyhood he "joyed to read in books of antiquity and such like matters of sadness."<sup>84</sup> He "borrowed chronicles, studied ancient histories, looked into decretals, disported himself at night within his chamber, reading books on hunting or goodly tales." In 1395, when he was nine years old, a roll containing 7 books of grammar was bought for him in London for 4 shillings. To him Hoccleve dedicated his version of the *De regimine principum* of Aegidius; he inspired Lydgate to write his *Life of Our Lady* and to translate the *Troy Book* of Guido of Colonna. A still extant copy of Chaucer's *Troilus*, written on vellum for him, bears his arms as Prince of Wales. In 1419 there were delivered to his treasury 5 volumes: a Bible, a *Book of Chronicles*, *De conceptione beatae Mariae*, a compendium of theology, and a copy of the *Libellus de emendatione vitae*.<sup>85</sup> The next year these books were transferred to the monastery at Sheen, founded in 1415 under royal patronage. For the monks of Charterhouse books were bought from the brethren at Mount Grace in the North Riding of Yorkshire, funds being paid from the exchequer for this purpose.<sup>86</sup>

Henry's propensity for "borrowing" books is recorded in a petition made after his death by the Countess of Westmoreland to Duke Humphrey, asking the return of a volume of *Chronicles of Jerusalem* which the king, his brother, had borrowed and never restored. At about the same time the prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, requested the monks of Sheen to deliver a volume of Gregory which had been left to the Charterhouse by the will of Henry V, though it had already been bequeathed to Christ Church by Archbishop

<sup>83</sup> Wylie, *op. cit.*, III, 360.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 333.

<sup>85</sup> E. Edwards, *Libraries and Founders of Libraries*, p. 146.

<sup>86</sup> J. H. Wylie, *The Reign of Henry the Fifth*, I, 216.

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Arundel at his death ten years previously. This book had been borrowed from one of Arundel's executors, by the king, who kept it and later disposed of it as his own.<sup>87</sup>

Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, the youngest son of Henry IV and thus brother of Henry V, was the greatest of English bibliophiles before the invention of printing.<sup>88</sup> His life (*ca.* 1390–1447) fell in the midst of that transitional age when medieval cultural patterns were passing away and those of the new civilization were emerging. An educated man of keen mind and sensitive nature, he took an active part in the domestic and foreign politics of England, with interests extending from Wales to Rome. His strongest support came from the middle class of the English cities, particularly of London, with whom he always remained on good terms, for he exhibited no sympathy for the turbulent feudality of the time except as it served his own schemes. This close tie with the common people, his avarice, his moral divagations, his scientific warfare, his emphasis on political maneuvering rather than upon brute force, and his great love of learning—all suggest an Italian prince of the early renaissance rather than an English noble of the Hundred Years' War. Indeed, a final touch is given to this impression by the suspicion of many historians that he died by poison in a plot engineered by his uncle Beaufort, the excellent cardinal.

During his hectic life Humphrey led English scholarship. He not only became a zealous student and collector himself but likewise became a bountiful patron of English and of Italian scholars. It is difficult to determine exactly what circumstances formed Humphrey's literary tastes. From his interests one might infer that he had been educated at Balliol. The literary tastes of his father and brother did not extend beyond the usual medieval interests. Beaufort had brought Poggio to England, but himself seems to have exhibited small liking for classical scholarship; and there is no proof that Pog-

<sup>87</sup> Gasquet, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–8.

<sup>88</sup> P. S. Allen, *The Age of Erasmus*, pp. 121–23; *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, I and III, *passim*; *Dictionary of National Biography*; W. D. Macray, *op. cit.*, pp. 6–14; J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, II, 220–21; K. H. Vickers, *Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester* (London, 1907); J. H. Wylie, *The Reign of Henry the Fifth*, *passim*.

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gio ever met Humphrey. Bedford was a collector of decorated manuscripts and French translations, but one must look elsewhere for the classical interest of Humphrey.

The main current of the Italian renaissance possibly reached him through his acquaintance with Zano Castiglione, bishop of Bayeux, an expatriated Italian. Zano had come to England on official business and there met Duke Humphrey. There survives today a codex of Cicero's *Letters* which was a gift from Castiglione to Gloucester. In 1434 Zano went to the Council of Basel as a representative of Henry VI, carrying with him a commission from Humphrey to purchase as many books as he could, particularly those of Guarino and of Bruni. Of this commission we hear nothing further. At Basel, however, Zano met Francesco Piccolpasso, the archbishop of Milan. It was probably through this connection that Castiglione was able to send a copy of Bruni's translation of the *Ethics* of Aristotle to the duke. The latter's interest was immediately aroused, and he wrote Bruni suggesting a translation of the *Politics*. In due time the Italian performed the work and at first dedicated it to the duke; but immediately afterward, perhaps in hope of greater financial return, he rededicated it to Pope Eugenius IV. Humphrey had the book and Eugenius the dedication, but Leonardo lost any further chance of patronage from Gloucester.

Another Italian succeeded him in the latter's favor. The Milanese Humanist, Piero Candido Decembrio, insinuated himself into Gloucester's notice through the medium of Rolando Talenti, a young noble of Milan, at that time settled at Bayeux. Candido suggested the translation of the *Republic* of Plato as a task fitting his genius. The commission was granted, and in addition Candido became the duke's literary agent in Italy. It is perhaps worthy of note that Humphrey did not order books indiscriminately but sent lists of desiderata, one of which mentioned Celsus, Pliny's *Natural History*, the *Panegyric* of the younger Pliny, Apuleius, and Varro. We know that in May, 1442, a package of books was sent through the Borromei merchants to Humphrey, among which was the translation of the *Republic*. Ultimately Candido quarreled with Gloucester over

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the recompense he was receiving for his labor. Of the outcome of the quarrel we have no knowledge.

Through Zano, also, Humphrey entered into correspondence with Lapo da Castiglioncho, a pupil of Filelfo. Lapo dedicated to him various translations and his own treatise on the *Comparatio studiorum et rei militaris*. Quite independent of patronage, however, was the Venetian scholar Piero del Monte, who was papal collector in England from 1434 to 1439, and who dedicated to Humphrey a moral treatise. In addition to his correspondence with Humanists abroad, Humphrey also brought some to England, including Vincent Clement, Maufurney, Giovanni dei Signorelli, Antonio di Beccaria, and Titus Livius Forjuliensis. The last, the author of the *Vita Henrici Quinti*, became a naturalized Englishman in 1437, through the influence of his patron.

The Duke of Gloucester did not patronize foreign scholars alone; there are ample proofs of his favor to learned Englishmen, whether writers in the vernacular or in Latin. Thus he was associated with Whethamsted, abbot of St. Albans, in literary affairs as well as in political. A copy of the abbot's *Granarium* appears among the duke's gifts to Oxford. From time to time entries appear on the St. Albans rolls of books given by Humphrey. He also patronized Capgrave and probably inspired his *Chronicles of England*. Nicholas Upton dedicated his *De studio militari* to Gloucester. Lydgate was commissioned by him to translate Boccaccio's *De casibus* from the French of Laurent de Premierfait into English verse. It may also be mentioned at this point that the Earl of Warwick presented Humphrey with a copy of the *Decameron* in a French version. Humphrey also had made for himself a translation of the *De re rustica* of Palladius into English verse, but attribution of this work to Lydgate is apparently no longer tenable.

Of other sources for Humphrey's library nothing is recorded. There is a possibility that he acquired books during his campaigns in France, and again during his effort to secure the possessions of Jacqueline in Hainault. Again, the collection of Bedford may have contributed some items to the total; but here definite information is lacking, and the brothers were not on good terms during the last

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years of Bedford's life. The fate of Humphrey's collection is better recorded than that of most private libraries, for, as has already been told, he gave most of them to Oxford. But of what happened to the few manuscripts which remained in his possession after his gifts to the university one can only hazard a guess. Some may have fallen into the possession of the king, Henry VI, and through him eventually may have found their way to the libraries at Cambridge. Those which had been purloined by other members of the Beaufort faction, after the death of Humphrey no doubt had all traces of ownership removed, so that their identification today is practically impossible.

Henry VI, the benefactor of Eton and King's colleges, Cambridge, was a lover and collector of books; but nothing is known of his library except that in 1426 an *Egesippus* and a *Liber de observantia papae* were borrowed from the royal library in the treasury by Cardinal Beaufort, and there are subsequent notices of the return and reissue of the same books to the same borrower. A manuscript labeled *Hegesippus de bello Judaico* is still in the Royal Library. As it is probably in an eleventh-century hand, it may be one of the volumes referred to.<sup>89</sup>

The last royal bibliophile and patron of letters to be discussed, Edward IV, probably received his inspiration as a collector of books during his exile in Bruges (1470-71), when he was the guest of the Seigneur de la Gruthuyse and became acquainted with the latter's magnificent manuscripts. But Edward, while still Earl of March, had owned at least one decorated codex of medical treatises and a version of the *Liber de secretis secretorum* falsely attributed to Aristotle, glossed in part from Roger Bacon's commentary.<sup>90</sup> Before his return to England to attempt the recovery of his throne, Edward probably ordered some manuscripts copied, and in later times many beautiful books were written and illuminated at Bruges at his direction. One of the finest of these is part of a *Bible historiale* written by Jehan de Ries, on 439 pages of vellum, with 11 beautifully painted full-page miniatures and nearly 70 smaller ones. It was bought by Edward in 1479, when at least three other manuscripts were exe-

<sup>89</sup> Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

<sup>90</sup> C. L. Scofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth*, II, 451-52.

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cuted for him—*La grand hystoire Cesar, Le Sommaire de tous les empereurs que regnerent apres Julle Cesar*, and a French translation of Valerius Maximius.<sup>91</sup> Another work which he owned is a portion of Waurin's *Chronicle*, the second part of which has 28 miniatures, one of Edward wearing the Golden Fleece and seated on a throne, while the author, in clerk's dress, kneels, offering him the book. His books were on various subjects, mostly for "entertainment and edification" rather than serious study. Among them were the *Decameron*, *De casibus illustrium virorum*, and *Recueil des histoires de Troie*. Wardrobe accounts of 1480 mention *La Forteresse de Foy*, the *Bible historique*, Froissart, Josephus, Livy, the *Government of Kings and Princes* (probably a French version of Aegidius), and some service books.<sup>92</sup> Similar records mention other titles in connection with "the coveryng and garnyshyng of the Bookes of oure saide Souverain Lorde the Kinge" by the royal binder, Piers Bauduyn. Among these were a Froissart, the binding of which cost 20 shillings, and a *Bible historique* (now marked "19 D.ii" in the Royal Library), bound and ornamented for the same sum. On its flyleaf is an inscription recording its purchase for 100 marks by William de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, after the Battle of Poitiers in 1356. It had been taken as loot from the baggage of King John II of France.

When the king went from London to Eltham Palace, his books went with him; and some were put into "divers cofyns of fyrrer" and others into his carriage. They were bound in "figured cramoisie velvet with rich laces and tassels, with buttons of silk and gold and with clasps bearing the king's arms." The only reference to books in the will of Edward IV is to those in "oure chapell," which he bequeathed to the queen, excepting the volumes "we shall hereafter dispose to goo to oure saide Collage of Wyndesore." He probably had Hardyng's and Capgrave's *Chronicles*, which had been dedicated to him, and an unknown author's work, *The Boke of Noblesse*, revised by William of Worcester, urging him to renew the wars in France. At least one printed book, the *History of Godfrey of Boulogne*, seems to have been in his library. Edward's interest in Caxton appears to

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 453.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 455-57.

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have begun as soon as the Westminster Press was installed.<sup>92a</sup> The first product of the press, *A Boke of the Hoole Lyfe of Jason*, was presented to the Prince of Wales, "to the intent that he may begin to learn to read English." In 1479 Edward ordered the payment of £20 to Caxton for some service; in 1481 Caxton's translation of *The Book of Tulle of Old Age* was dedicated to the king.

The reign of Edward IV was an active period of writing in the fields of religion, law, and history, while legal and constitutional works of value were composed by Sir John Fortescue and Sir Thomas Lyttleton. This was a period, also, when English students were traveling to Italy. Notable among these were: William Gray, bishop of Ely, whose bequest to Balliol has been mentioned above; John Gunthorp; John Free; John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester; John Shirwood; and William Selling of Christ Church, all of whom are significant figures in the early English renaissance and the revival of Greek studies in England.

Fourteenth-century wills tell us of small collections of books, chiefly Bibles, service books, decretals, the *Digest*, a chronicle or two, legends, and the like. Sixty testators whose wills are recorded in Bishop Stafford's register at Exeter, covering the years 1395-1419, possessed a total of 138 books. Omitting the church and service books, the dean, two archdeacons, canons, rectors, vicars, and laymen had an average of one book apiece.<sup>93</sup> From the end of the fourteenth century on, private libraries increased both in size and in variety. To this period belongs Chaucer, who if his own statement in the *Legends of Good Women* is to be taken literally, owned 60 books—a library which would rival some of those in the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. Whether he actually possessed so many or not, he was undoubtedly a book-lover and must have owned some of the authors whom he esteemed so highly—Dante, Boccaccio, Petrarch, Vergil, Seneca, Boethius, Guido of Colonna, Statius, and his favorite poet, Ovid.

The Paston family of Norfolk County had some regard for books, a taste perhaps stimulated by their friend and patron Sir John

<sup>92a</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 455-57.

<sup>93</sup> Savage, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

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Fastolf, whose library at Caister Castle (*ca.* 1450) may be considered as a fair example of a rich man's library of the period.<sup>94</sup> Sir John's collection of about 20 books in French included the Bible, Livy, "a book of Julius Caesar," chronicles of England and France, the *Institutes*, *Liber etiques*, the *Romaunce de la rose*, *Usages de l'arte de chevalerie*, *Brute* (in rhyme), *Vice and Vertues*, *Les Propretez des choses* by Barth Glanville, and a few others, in addition to service books. All these seem to have disappeared after his death. The Pastons themselves had what must have been more than the ordinary degree of education for their times. They could all read and write; and the men, at least, had some knowledge of Latin.<sup>95</sup> Some members of the family knew French also. For at least two generations the sons had received a university education at Oxford or Cambridge.

Letters of the Pastons occasionally refer to books kept in chests. Individual ownership of books is sometimes mentioned: for example, Anne Paston had a copy of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* of her own; Walter Paston, *The Book of the Seven Sages*; and John, a book containing *The Meeting of the Duke and the Emperor*.<sup>96</sup> But Sir John, the elder brother, was the chief bibliophile of the family. On the death of Sir James Gloys, who had been the family chaplain, he made every effort to secure the latter's library and was greatly disappointed that the books had been claimed by others before he could obtain them. He hired professional scribes and illuminators to work for him, as the interesting account of a certain William Ebesham shows. Among the books which this William copied for the Pastons was a "little book of physic," at 20 pence. There was also a "Great Book," containing the *Coronation and the Duties of Knighthood*, *Treatise on War*, a discourse *On Wisdom*, and the *Rules of Chivalry*. The last was the *De regimine principum* of Hoccleve. William had copied and rubricated the whole book, but his charge was only 31s. 1d. This volume is now in the British Museum.<sup>97</sup>

The list of the Paston books indicates the literary tastes of the family.<sup>98</sup> Of romances: *The Death of Arthur*, *Guy of Warwick*, *Rich-*

<sup>94</sup> H. S. Bennett, *The Pastons and Their England* (Cambridge, 1922), p. 111.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 112.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 113.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, Appen. I, pp. 262-63.



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*ard Cœur de Lion, The Meeting of the Duke and the Emperor, The Book of the Seven Sages, The Grene Knight, and Palatyse and Scitacus.* They had also the *Parliament of Birds, Troilus, and the Legend of Ladies* by Chaucer; *The Siege of Thebes* and *The Temple of Glass* by Lydgate; several ballads; two French books; a number of religious and didactic works; some chronicles and books of heraldry; and a few classics: *De senectute, De amicitia, De sapientia, De arte amandi*, and one or two others. Of printed books they had *The Game and Play of Chess*, the second edition of which Caxton printed at Westminster, but not before 1480. Some other printed books are mentioned in the letters.

It has been shown that Italian Humanism found its personification in England in the patronage of letters and in the almost Florentine passion for book-collecting of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester. But his interests were within the Latin renaissance. The introduction of Hellenism into England had to wait for another generation. The movement started by Grosseteste and fostered by Roger Bacon in the thirteenth century had failed to develop. It was too premature to be successful. The fourteenth-century bibliophiles knew no Greek. There is no reason to suppose that Richard de Bury's lost catalogue included any Greek classics. The only indication of any interest in that language in the fourteenth century is a paper manuscript of that time now in the Bodleian. Its selections from Sophocles, Euripides, Theocritus, Hesiod, and Pindar are the first concrete evidence of the presence of any classical Greek poetry in England since the time of Theodore of Tarsus, but there is no proof that the William Wyrcester who owned this manuscript could read it.

Evidences of contact between England and the early Italian renaissance are also rare.<sup>99</sup> De Bury met Petrarch at Avignon in 1330. Chaucer visited Italy three times in 1372-78. In 1395 an Augustinian monk, Thomas of England, lectured in Florence and bought books

<sup>99</sup> Of the literature on these subjects, see especially I. Bywater, *Four Centuries of Greek Learning in England* (Oxford, 1919); L. D. Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England* (New York, 1902); M. R. James, "Greek Manuscripts in England before the Renaissance," *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, VII (1927), 337-53; T. M. Lindsay, "Englishmen and the Classical Renaissance," *Cambridge History of English Literature*, III, 1-24; Sandys, *op. cit.*, II, 219-50; G. R. Stephen, *The Knowledge of Greek in England in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1933).

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of "modern" authors there. But before the middle of the fifteenth century, library intercourse between the two countries was becoming frequent—Italians were visiting England, and Englishmen were traveling in Italy and collecting books there. Two of the most distinguished Italians who came to England were Poggio Bracciolini and Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini. Englishmen in Italy were chiefly engaged in collecting books at Florence and visiting Guarino's school at Ferrara. Andrew Hollis bought so many volumes from Vespasiano da Bicci that he had to send them home by sea instead of overland. Their final fate is unknown. Bishop Grey of Ely acquired over 200 manuscripts in Italy, and 152 are still in Balliol College Library. Gunthorpe, dean of Wells, left his books of Italian origin to Jesus College, but few are extant. Flemming, dean of Lincoln, left his to Lincoln College. Every one of these collectors was primarily interested in Latin works; all but Flemming were of Balliol and churchmen. John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, was also a customer of Vespasiano; and Duke Humphrey was almost an Italian prince in his patronage of humanistic literature. Yet all these early English scholars accomplished little except to leave books for later students to use. No real enthusiasm for scholarship was aroused until men like Grocyn, Linacre, and Latimer really taught Greek instead of merely collecting manuscripts.

Bishop Shirwood of Durham was said to be learned in Greek, but apparently there is no trace of Greek manuscripts in his collection.<sup>100</sup> He had bought his books at Rome between 1475 and 1500, and those in Latin became the nucleus of the Corpus Christi library at Oxford. Thirty are still extant. Cicero was the favorite author, but history and poetry were also well represented. In 1464-67 two Benedictines, William Tilley of Selling and William Hadley, were also in Italy, buying books. In 1469 Selling was there again; and in 1485-86 he made a third visit, this time in the company of Linacre. He brought many Greek and Latin books back to Canterbury and made it the first center of Greek learning in the Renaissance. He was prior of Christ Church from 1472 to 1494, the last great man connected with

<sup>100</sup> P. S. Allen, "Bishop Shirwood of Durham and His Library," *English Historical Review*, XXV (1910), 445-56.

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*ard Cœur de Lion, The Meeting of the Duke and the Emperor, The Book of the Seven Sages, The Grene Knight, and Palatysse and Scitacus.* They had also the *Parliament of Birds, Troilus, and the Legend of Ladies* by Chaucer; *The Siege of Thebes* and *The Temple of Glass* by Lydgate; several ballads; two French books; a number of religious and didactic works; some chronicles and books of heraldry; and a few classics: *De senectute, De amicitia, De sapientia, De arte amandi,* and one or two others. Of printed books they had *The Game and Play of Chess*, the second edition of which Caxton printed at Westminster, but not before 1480. Some other printed books are mentioned in the letters.

It has been shown that Italian Humanism found its personification in England in the patronage of letters and in the almost Florentine passion for book-collecting of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester. But his interests were within the Latin renaissance. The introduction of Hellenism into England had to wait for another generation. The movement started by Grosseteste and fostered by Roger Bacon in the thirteenth century had failed to develop. It was too premature to be successful. The fourteenth-century bibliophiles knew no Greek. There is no reason to suppose that Richard de Bury's lost catalogue included any Greek classics. The only indication of any interest in that language in the fourteenth century is a paper manuscript of that time now in the Bodleian. Its selections from Sophocles, Euripides, Theocritus, Hesiod, and Pindar are the first concrete evidence of the presence of any classical Greek poetry in England since the time of Theodore of Tarsus, but there is no proof that the William Wyrcester who owned this manuscript could read it.

Evidences of contact between England and the early Italian renaissance are also rare.<sup>99</sup> De Bury met Petrarch at Avignon in 1330. Chaucer visited Italy three times in 1372-78. In 1395 an Augustinian monk, Thomas of England, lectured in Florence and bought books

<sup>99</sup> Of the literature on these subjects, see especially I. Bywater, *Four Centuries of Greek Learning in England* (Oxford, 1919); L. D. Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England* (New York, 1902); M. R. James, "Greek Manuscripts in England before the Renaissance," *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, VII (1927), 337-53; T. M. Lindsay, "Englishmen and the Classical Renaissance," *Cambridge History of English Literature*, III, 1-24; Sandys, *op. cit.*, II, 219-50; G. R. Stephen, *The Knowledge of Greek in England in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1933).

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of "modern" authors there. But before the middle of the fifteenth century, library intercourse between the two countries was becoming frequent—Italians were visiting England, and Englishmen were traveling in Italy and collecting books there. Two of the most distinguished Italians who came to England were Poggio Bracciolini and Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini. Englishmen in Italy were chiefly engaged in collecting books at Florence and visiting Guarino's school at Ferrara. Andrew Hollis bought so many volumes from Vespasiano da Bicci that he had to send them home by sea instead of overland. Their final fate is unknown. Bishop Grey of Ely acquired over 200 manuscripts in Italy, and 152 are still in Balliol College Library. Gunthorpe, dean of Wells, left his books of Italian origin to Jesus College, but few are extant. Flemming, dean of Lincoln, left his to Lincoln College. Every one of these collectors was primarily interested in Latin works; all but Flemming were of Balliol and churchmen. John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, was also a customer of Vespasiano; and Duke Humphrey was almost an Italian prince in his patronage of humanistic literature. Yet all these early English scholars accomplished little except to leave books for later students to use. No real enthusiasm for scholarship was aroused until men like Grocyn, Linacre, and Latimer really taught Greek instead of merely collecting manuscripts.

Bishop Shirwood of Durham was said to be learned in Greek, but apparently there is no trace of Greek manuscripts in his collection.<sup>100</sup> He had bought his books at Rome between 1475 and 1500, and those in Latin became the nucleus of the Corpus Christi library at Oxford. Thirty are still extant. Cicero was the favorite author, but history and poetry were also well represented. In 1464-67 two Benedictines, William Tilley of Selling and William Hadley, were also in Italy, buying books. In 1469 Selling was there again; and in 1485-86 he made a third visit, this time in the company of Linacre. He brought many Greek and Latin books back to Canterbury and made it the first center of Greek learning in the Renaissance. He was prior of Christ Church from 1472 to 1494, the last great man connected with

<sup>100</sup> P. S. Allen, "Bishop Shirwood of Durham and His Library," *English Historical Review*, XXV (1910), 445-56.

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Christ Church—a scholar, a book-collector, and a patron of promising students. No list of Selling's books is known, but contemporaries held his collection in great esteem. It was said, probably mistakenly, to include Cicero's *De republica*. Selling perhaps intended to leave his books to the monastic library; but long after his death they were still in the prior's lodging, and in 1537 drunken servants of Layton, the royal commissioner, started a fire from which few volumes survived. Only 5 manuscripts are now known from Selling's collection: a Greek Psalter, Hebrew-Latin Psalms, Euripides, Livy, and a magnificent Homer—all at Cambridge. This is the first Homer in England since the time of Theodore of Tarsus.

In the meantime Greeks, as well as Italians, had been visiting England, some on diplomatic missions, others possibly for humanistic activities. Nicholas of St. Albans has already been mentioned. Manuel Paleologus came in 1400, Chrysoloras in 1405-6, and Hieronymus of Sparta in 1475; but the last was not well received and soon went away. From 1493 to 1500 John Serbopoulos, a Greek from Constantinople, worked at Reading. Two orations of Isocrates transcribed by him are now in New College, Oxford, and other Greek manuscripts from his pen are in Corpus Christi College, Oxford.<sup>101</sup> From 1455 to 1456, just when the Humanists Tiptoft, Hollis, Grey, and Waynflete were all on the Council of Regency, four Greeks in England received money from the crown. Little is known of Demetrius Paleologus and Manuel Chrysoloras, and John Argyropoulos certainly did not remain long in the country; but the fourth, Manuel of Constantinople, received 10 marks from Bishop Waynflete of Winchester at the time the latter was founding Magdalen College at Oxford and was known to be providing for the study of Greek in several other institutions. H. L. Gray therefore conjectures that these Greeks were in England seeking not charity but literary patrons, and that Manuel, in particular, may have been employed by Waynflete to teach Greek in the new college.<sup>102</sup> In this case he would be the first teacher of Greek in fifteenth-century Eng-

<sup>101</sup> J. W. Bradley, *Dictionary of Miniaturists*, III, 224.

<sup>102</sup> H. L. Gray, "Greek Visitors to England in 1455-56," *Anniversary Essays . . . Charles Homer Haskins* (Boston, 1929), pp. 81-116.

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land, antedating even Selling. Moreover, Manuel was undoubtedly the first Greek copyist in the country at this time: 9 or 10 codices now in English libraries are in the same hand as a Demosthenes at Leyden signed by Emmanuel of Constantinople.<sup>103</sup> The Demosthenes was written for Neville, archbishop of York and chancellor of Oxford; others once belonged to Grocyn; and some may have been Selling's. Both Grocyn and Selling were at Oxford after 1456, and possibly Manuel was their teacher there. If so, Humanism was not entirely dead between 1447, the date of Humphrey's death, and 1486, the final return of Selling from Italy, as is sometimes stated.

The first person actually known, beyond any doubt, to have taught Greek at Oxford was William Grocyn, who died in 1519. Linacre, his executor, drew up a list of books in 1520.<sup>104</sup> There were 17 manuscripts and 105 printed books. Thus, his activity clearly lies beyond the scope of the manuscript period.

<sup>103</sup> Among these are: The *Leicester Gospels*, Aristotle, and Plato at Durham; a Psalter at Trinity; a Suidas in the British Museum and one at Oxford.

<sup>104</sup> M. Burrows, "Linacre's Catalogue of Books Belonging to William Grocyn in 1520 . . .," Oxford Historical Society, *Collectanea*, 2d ser., 1890, pp. 317-80.

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## CHAPTER XIV

### French Libraries in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

By GENEVA DRINKWATER

OUR knowledge of French libraries in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is limited almost entirely to princely collections. Many cathedral and monastic libraries were destroyed by the ravages of the Hundred Years' War. Even if we had more information about them, it probably would be negative, for monasteries throughout Europe in this age were sinking into decay, interested neither in taking care of the books they had nor in increasing their number. Moreover, it was less literary than aesthetic interest that impelled French kings and French and Flemish nobles to collect books. In the fourteenth century the influence of the Italian renaissance reached France, and book-collectors there conceived a passion for acquiring illuminated and exquisitely decorated volumes.

It is also significant that the period is marked by a prevalence of vernacular books in these collections. Except in theology and science, Latin as a literary language was waning. Even history inclines to the vernacular. Thus, an early fourteenth-century catalogue of a layman's library, that of the Château de la Ferté in Poitou, lists 46 works, of which 5 or 6 were in Latin, the rest in the vernacular, books of edification or romance.<sup>1</sup> Two items in this catalogue are of interest. One of them informs us that a certain Mesire Jean de Pequigni had borrowed a "livre de trésor" (probably Brunetto Latini's work

<sup>1</sup> C. de Beaurepaire, "Bibliothèque du Château de la Ferté en Poitou au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, III (1852), 559-62.

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of that name) from the library and had not returned it. The other relates that Midemisele de la Ferté had borrowed a French *Life of St. Martin* and the *Secretum secretorum*. This is cited by the Latin title, but the text may have been a French translation, for it was rendered into the vernacular before 1300 by Geoffrey of Waterford, an Irish Dominican.<sup>2</sup>

A survey of these princely libraries may well begin by an enumeration of the collections of the successive monarchs. Philip the Fair (1285-1314) left a dozen manuscripts, among them *Roman du reclus*, *Tournoiement de l'antichrist*, *Traité des échecs*, and two chronicles. The Bibliothèque nationale has today a Latin translation of the Arabic story of Kalilah and Dimna, which was offered by the author, Raimond de Béziers, to Philip in 1313.<sup>3</sup> There is also in the same library a Bible which once belonged to him.<sup>4</sup>

Louis X (1314-16) seems to have had about 35 volumes, practically all in French.<sup>5</sup> Clemence of Hungary, his second wife, possessed a richer library than her husband. His collection consists of graduals, notebooks about the relics, the crown, St. Louis, etc. In the queen's library there were 18 volumes of church books in Latin and 21 in French. These latter included the moral fables of Ovid, the Ten Commandments, the *Institutes*, the *Code*, collections of songs, a Bible, the *Romance of the Rose*, and a small book in English and French.<sup>6</sup>

The Bibliothèque nationale has a compilation of the life of St. Denis and the history of the kings of France in French offered in 1317 to Philip V (1314-22) by Gilles de Pontoise, abbé of St. Denis.<sup>7</sup> We have also an inventory of part of his books made in 1316, beginning with an *Epistolier glose* and ending with a book on the Ten Commandments, a gift of the queen.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>2</sup> L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York, 1924), II, 276.

<sup>3</sup> M. Prou, *Manuel de paléographie* (Paris, 1924), p. 222.

<sup>4</sup> L. Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V* (Paris, 1907), I, 179.

<sup>5</sup> T. Gottlieb, *Ueber mittelalterliche Bibliotheken* (Leipzig, 1890), Nos. 320, 321.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 277.

<sup>7</sup> L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale* (1868-81), I, 12.

<sup>8</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 375.



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Jeanne d'Evreux was the third wife of Charles the Fair (1322-28), whom she married in 1326. There is no record of her husband's books; but she had a library<sup>9</sup> of some importance, including most of the French books that had belonged to Clemence of Hungary. Several volumes bearing her coat-of-arms were in the library of Charles V.<sup>10</sup> Most of her collection was religious, but a dedication copy of *Le Livre royal* was given her by its author, Jean de Chavenges. It is now in the museum at Chantilly,<sup>11</sup> as is her breviary, a small volume, beautifully illuminated.

Philip VI (1328-50) does not seem to have had literary tastes; but both of his wives—Jeanne of Burgundy and Blanche of Navarre—collected books. Jean du Vignai translated the Epistles and Gospels for the former and also Vincent of Beauvais's *Miroir historical*,<sup>12</sup> of which her copy is now at Leyden. Blanche of Navarre possessed, among other precious books, a *Psalter of St. Louis*, which likewise is preserved at Leyden.

The great collection of the Bibliothèque nationale owes its beginning to John II (1350-64). While still Duke of Normandy (1332-50), he possessed a great breviary in two volumes, a translation of *Echecs moralisés* given to him by Jean de Vignay, and a book of *Moralités* on the Bible in French, which he bought from Thomas Maubeuge, a bookseller of Paris, for 14 gold florins. From Pierre des Essartes he borrowed a romance of the Holy Grail.<sup>13</sup> As king, he encouraged literary enterprises and showed particular taste for beautiful books. We know the names of two of his illuminators—Jean de Montmartre and Jean Susanne. He commissioned Jean de Sy to translate the Bible into French. The work was never finished, but a considerable portion of it may be seen in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris today.<sup>14</sup> It was also King John who commissioned Pierre Bersuire, Petrarch's friend, to make the first French translation of Livy. Many copies of this version appear in catalogues of the period.

When King John was captured by the Black Prince at the Battle

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 309.

<sup>10</sup> Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, I, 49.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 323.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 327.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162.

<sup>14</sup> Fonds français, 15,397.

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of Poitiers in 1356, he had with him a Bible, which became the possession of the English and is today in the British Museum.<sup>15</sup> While a prisoner in England, he had his principal chaplain, Gace, begin a work on hunting, *Roman des oisiseaux* (or *Roman de deduits*), with one exception the oldest hunting and hawking book written on English soil of which we have definite record.<sup>16</sup> John also bought books while he was in England, as his account books show. In 1359 he paid Margerite "la relieeresse" and Jacques, a bookbinder, for a French Bible, a breviary, and a *Roman de Guilon*. In December, 1359, and May, 1360, English book-dealers sold him: a *Roman de Renard*, a Psalter, a *Garin de Loharain*, and *Tournoiement de l'antichrist*.<sup>17</sup>

He also deserves mention in library history as father of the three most eminent collectors of their day: Charles V; John, Duke of Berry; and Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. Bonne of Luxemburg, his first wife, was also a book-lover. The four manuscripts in the library of Charles V which bear the arms of Bohemia were probably hers. One of them is "tres parfaitement belles heures, tres noblement escriptes et enluminees et très richement historiees."<sup>18</sup> An old inventory also shows *Hours*, made for her sons, Philip and John. Isabella, daughter of King John, married in 1360 Gian Galeazzo Visconti, founder of the library at Pavia.

Charles V (1364-80) employed many copyists.<sup>19</sup> Henri de Trevou copied a book of information for kings and princes, part of the *Chronicles of France*, a book of Thomas de Chantimpré, and part of the Bible, translated by Raoul de Presles. Jean l'Avenant was "scriptor librorum regis." Odin de Carvanay wrote for the king and, above all, for Raoulet d'Orléans. Some of his illuminators are also known by name. Jean le Bruges was a court painter, whose work may be seen in the Bible presented to the king in 1372 by Jean de Vaudetar,

<sup>15</sup> British Museum, MS 19 D ii: "Cet livre fust pris oue le roy de France a la bataille de Peyters et le bon counte de Saresbirs William Montague la achata pour cent mars, et la dona a sa compaignie Elizabeth le bone countesse, que dieux assoile. Le quel livre et dite countesse assigne a ses executours de la rendre pur XL livres."

<sup>16</sup> W. F. Baillie-Grohman, "A French King's Hunting Book," *Fortnightly Review*, LXXXI (1904), 789-800.

<sup>17</sup> Delisle, *op. cit.*, I, 331.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>19</sup> A list is given in *ibid.*, pp. 168 ff.

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another royal valet. The manuscript, now at The Hague, so stirred Raoulet d'Orléans, the most celebrated calligrapher of the time, that he inscribed in it:

onques je ne vi en ma vie  
Bible d'ystoires si garnie.

The name of a certain Remiet, illuminator, is found in the records; and we know that Charles V gave a house in Paris to Jean le Noir and Bourgot, his daughter, who had passed from the service of the Countess of Bar to that of John II and of Charles.<sup>20</sup> In the accounts of the Duke of Berry in 1375, Jean le Noir is also named as illuminator to the king and to monsignor the duke.

Miscellaneous items in contemporary records give us further information about the king's library. We find accounts of expenditures—for example, 50 francs in 1377 for parchment “pour escripres une Bible pour nous” and the next year 200 francs to a scribe to buy parchment “pour escrire certaines livres pour nous.” There are numerous orders to pay merchants in Paris for binding materials, to smiths and carpenters for work on the library in the Louvre, and to bookbinders.

Charles had many works translated, and we know of several scholars who were employed for this work.<sup>21</sup> Jean Golein produced vernacular versions of various works of Bernard Gui, the book of information for princes, chronicles, genealogy of the kings of France, and other books; Denis Foulechat, the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury; while Simon de Hesdin began, but finished only the first part of, Valerius Maximus. Jacques Bauchant and Jean Corbechon did similar work, as did Jean Deudin, canon of St. Chapelle, who received 200 francs for translating a “book called Petrarch.” Raoul de Presles was ordered in 1371 to translate the *City of God* into French “pour l'utilite publique du royaume et de toute la Chretienete.” Nicolas Oresme translated most of the important works of Aristotle and *Du ciel et du monde*. Still other translations were made for Charles V by

<sup>20</sup> The document ordering this is published in *ibid.*, p. 365. Delisle has published a volume of 14 facsimiles of books made for Charles V, *Facsimilé de livres copiés et enlumnés pour le roi Charles V* (Nogent-le-Rotrou, 1903).

<sup>21</sup> Delisle, *op. cit.*, I, 185.

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scholars whose names are unknown to us. In addition to having translations made, Charles also collected works which had already been translated. Among these are the letters of Seneca to Lucilius, translated into French by an Italian. The *Lives of the Popes* by Pierre Bohier was dedicated to Charles V; while Jean de Cardailhac, Raoul de Presles, and Christine de Pisan are among the authors who presented their own writings to the king.

The king received as gifts books from the Duke of Berry, the Duke of Anjou, the Duchess of Orléans, the Count of Harcourt, and the King of Castille. Various royal officers and ecclesiastics made gifts to the king's library. One can distinguish in the inventories the manuscripts which had belonged to Charles V as dauphin and those which he acquired after his accession. Some of his books had belonged to other members of the royal house, and the inventories frequently mention the arms of these previous owners. Charles likewise had manuscripts belonging formerly to popes Clement VI and Urban V.

Although the library of Charles V was increased by gifts and to some extent by confiscation, the great majority of his books were bought or copied at his own command. He had books in all the royal residences and, when traveling, carried books in wooden chests made for the purpose. In 1368 his library was placed in the Tour de la Fauconnerie at the Louvre, which was remodeled by Raymond de Temple. It comprised three floors; the walls were paneled with wood from Ireland given to the king by the Senechal of Hainault; and the vault was inlaid with cypress. The windows were covered with trellises or screen, "pour defense des oyseaux et autre bestes." We have no details of the lighting system, the thirty small chandeliers and the silver lamp so often referred to in this connection being provided for another tower of the Louvre and not for the library.

We are fortunate in having many inventories of the royal library under Charles V and Charles VI, which are mines of information about the books. They give book sizes, bindings, tell whether they were closed with a lock or not, provenance, age, the number of columns into which the page was divided, the different inks used, the character of the writing, the number and location of the illumina-

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tions and their colors. The signature of Charles V appears in many of his books.<sup>22</sup> The tri-colored band of blue, white, and orange which is found on a number of the volumes of Charles V is not a distinctive feature of his books; neither does it designate that a volume was made for him or during his reign, as has sometimes been stated. The arms of France, of course, appear on many volumes; and frequently the miniatures on manuscripts show the author or translator presenting the work to the king. But the presence of such a miniature is not proof that the manuscript is the original, for it often appears on copies made for other persons or offered for sale.

The first librarian of the collection in the Louvre was Gilles Malet, who was in charge from 1365 until his death, in 1411. A character sketch of Malet by Christine of Pisan shows us a true bibliophile and a trusted member of the royal household. An inscription in the church of Soisy-sur-Seine calls him knight, seigneur of Villepêcle, counselor, and master of the king's house, chatelain of Pont-Sainte-Maxence, Viscount of Corbeil, and seigneur of Soisy.<sup>23</sup> Charles V, in 1379, had named Mallet an executor of his will; but it was Charles VI who advanced him to the higher honors and even visited his house in Villepêcle. Mallet took great interest in the books, making inventories and records of loans and even presenting 24 books. His first inventory was made in 1373.<sup>24</sup> The books were classed only to the extent that Latin books and works on astronomy and astrology were put in one room. The inventory is arranged in three chapters, one for each of the rooms. The first had 265 volumes, the second 260, and the third 381, making a total of 910 volumes. Subsequent acquisitions of the library were recorded in supplementary chapters. In 1380, after the death of Charles V, an inventory was made by Jean Blanchet at the command of the Duke of Burgundy. It contained all books acquired since 1373, and explained in notes the absence of any items mentioned in the former inventory. The only additions to the library after this inventory of 1380, which are mentioned by

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3, gives a list.

<sup>23</sup> Pinard, "Notice sur une pierre de fondation trouvée dans l'église de Soisy-sur-Etioles," *Revue archéologique*, XIII, 565.

<sup>24</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 359.

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Gilles Malet, are 20 volumes which the Duke of Guienne had placed in the Louvre.<sup>25</sup>

The next librarian was Antoine des Essarts, who served from 1411 to 1412. Garnier de St. Yon was librarian during 1412-13; and an inventory was made by Jean le Begue, Thomas d'Aunoi, and Jean de la Croix in 1413 before Jean Maulin received the post of librarian. Garnier de St. Yon, however, returned in 1418, and in 1424 assisted in the evaluation of the royal collection made by two librarians of the University of Paris after the death of Charles VI. The Duke of Bedford, who bought the Royal Library, retained Garnier de St. Yon in charge until 1429, when, presumably, the books were moved from Paris to Rouen or to England.

An inventory made before the installation of Antoine des Essarts shows that 188 volumes, which were in the inventory of 1373, were not present in 1411.<sup>26</sup> This list showed 726 books from the time of Charles V, 190 added during the reign of Charles VI, and 20 volumes of the Duke of Guienne which were still kept separately—a total of 1,100. The inventory of 1413 contained only 916 volumes.<sup>27</sup> In the short period between the retirement of Garnier de St. Yon and the inauguration of Jean Maulin, 55 volumes were taken from the library of the Louvre, possibly as unrecorded and unreturned loans.

We have records of loans made by Charles V to the Duke of Berry, the Bishop of Beauvais, Philippe de Mezières, and Simon de Hesdin; of books exchanged with Jean de Cardaillac and Raoul de Presles; and of gifts of books to members of his family, to various churches, and to the college of Gervais Chrétien at the University of Paris. At the request of Pierre de Villars, bishop of Troyes, Charles V gave to the Dominicans of Troyes certain jewels and books, their alienation being forbidden by a bull of Gregory XI at Avignon in 1371, copied in each of the volumes.<sup>28</sup> In spite of this precaution the books were dispersed in the sixteenth century under the administration of an ignorant priest. Some of them have been identified at various places, as, for instance, four in the Bibliothèque nationale, two in the communal library of Tours, one in the Jesuit College at Clermont.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 360.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 362.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 361.

<sup>28</sup> The bull is published in Delisle, *ibid.*, Appen. viii.

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Among those who borrowed from the library of Charles V was his brother, the Duke of Anjou, who on one occasion took a manuscript Apocalypse not to read or to have it copied but for an unusual purpose, as is shown by the marginal notation in the inventory of 1380: "The king has lent it to M. d'Anjou for the making of a beautiful tapestry."<sup>29</sup> From the miniatures in the manuscript the painter Jean le Bruges made large cartoons, paid for in 1378. Nicholas Bataille began weaving the tapestry, which was not finished before the middle of the fifteenth century. It may be seen today in the cathedral of Angers; the manuscript from which it was made is in the Bibliothèque nationale.

Louis, Duke of Anjou, received 40 volumes from the royal library on the death of his brother, Charles V. In 1381 he seized 56 quires of Froissart's *Chronicles*, which the author had intended for the king of England. His son, Louis II, was a bibliophile and a liberal patron of the art of illumination; three of his volumes are in Paris.<sup>30</sup>

John, Duke of Berry, like his brother, Charles V, loved beautiful books. With great care and excellent taste he assembled at Mehun-sur-Yèvre a rich library, which, though smaller than the king's, was perhaps more important. Pliny and Terence in Latin, and Ovid and other Latin authors in French, were among his books. Vergil, whose works are conspicuously absent from the library of Charles V, was represented in the Duke of Berry's library by a copy of the *Eclogues*. In this respect it is interesting to compare the libraries of these two French bibliophiles with that given by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, to the University of Oxford in 1439 and 1443, in which Latin prose literature, if not Latin poetry, is much better represented.<sup>31</sup> The Duke of Berry had one Greek book, which the cataloguer describes but does not identify. One is reminded of the frequent comment in medieval inventories: "Graecum est; non legitur."

There were a great many Bibles, Psalters, Books of Hours and similar works in the Duke's library. He owned a ten-volume Bible, the gift of Clement VII; and the Vatican has today the two-volume

<sup>29</sup> C. G. Crump and E. F. Jacob, *The Legacy of the Middle Ages*, p. 138.

<sup>30</sup> J. W. Bradley, *Dictionary of Miniaturists*, I, 51.

<sup>31</sup> A. A. Tilley, *The Literature of the French Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1885), p. 140.

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Bible which he gave to Clement VII. Among the Books of Hours in his library was one belonging to King John II, which the duke received from Louis II of Anjou, as well as what is today the chief treasure of the Condé Museum at Chantilly.<sup>32</sup> A two-volume breviary, which was given by Charles VI to King Richard of England and by the latter's successor, Henry IV, to his uncle, the Duke of Berry, is in the Bibliothèque nationale today. Other books were presented to him by Charles VI directly, by Queen Isabel, Louis of Guienne, Louis of Orléans, Philip the Bold, John the Fearless, the dukes of Burgundy, Louis, Duke of Bavaria, Jean Marie Visconti, the Duke of Milan, and many others. He was frequently honored with gifts of books at New Year; on one such occasion four of his secretaries shared the expense of a book presented to the duke. Many works were dedicated to him and copies offered to him in homage by authors. He employed the most skilled copyists and illuminators of the time and frequently paid huge prices for the volumes he purchased.<sup>33</sup>

He was no less generous than his friends; we have an imposing list of persons to whom he gave books, and his gifts to St. Chapelle at Bourges formed a considerable library. Thus, some of his books were dispersed during his lifetime; most of those he had at his death had to be sold in Paris by his executors to pay his debts. Forty-one of the most beautiful volumes went to his heiress, the Duchess of Bourbonnais, who renounced her claim to the succession in return for them. Four manuscripts were accepted by the Count of Armagnac as settlement of a debt of 390 livres. Others went to the Queen of Sicily and to the Duke of Touraine, later Charles VII. A Book of Hours was given to Jean Gaucher, a keeper of the duke's jewels, for services rendered.

The list of Berry's books made by Delisle<sup>34</sup> contains 297 items, 103 of which he located. Fifty-four of them are in the Bibliothèque

<sup>32</sup> For reproductions see Paul Durrieu, *Les tres-riches Heurs de Jean de France duc de Berry* (Paris, 1922).

<sup>33</sup> Bradley, *op. cit.*, I, 30, gives a list of the copyists and illuminators employed.

<sup>34</sup> *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, II, 223-70. There are several inventories of the books. Göttlieb's No. 303 is the inventory of 1416.



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nationale, 7 in the British Museum, 5 each in the library of the Arsenal in Paris, the Museum at Chantilly, and the Royal Library in Brussels; others are scattered in the communal libraries of Bourges and Lyons, the seminary at Soissons, at Geneva, the University of Turin, the state archives at Turin, the Vatican, and the then royal libraries at Munich and St. Petersburg.

The name of Reynault du Montet, one of the principal booksellers of Paris, appears frequently in the accounts of the Duke of Berry.<sup>35</sup> In the composition of *Le Morte Darthur*, Sir Thomas Malory used a manuscript (now B.N. Fr. 120) which had been purchased by the Duke of Berry from Reynault in 1405. Reynault is also known to have sold romances, including a *Tristan*, in England.<sup>36</sup> He assisted in the inventory and evaluation of books of the Duke of Berry in 1416 after they had been taken to Paris to be sold. Montet also was implicated with the duke's librarian, Pietro da Verona, in 1415, in an accusation of treason.<sup>37</sup> From the testimony at the trial it appears that his crime consisted merely in selling books to the English—to the Bishop of Norwich, for example—and in visiting England for that purpose.

A sheet of paper found in an old binding at the Bibliothèque nationale contains a book-dealer's inventory, probably from Lyons about the time of Louis XII. It lists 96 books for sale and the number of copies of each.<sup>38</sup> Another fifteenth-century catalogue, probably from Tours, lists 238 manuscripts and 29 printed books for sale.<sup>39</sup> All the books are in French and are, for the most part, romances, books of chivalry, and the lives of saints; but a few Latin works are mentioned: the *Commentaries* of Caesar, several essays of

<sup>35</sup> P. Delalain, *Etude sur le librairie parisien du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1891), p. 65. See also J. Guiffrey, *Inventaires de Jean duc de Berry* (Paris, 1894), I, cxlv ff.

<sup>36</sup> E. Vinaver, *Malory* (Oxford, 1929); review by W. A. Nitze, *Modern Philology*, XXVIII, 365.

<sup>37</sup> A. de Champeaux and P. Gauchery, *Les Travaux d'art exécutés pour Jean de France, duc de Berry* (Paris, 1894), pp. 126 ff.

<sup>38</sup> L. Delisle, *Littérature latine et histoire du moyen âge* (Paris, 1890), p. 111.

<sup>39</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 408. This catalogue is published by Achille Chérau, *La Bibliothèque d'un marchand libraire du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1868).

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Cicero, selections from Livy's histories, the *Metamorphoses* and *De arte amandi* of Ovid. The catalogue is disappointingly brief, giving only the titles and no description of the writing, binding, or prices.

Charles VI (1380-1422) did not take great interest in books. There were few books offered to the king by their authors, and little record exists of the work of royal copyists and illuminators. The only notable additions to the library were the books of Jean de Montaigu and of Queen Isabel. There is no separate catalogue of the latter's library, but it can be reconstructed from incidental references. We know that one of her ladies of honor at court served as librarian. Duke Philip the Bold, of Burgundy, gave Isabel a copy of the *Chronicles of France*. Christine of Pisan presented many of her works, which formed a considerable section in the queen's library, apparently second only to books of devotion. One of the volumes Christine gave to the queen is now in the British Museum (Harl. 4431). Her account-books show that she purchased a book from a merchant in Paris, paid small sums to copyists, illuminators, and bookbinders and bought boxes and bags for books. To her daughter Jeanne, Countess of Montfort, she gave a Book of Hours, and to Michelle, another daughter, a primer of the Psalms. Ten of her religious books and romances<sup>40</sup> passed to the Royal Library between 1388 and 1404.

Jean de Montaigu, who enjoyed many favors under both Charles V and Charles VI, was convicted of lese majesty and beheaded in 1409, after which his property was confiscated and his library at the Château of Marcoussis taken to the Louvre. We have record of its delivery into the hands of Gilles Malet on January 7, 1410, by a secretary of the Duke of Guienne, who had received the lands of Montaigu. This constituted an addition of about 20 volumes to the king's library.<sup>41</sup>

Perhaps the most distinguished scholar of the reign of Charles VI was his chancellor, Jean de Montreuil; he was "apparently the first

<sup>40</sup> Valet de Virville, "La Bibliothèque d'Isabeau de Bavière," *Bulletin du bibliophile*, 1858, pp. 663-87.

<sup>41</sup> L. Merlet, "Jean de Montaigu," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 3d ser., III, 248-384.

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Frenchman who derived classical learning from Italy."<sup>42</sup> As ambassador to Rome in 1412 he met Leonardo Bruni, who introduced him to Niccolò Niccoli and to the latter's library in Florence. He knew the Latin writings of Petrarch and Coluccio Salutati and was fired by them with enthusiasm for the classics. While he was in Italy, he secured Latin works then unknown in France: Varro's *De re rustica*, Plautus, and part of Livy. One of his letters tells of manuscripts obtained from Italy and offers them to his friend if he wishes to have them copied.<sup>43</sup> In another letter he writes of emending his copy of Petrarch, and presumably he occupied himself in the same way with his classical texts.<sup>44</sup> A letter to Nicolas de Clémanges criticizes one Ambrose, who preferred Ovid to Vergil.<sup>45</sup>

A general description of the books of Charles V and Charles VI was compiled by Delisle,<sup>46</sup> who also lists the 104 manuscripts which are known to be in existence today, chiefly in the Bibliothèque nationale. The strength of the library lay in history and in literature, mainly romances in prose and verse. Charles V was much interested in astronomy and astrology and had French translations made of various works on the subject. In 1368 he called Thomas de Pisan from Venice to be court astrologer. Nicolas of Oresme, who has been mentioned as translator of the *Ethics* and other works of Aristotle for Charles, at the risk of losing royal favor, attacked astrology, sorcery, and magic vehemently in numerous writings. He maintained that princes should encourage astrologers only in the interest of science—to know the sky and the nature of the heavenly

<sup>42</sup> J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, II, 167. See also Tilley, *op. cit.*, p. 141; G. Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums*, II, 344-49. The letters of Jean de Montreuil are published by Martène and Durand, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum amplissima collectio* (Paris, 1724-33), II, 1311-1465.

<sup>43</sup> "Verum, splendidissime domine, quoniam ab Italia Cato Censorinus et Varro de Agricultura, necnon de agricultura Vitruvius et simul Seneca Plautus mihi missi sunt et alloti, quos, ut verum fatear, nescio apud alium quemquam citra montes existere, ne apud collegium quidem, et vos sciam latium amantissimum, illos vobis offero, ut transcribere faciat" (*Ep. lxvi*).

<sup>44</sup> *Ep. xxxviii*.

<sup>45</sup> *Ep. lviii*.

<sup>46</sup> *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, II, 3-200.

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bodies but not to foretell the future.<sup>47</sup> Oresme seems to have translated, for the king, Ptolemy's *Quadriparti* with the glosses of the Arab physician Ali ibn Ridouan.<sup>48</sup>

In 1424, after the death of Charles VI, an inventory of the library in the Louvre was made; and the value of the books was appraised by three librarians of the University of Paris, with Garnier de St. Yon assisting. On June 22, 1425, John, Duke of Bedford, regent of the kingdom of France, definitely took possession of 843 manuscripts: "demoure content de tous les livres cy dessus designez et specifiez, montant par prisee a la somme de deux mil trois cent vingt et trois livres quatre sols parisis, lesquels il a recus de Garnier de Saint Yon, jadis garde des dits livres, et en quitte et descharge ledit Garnier."<sup>49</sup> The same day Garnier was placed in charge of the books and remained librarian until October, 1429, when apparently the books were taken to England or possibly to the duke's castle at Rouen. His accounts for 1433 show a sum paid to a wood-carver at Rouen for repairs in the library of the castle where the Duke of Bedford was living. The assessed value of the library of Charles VI was 2,323 livres, but the Duke of Bedford appears to have paid only 1,200 francs for it.<sup>50</sup> We are unable to follow with certainty the history of the library after 1429, when the librarian Garnier de St. Yon was dismissed. We may assume that the Duke of Bedford had sufficient appreciation of books to keep the collection together and that it was only after his death, in 1435, that it was scattered. In 1427 Bedford sent his brother Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, a copy of Bersuire's translation of Livy. This manuscript and five others that once belonged to the Duke of Gloucester are in the Bibliothèque nationale today, and two are in the British Museum; but the bulk of his collection was given to the University of Oxford.

The name of the Duke of Bedford is attached to a number of handsome manuscripts: to a missal which was destroyed in the fire at the

<sup>47</sup> C. Jourdain, "Nicolas Oresme et les astrologes de la cour de Charles V," *Revue des questions historiques*, XVIII (1875), 136-59.

<sup>48</sup> R. Delachanel, "Note sur un manuscrit de la bibliothèque de Charles V," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, LXXI (1910), 33-38.

<sup>49</sup> Delisle, *op. cit.*, I, 139.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.

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Hôtel de Ville of Paris in 1871; to the *Breviary of Salisbury* in the Bibliothèque nationale which bears the arms of his second wife, Jacqueline of Luxembourg; to the *Bedford Hours* in the British Museum, made for his first wife, Anne of Burgundy, heiress of Jean sans Peur; to another Book of Hours made for her sister, Marguerite of Burgundy; and to a *Custoiment de chevalerie*, which is decorated with the Bedford arms. Jean Tourtier copied for the Duke of Bedford at Rouen in 1429 a translation of Hippocrates; Jean Gallopes (or "le Galoys"), chaplain to the Duke, dedicated to him his redaction in prose of *Pèlerinage de l'âme*. A miniature in the manuscript shows the author presenting the work to the Duke of Bedford. John Thomas, a cleric, copied two books for Bedford; and William Harnoys, at Bedford's command, copied the *Judgment of the Stars*.

When the duchy of Burgundy reverted to the crown in 1361, John the Good gave it to his son Philip, who was the founder not only of the Burgundian state but also of the Burgundian library, preserved, for the most part, at Brussels. The main library passed from Philip the Bold to John the Fearless, Philip the Good, Charles the Bold, and to his daughter, who married the emperor Maximilian. At the dismemberment of the Burgundian state, Louis XI claimed the duchy and presented the furnishings of various ducal houses to his supporters. Mary seems to have kept much of her father's property, only to have it sold by her husband, who was always in need of money. We know that many jeweled bindings were sold by Maximilian, and it may be conjectured that many other books from the ducal library were dispersed in this way. Marie of Austria endeavored to re-establish the library during her regency and left her private collection of manuscripts and printed material to Burgundy in 1530. Her successors continued to protect the library. A fire in 1731 did great damage, however, to the library, paintings, and other treasures in the building. The French, after the siege of Brussels in 1748, carried away many manuscripts, some of which were restored in 1769; despoiled the library in 1794; and again in 1815 were forced to restore what they had taken.

It is doubtful that Philip the Bold found a collection of books in Burgundy when he became ruler of that duchy, although earlier

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counts of Flanders and Hainault and dukes of Brabant are known to have had an interest in letters. There is an inventory of the books of Robert of Bethune made in 1322 which shows a list of 13 titles. Philip's wife, Marguerite de Mâle, probably inherited the manuscripts of her father, the Count of Flanders; but we have few facts about them. Books are mentioned in her dowry, but their titles are not given. The inventory of her belongings made after her death in 1405 shows certain books which undoubtedly came from Flanders, and presumably from her father.<sup>51</sup> The collection of Philip was especially rich in works of devotion, didactic treatises, and historical works. He bought a number of books through Parisian booksellers but had most of his illumination done in the north, where the art was already able to compete with Italian work.

John the Fearless inherited books from his father and his mother, Marguerite de Mâle, who left three male heirs: John; Antoine, Duke of Brabant; and Philip, Count of Nevers. She had already signed a *non communauté* to protect herself against her husband's creditors and had renounced her rights in favor of John. It is not certain what effect this may have had on the library. Doutrepont, reasoning from the titles in the three inventories,<sup>52</sup> thinks that in his third John received the library intact or nearly so. Antoine's share went later to Philip the Good, but the fate of Philip's is unknown. The inventory of John's books reaches 248, a large number for one who had little reputation as an intellectual. He did obtain classical books for the education of his children, one of whom, Agnes, had decided literary tastes and owned interesting manuscripts. The marriage of Marguerite brought into the family the learned Duke of Bedford; and a third daughter married Louis de Guienne, an amateur of jewels and books. The increase of the library during his reign may be due to his respect for orders that his father had given. Certainly the copying of several books, among them the seven works of Christine de Pisan, was begun under Philip and completed under John. Laurent de Premierfait translated the *Decameron*; a translation of Valerius Maximus was purchased, as well as a translation of Jose-

<sup>51</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 329.

<sup>52</sup> G. Doutrepont, *Inventaire de la librairie de Philippe le Bon*.

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phus. An expensive Livy disappears from the record: John probably gave it to the Cardinal des Ursines at the time of the Council of Constance. However, there were three other Livys left at the time of the inventory of 1420. The inventory of his widow, Marguerite de Bavière, taken in 1423 or 1424,<sup>53</sup> seems small. It was probably merely a list of volumes which happened to be at Dijon when she died, and does not represent either the Burgundian library or the tastes of Marguerite.

Philip the Good (1420-67) made the library one of the richest of the age, leaving, at his death, some 875 volumes. We know little about the manner in which he built up his library. The books may have come by inheritance from various members of the family—as gifts, by marriage, by way of *hommages d'auteur*, and by the increase of his territories. Some of the books of John II may have come to him; perhaps others from the Royal Library through Charles V, Charles VI, or with Michelle, daughter of the latter. Still other manuscripts may have come with his second wife, the widow of Philippe de Nevers. Two manuscripts came from Louis of Bruges, Lord of Gruuthuyse.

In addition to books presented, there are definite records of purchases. Philip employed many authors, calligraphers, and illuminators about the court. The scriptorium of Brussels was established by him.<sup>54</sup> René of Anjou, while a prisoner at Dijon, made the miniatures in a book he presented to Duke Philip, which remained in the library at Brussels.<sup>55</sup>

There is mention of a *tour de la libraire* in the castle at Dijon, but the books do not seem to have been kept in one place; some were in Dijon, some in Paris, a few in the treasury at Ghent, some in Bruges and Antwerp.<sup>56</sup> Nor was there any regular provision for their care. In the time of Philip the Bold they had been intrusted to the *varlet de chambre*, Richard le Comtè, who was at the same time employed as chief barber. At times *gardes-joyaux* were cited as librarians. Under Philip the Good, David Aubert is mentioned as librarian in the

<sup>53</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 327.

<sup>54</sup> P. Namur, *Histoire des bibliothèques publiques de Bruxelles* (Brussels, 1840-42), I, 20, n. 1.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.   <sup>56</sup> C. and M. Elton, *The Great Book Collectors* (London, 1893), p. 95.

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castle at Dijon.<sup>57</sup> He was artist, calligrapher, translator, author, and historian, who praised his patron's library as the finest in the world.

The consorts of the first two dukes had been of assistance in the formation of the library, but Isabella seems to have had no sympathy for her husband's literary activities. There is interesting evidence of Philip's tastes. He selected from author's presentation copies those which he desired to have handsomely copied and illuminated. He provided the funds necessary for the translation and revision of older works extant in faulty copies and made his library accessible to authors and scholars. The additions to the library show many accessions of contemporary prose, especially chronicles. From his father he got about 10 classical manuscripts, and he handed on 40 to his son.<sup>58</sup> He especially favored Trojan legends and had 17 volumes on this subject in French and German. He had few collections of epics and fables and tales, but he did have the *Cent nouvelles*. He was much interested in mystery plays and even took part in one, while he had two texts of the *Mystère de Troie*. The house of Croy, which was in favor with Philip, seems to have made many gifts, for there are at present 8 items in the ducal foundation bearing the name of Croy. The collection of classics increased appreciably, especially Seneca, Cicero, Ovid, Juvenal, and Sallust—some in Latin, some in French. There is also a Pseudo-Cato in English. In most cases the dukes possessed versions in both Latin and French. Rehandlings of the classics were very popular at the court; many authors applied themselves to modernizing versions of the tales of Greece and Rome, and the ducal library was well supplied with these.

An interesting section of the library of Burgundy is the collection of books on the Orient, especially Turkey, a reflection of the Crusades of the fourteenth century, led by Philip the Good. A miniature of the period shows a knight, on return from Palestine and Syria, presenting Philip the Good with a Koran.<sup>59</sup> The collection of literature about

<sup>57</sup> J. Marchal, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque royale des ducs de Bourgogne* (Brussels and Leipzig, 1842), I, lxxxi.

<sup>58</sup> Namur, *op. cit.*, I, 22-23, gives a list of important books of Philip the Good which remained in the library in his time.

<sup>59</sup> O. Cartellieri, *The Court of Burgundy* (London, 1929), p. 134.



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the Turks was of sufficient importance to have a class of its own in the inventory of 1467.

Charles the Bold (1467-77), only son of Philip the Good, received his father's possessions undivided—a splendid territorial inheritance and a magnificent library. Philip had for some time associated his son with him in the acquisition of books. In various miniatures Charles is shown with his father, receiving a volume offered by its author. One of these, a very fine likeness, is in a translation of the chronicle of Hainault, written in the fifteenth century at the order of the duke. The miniature has been attributed to Roger van der Weyden and to the van Eycks, but it is probably later than these artists. Charles had more leisure to enjoy books than his predecessors but did not show either the taste or the intellectual curiosity of his father. He was inclined to more austere writers.

Louis XI sent him a work on Charlemagne and other French kings written in Italian, and accompanied the gift with a remark that the duke had made a perfect study of the customs and genius of the Italians. He had tapestries displaying the deeds of Hannibal and Alexander the Great and the destruction of Troy. He read all he could find about Julius Caesar, Pompey, Hannibal, and Alexander the Great. He had the *Cyropaedia* of Xenophon translated by his secretary from the Italian of Poggio. When Charles was killed at Nancy, in 1477, this favorite book was found by the Swiss in his baggage. Bought in 1833 by the queen of the Belgians when it was offered for sale in Paris, it is now in Brussels.<sup>60</sup> He preferred to read of antiquity in French but could also read English, Latin, and, Flemish.

His third wife, Margaret of York, may have brought English books with her, and ordered manuscripts which are among the richest of the Burgundian collection. A copy of Boethius' *De consolazione philosophiae* in the French translation of Jean de Meün, which was made at the command of Margaret, is in the university library at Jena.<sup>61</sup> His two preceding wives, Catherine of France and Isabelle of Bourbon, are not definitely identified with any additions to the library.

<sup>60</sup> Elton, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

<sup>61</sup> Bradley, *op. cit.*, I, 82.

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Satisfactory estimates of the library at the end of the direct line are not available. The inventory of 1467 is not, of course, complete; and the inventory after the death of Charles the Bold lists only his possessions at Dijon.<sup>62</sup>

Antoine, Duke of Brabant, known as the "Grand Bâtard de Bourgogne," was one of the distinguished bibliophiles of the fifteenth century. He was a man of action and had a brilliant career as a soldier, but also collected a rich library at Château de la Roche. He had many beautiful illuminated manuscripts. We have no record of the disposition made of his library after his death; it was probably sold. Because a number of his manuscripts in existence today bear the motto, "Nul ne l'aproche," and a signature identified as that of Adolph of Burgundy, it may be assumed that this grandson acquired, in some way, a part of the collection. More than 30 of Antoine's manuscripts have been identified, scattered in a number of European libraries; they include a French translation of Caesar, the chronicles of the kings of France by Guillaume de Nangis, an Italian translation of the chronicle of Pisa, many re-workings of classical history, such as *Romoleon ou faits des romanes*, and an *Epître des dames de Grece a leurs maris devant Troie*. There seems to be a large proportion of historical or semihistorical works, although this accidental selection from his library can hardly be taken as representative. There is a translation of the popular work of Bartholomaeus Anglicus, a *Miroir des vices*, and an Augustine, as well as liturgical works. He had also a fine copy of Jean de Meun's translation of Boethius and a magnificent example of Jacques le Grant's *Le Livre de bonnes moeurs*—with *Dits moraux des philosophes* by Jacques de Tignonville.<sup>63</sup> The second volume was at one time in the library of Charles of Croy, a learned prince and a great collector of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth century. This manuscript also contains the autograph of La Rochefoucauld. Antoine's books may be

<sup>62</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 287.

<sup>63</sup> These manuscripts are described by A. Boinet, "Un Bibliophile du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle: le grand Bâtard de Bourgogne," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, LXVII (1906), 254-69. See also Bradley, *op. cit.*, I, 50.

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recognized by the motto, "Nul ne s'y frotte," preceded by a monogram with the letters "N I E" around the cord of the third order of St. Francis and followed by the words "ob. de Bourgne."<sup>64</sup> This is used as an *ex libris* and also appears very much ornamented in the illuminations.

Of private libraries in France in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries we have a little information. An inventory of books and art objects of Raoul de Clermont, seigneur of Nesles, made in 1302, disclosed 16 books, all designed for his chapels.<sup>65</sup> An early fourteenth-century catalogue of a layman's library, that of the Château de la Ferté-Poitou, has been referred to at the beginning of this chapter. An inventory of the Château du Hesdin in 1313 shows only a dozen volumes—a Bible, lives of the saints, and romances.<sup>66</sup> The widow of Raoul de Presles, founder of the college in the reign of Philip the Fair, had not more than a half-dozen volumes, none of them noteworthy.<sup>67</sup> There is an inventory of the Château Cornillon in 1380 and of the property of Monseigneur de Sully in 1409.<sup>68</sup> Gabrielle de la Tour, Countess of Montpensier, dauphine d'Auvergne, had about 200 paper and parchment manuscripts in 1474.<sup>69</sup> Jacques de Houchin in 1480 had a library of 347 volumes.<sup>70</sup> Two small private libraries in France at the end of the fifteenth century were those of Antoine de Chourses and his wife, Katharine Coetivy, and of Jean Dumas, seigneur d'Isles; both are now at Chantilly. The former contains 41 volumes, only one of which is printed, others being written on vellum and many illuminated. They cover a variety of subjects, including theology, Roman law, history, and poetry. The second collection consists of 12 manuscripts, finely written and decorated. Most of the

<sup>64</sup> P. Laver, "Dechiffrement de l'ex-libris du grand Bâtard de Bourgogne," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, LXXXIV (1923), 299-305.

<sup>65</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 386.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 299.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 310. This Raoul de Presles is not to be confused with the scholar of the same name who translated the *City of God* for Charles V. Cf. L. Douet d'Arcq, "Inventaire de Jeanne de Presles," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, XXXIX (1878), 81-109.

<sup>68</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, Nos. 278, 405.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 298.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 301.

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books are romances; but there are also a Bible, a treatise on Aristotle, Boccaccio, and Bersuire's translation of Livy.<sup>71</sup>

The lords of Jaligny had, at Bomiez in 1413, a collection of 87 volumes, composed of religious writings, romances and histories in French, the works of Livy, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.<sup>72</sup> An inventory of the Château of Angers in 1471-72 lists some books belonging to René, King of Sicily, beginning with a Dante in Italian.<sup>73</sup> Pierre Cardonnel, archdeacon of Ange in the church of Lisieux and canon of Notre Dame in Paris, had a library of some 30 volumes in his home in Paris when he died, in 1438. Among his books were a breviary, a Psalter, a missal, and one or two other religious books, all the rest being books on medicine.<sup>74</sup> Nicholas, archbishop of Aix, had at his residence in Avignon in 1443 a library of theological works.<sup>75</sup> Bernard of Béarn, Bastard of Commines, member of the illustrious house of Foix, lived the life of a recluse in his castle of Monteux in the diocese of Carpentras. His library, according to the inventory of 1497, contained 63 volumes, very few in Latin. The books are both manuscript and printed and deal with a number of different subjects, especially theology and philosophy.<sup>76</sup>

We have numerous inventories of the property of the churches of France in this period, from which we gather that their collections were almost exclusively of service books. A catalogue of the library of the monastery of St. Andrew at Villeneuve, near Avignon, made in 1307, shows 60 volumes of sermons, commentaries on the Bible, and similar works.<sup>77</sup> There are inventories of the Dominican house at Dijon in 1307<sup>78</sup> and of the cathedral of Amiens in 1347 and 1419,<sup>79</sup> showing, for the most part, liturgical and theological works but also

<sup>71</sup> Duc d'Aumale, "Notes sur deux petites bibliothèques françaises du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Miscellanies of the Philobiblon Society* (London, 1862), pp. 6-8.

<sup>72</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 302.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 384, 385.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 266. See also Chéreau, *La Bibliothèque d'un médecin au commencement du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1864), and E. Bishop, *Liturgica historica* (Oxford, 1918), p. 425.

<sup>75</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 339.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 257; Bishop, *op. cit.*, pp. 431-33.

<sup>77</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 415.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 286.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 239, 240.

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a copy of Seneca, *De natura rerum*. There is an inventory of the library of the abbey of St. Ouen in 1372.<sup>80</sup> The library was in a small rectangular room with vaulted ceiling and a grilled casement at one end. The books were kept in cabinets of three shelves, each divided into compartments; and the books were so located. Thus, "a porte sinistra, linea II, B, vi" indicated that the volume was at the left, on the second shelf, in the compartment marked "B," in the sixth place. There are also inventories of the property, including books, of the curate of Pont-Sainte-Marie near Troyes in 1372, of the church of the Holy Sepulcher in Paris in 1379, of the abbey of Huveanne in 1388, and of the church of St. Peter of Lille in 1397.<sup>81</sup>

In the second half of the fourteenth century Radulphus of Roov, who became canon of Tongres and rector of the faculty of Cologne, learned Greek at Rome from Simon of Constantinople, the future archbishop of Thebes. In the course of his numerous travels Radulphus acquired many manuscripts, which he left to the abbey of St. Jacques at Liège and to the churches of Breda and Tongres, notably a Greek text of the New Testament which Erasmus used.<sup>82</sup>

Toward the end of the fourteenth century serious attention was given to the organization of the library of the church of Notre Dame of Paris. Pierre d'Orgemont, bishop of Paris, a zealous bibliophile, gave several books to it about 1384, including a Bible in many volumes, a treatise on medicine, the sermons of Nicolas of Lyra, and books on canon and civil law. Bishop Gérard de Montaigu, who died in 1420, left a fine missal, now in the Bibliothèque nationale. The library of the church was locked and carefully guarded, eight new chains being ordered in 1429. William Chartier of Bayeux, bishop of Paris, who died in 1472, left 13 books to Notre Dame, which were chained to two tables ornamented with his arms. Bishop Louis de Beaumont left a collection of service books to the cathedral in 1492.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 392; L. Delisle, "Du Charles V," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 3d ser., I (1849), 227-30.

<sup>81</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, Nos. 308, 374, 300, 313.

<sup>82</sup> A. Roersch, *L'Humanisme belge à l'époque de la renaissance* (Brussels, 1910), p. 8; D. Ussier Berlière, *Documents pontificaux concernant Raoul de Rivo* (Namur, 1908).

<sup>83</sup> A. Franklin, *Recherches sur la bibliothèque publique de l'église Notre Dame de Paris au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1863), pp. 40-63.

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Thomas Basin, bishop of Lisieux, gave his cathedral in 1489 a twelfth-century manuscript of Quintus Curtius, which found its way to the Royal Library at Brussels.<sup>84</sup> There are three inventories of the church of Bayeux in the fifteenth century, and one of the church of Dol in 1440.<sup>85</sup> In 1405 Philip de Mezières left his books to the Celestins of Paris.<sup>86</sup> There is an inventory of the library of the church of St. Paul at Orléans in 1461, of Notre Dame of Lens in 1471-72, and of the abbey of Saint-Césaire at Arles in 1473.<sup>87</sup> There are fifteenth-century book lists of the Carthusians at Grande Chartreuse and of the Cistercians at Clairvaux and at Châlons.<sup>88</sup> The abbey of Clairvaux received a collection of about 45 volumes in 1351, part of the library of Jacques d'Audeloncourt, a canon of Langres. Another canon had a library of 145 volumes.<sup>89</sup>

Doubtless, many libraries were lost in the widespread devastation of the Hundred Years' War, along with the destruction of churches and monasteries.<sup>90</sup> Petrarch's comment on the condition of France at this period is well known: "Vix aliquid omnium recognovi, opulentissimum in cineres versum regnum videns, et nullam pene domum stantem nisi urbium aut arcium moenibus cincta esset."<sup>91</sup>

The colleges also had their benefactors. Jean Fraczon, cardinal bishop of Ostia, gave 900 volumes to St. Nicolas at Avignon in 1408.<sup>92</sup> The Bishop of Cambrai, second founder of the Collège de Navarre and its grand master in 1384, left it his books at his death, in 1407.<sup>93</sup> An inventory of the property of Gregory Langlois, bishop of Séez, in 1404 contains a short list of the books in the chapel of the

<sup>84</sup> Delisle, *Littérature latine et histoire du moyen âge*, p. 105.

<sup>85</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, Nos. 252-54, 288.

<sup>86</sup> A. Franklin, *Les anciennes bibliothèques de Paris* (Paris, 1867-70), II, 91.

<sup>87</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, Nos. 341, 312, 247.      <sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 273, 276, 275.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 305; J. Carnaudet, "Bibliothèques de deux chanoines de Langres au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Bulletin du bibliophile*, 1857, pp. 463-77.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. H. Denifle, *La Guerre de cent ans et la désolation des églises, monastères et hôpitaux en France* (Paris, 1899).

<sup>91</sup> *Rerum senil. liber x. ii.*

<sup>92</sup> J. H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry IV* (London, 1894-98), III, 343.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

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Collège de Séez, as well as his own books.<sup>94</sup> The Collège d'Autun, founded in 1341 by Pierre Bertrand, had one of the largest and best-organized libraries of Paris at the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>95</sup> Of this we have an inventory, made in 1462.<sup>96</sup> There are also inventories of the Collège de la Marche in 1432, Collège de Cholets in 1411, Collège de Fortet, Collège du Tresorier in 1437, and two of the Faculty of Medicine in the fourteenth century, all of which are listed by Gottlieb. The Collège d'Harcourt, founded toward the end of the thirteenth century, has no early library catalogue, but a statute of 1311 required that new acquisitions to the library be entered in a book. We have record also of a few gifts to the library in the fifteenth century.<sup>97</sup> The library of the abbey of St. Victor was one of the greatest in Paris open to students. Its books were evidently well known to Rabelais, who wrote a famous parody of its catalogue in *Pantagruel*.<sup>98</sup>

Greatest of all was the library of the Sorbonne, formed soon after the founding of the college in the middle of the thirteenth century. It is probably the Sorbonne which Richard de Bury had in mind in his description of the delights Paris offered to a book-lover: "Ibi bibliothecae jucundae super cellas aromatum redolentes, ibi virens viridarium universorum voluminum."<sup>99</sup> The generosity of those who studied and taught at the Sorbonne and of many others is shown in a list of nearly two hundred benefactors from the middle of the thirteenth to the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>100</sup> The donors of books sometimes specified the way in which they should be used, reserving them, for example, for the Flemish or English students. Authors gave copies of their works; books were sometimes left to the Sorbonne in payment of debt; and many manuscripts were copied or purchased.

<sup>94</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 346.

<sup>95</sup> Franklin, *Les anciennes bibliothèques de Paris*, II, 70.

<sup>96</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 342.

<sup>97</sup> Bouquet, "Collège d'Harcourt," *Revue des bibliothèques*, I (1891), 177-91.

<sup>98</sup> Gustave Brunet, in *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint Victor et essai sur les bibliothèques imaginaires* (Paris, 1862), attempted to identify the books in Rabelais's parody catalogue.

<sup>99</sup> *Philobiblon*, chap. viii.

<sup>100</sup> Delisle, *Le Cabinet*, II, 142 ff.

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In 1483 the college bought books with money given by a monk who, in his youth, had stolen some books from the library.

The earliest catalogue of the Sorbonne library was found by Delisle on two mutilated sheets in an old binding.<sup>101</sup> In 1289 the library was reorganized and divided into a large and a small library. In the former were kept, chained, the books most frequently used, a statute of 1321 requiring that the best books the library possessed on each subject should be thus safeguarded. The small library was used for duplicates and books rarely used, and its books could be borrowed. A general catalogue of 1290 contains over 1,000 items.<sup>102</sup> That of 1338, listing 1,722 volumes under 59 different subjects,<sup>103</sup> is divided into three parts—the small library, large library, and an analysis of the contents of these books. The first words of the second, or next to last, leaf are given, the price, and generally the donor of the book.

Apparently books could be borrowed for an unlimited time, but a deposit equal to the value of the book was required. The Sorbonne maintained a union catalogue of the monastic libraries of Paris open to students.<sup>104</sup> The librarian was elected by the members of the community and was given several assistants. Keys to the library were given to certain persons, but the number was reduced to twenty in 1391.<sup>105</sup> The fifteenth century saw the erection of a new library building, voted in 1481. We have several sets of library rules,<sup>106</sup> of which the following are examples: readers were admonished to close the door; not to leave the room without returning the book to its place; to close the book when finished; and to exercise proper care of the book while reading it.

The great rector of the University of Paris during the period of the reforming councils, John Gerson (1363–1429), cannot be omitted from any consideration of the book history of France in the fifteenth

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 180.

<sup>102</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 348.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 349–51; published in Delisle, *op. cit.*, III, 9–114.

<sup>104</sup> Delisle, *op. cit.*, II, 196.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 197.

<sup>106</sup> Franklin, *Les anciennes bibliothèques de Paris*, I, 238, n. 1, prints one and at p. 244, gives a facsimile of another.



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century. A mystic, a Christian socialist, and an ardent advocate of ecclesiastical reform, Gerson introduced the use of the vernacular into education and was especially interested in the education of children. For them he wrote *L'A.B.C. des simple gens* and a tract, *De innocentia puerili*, in which he inveighed against the corruption of children through bad books and obscene pictures. In 1423 he also wrote a little treatise for the Celestins and Carthusians, entitled *De laude scriptorum tractatus*, in which he learnedly and enthusiastically argued that the labor of copying books was not a servile occupation but a distinguished service for God and humanity. He was also the author of a brief and technical little pamphlet on the abbreviations in manuscripts, *Quedam regale de modo titulandi seu apificandi pro novellis scriptoribus copulate*.<sup>107</sup> He devised the system of index-paragraphing by letters and numbers, which lasted until as late as 1525. According to this system, one might have alphabet 46, letter Z, or alphabet 87, letter M, each letter denoting about 30 lines of text.<sup>108</sup>

To return now to the royal collectors of France, there is little to be said about the additions to the library made by Charles VII (1422-61). We know that a few books were dedicated to him and that he employed chroniclers, historians, and translators. His accounts show sums spent for books and parchment from time to time. In 1428 Charles sent to the Duke of Orléans for a French Bible, which was kept so long that it was entered in his inventory of 1436; it was subsequently returned.<sup>109</sup> The Duke of Berry in his will bequeathed a breviary to Charles VII.

Charles's daughters owned books, notably Jeanne de France, Duchess of Bourbon, who owned a translation of Boccaccio, a *Vita Christi*, a chronicle of Jean de Courcy, *Le Livre des trois vertus* by Christine of Pisan, and *Roman d'Alexandre le Grand*.<sup>110</sup> Yoland,

<sup>107</sup> Both of these tracts were published by John Spencer Smith, the first at Caen, 1840, the second at Rouen, 1841; the latter in facsimile. For a review of these two rare little pamphlets see *Journal des savants*, October, 1841. The *De laude scriptorum* was also printed at Cologne in 1473, as an appendix to Richard de Bury's *Philobiblon*.

<sup>108</sup> P. S. Allen, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XI (1924-25), 350-52.

<sup>109</sup> G. du Fresne de Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII* (Paris, 1891), VI, 401.

<sup>110</sup> Paulin Paris, *Les Manuscrits français de la bibliothèque du roi* (Paris, 1836), Nos. 6879, 6716, 6951, 7039, 7142.

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daughter of Charles VII and wife of Amadeo of Savoy, had a fine library, including the *Epistles* of Seneca, Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*, Valerius Maximus, Dante, St. Bernard, Boethius, the *Chronicles of Savoy*, *La Belle Hélène*, *Les Cents nouvelles*, four Bibles, and a number of missals. She took her books with her in three coffers.<sup>112</sup>

The only catalogue of the books of Louis XI (1461-83) mentioned by Delisle is merely a list of 33 manuscripts in an inventory of 1484, received by Charlotte of Savoy and set aside for Charles VIII. The best painter of the period, Jean Fouquet, of Tours, was employed to make illuminations for the king's manuscripts; and Jean Bourdichon and Jean Maubert were also thus employed. Maubert was recommended by Louis XI to the University of Caen for the position of illuminator. We have the names of two of his librarians: Laurent Palmier, who received 300 livres for his services in 1473, and Jean Provost, who held the office in 1474. The story is frequently told, on the authority of Gabriel Naudé, that Louis XI, wishing to borrow from the Faculty of Medicine of Paris a manuscript of the Arab physician Rhases, was required to give security.<sup>113</sup>

Four opportunities to enrich the royal library were presented to Louis XI: the arrest of Cardinal Balue in 1469; the death of his brother Charles, Duke of Guienne; the defeat of Charles the Bold in 1477; and the condemnation of Jacques d'Armagnac in 1477. He confiscated the books of the cardinal and probably had them in his library for a time, and acquired some of his brother's books; but the other two collections escaped him completely. More politician than prelate, Cardinal Balue<sup>113</sup> was thrown into prison in 1469. Balue went to Rome on his release from prison in 1480 and occupied himself with winning the pope's favor, in 1483 being made archbishop of Albano. He returned to France after the death of Louis XI, as papal legate, and in 1485 was Charles VIII's ambassador to the Holy See. In 1482

<sup>112</sup> A Cim, *Le Livre* (Paris, 1923), V, 372.

<sup>113</sup> G. H. Putnam, *Books and Their Makers during the Middle Ages* (New York and London, 1896-97), I, 136, 299; Elton, *op. cit.*, p. 100; Cim, *op. cit.*, II, 319.

<sup>113</sup> Delisle, *Cabinet*, I, 79-84; H. Foregot, *Jean Balue, Cardinal d'Angers* (Paris, 1895); D. B. Wyndham Lewis, *King Spider* (New York, 1929), pp. 399-416.

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Louis XI had Balue restored to his temporal rights, when he regained some of his benefices, possibly also his library. While Balue's books were in the king's hands, two borrowed books were returned to their owner; provision was made for the completion of two unfinished manuscripts; the books were appraised by Pasquier Bonhomme, one of the four librarians of the University of Paris; and, finally, Pierre d'Oriole, counselor of the king, took charge of them. It was a collection of almost a hundred volumes, including, in addition to pietistic works, canon law, and theology, several volumes of Terence, Seneca, and Boccaccio.<sup>114</sup>

Charles, Duke of Guienne, younger brother of Louis XI, who had studied law under Robert Blondel, had a well-selected small library. Jacques d'Armagnac, duc de Nemours, inherited from his maternal grandfather Jacques de Bourbon, King of Hungary, Jerusalem, and Sicily, a collection of books and, on his father's side, some of the manuscripts of his great-grandfather, John, Duke of Berry. Jean Fouquet made illuminations for books he ordered, while Michel Gonnet and Jacob Tineykin were his copyists. His books may be recognized by the detailed notes made in them of titles, number of leaves, miniatures, etc. Many contain also his arms and different combinations of the following 12 letters: A, D, E, F, I, M, N, O, R, S, T, and U. Over 50 of his manuscripts have been identified, most of them in French. We do not know what disposition was made of the prince's books after his condemnation, but they do not appear to have been incorporated in the Royal Library. Louis XI's wife, Marguerite d'Escosse, who died in 1444, had a paraphrase of the Book of Job in French verse. His second wife, Charlotte of Savoy, who died in 1483, had a library of 100 books, which was inventoried in 1484.<sup>115</sup> In addition Marguerite received some 30 volumes at the death of Louis XI, which she left at Amboise for her son; Charles VIII.<sup>116</sup>

At his accession to the throne Charles VIII (1483-98) possessed these 30 manuscripts of Louis XI and the hundred volumes which had belonged to his mother. During his reign, brief as it was, the

<sup>114</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 249.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 270.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 322; Delisle, *Cabinet*, I, 77-78.

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library acquired a considerable number of volumes which Charles had purchased, had received in homage, or had acquired in the conquest of Naples. Of the volumes that Charles inherited from his father, four are in the Bibliothèque nationale, ornamented with the shield of France and the arms of Savoy. Charles put his signature on several French manuscripts, and others are identified by his mottoes. Among books that he ordered, a French translation of the *Commentaries* of Caesar was made for Charles by Robert Gaguin, who was librarian of Louis XI, Charles VIII, and Louis XII.

After the campaign of 1494 an enormous quantity of goods was brought from Naples, but the booty did not include the library of the Aragonese kings of Naples, as has been generally thought.<sup>117</sup> He got only a few Greek and Latin manuscripts from Naples, the Neapolitan Collection now in the Bibliothèque nationale having been formed by Louis XII and Cardinal Amboise as well as by Charles VIII. Charles invited John Lascaris, the Greek scholar who had been in the employ of Lorenzo de Medici, to return to France with him. Lascaris received an annual salary of 400 livres and rendered very great services both to Charles VIII and Louis XII. He assisted the latter in organizing the library at Blois and joined Bude in performing a similar service for Francis I when the library at Blois was transferred to Fontainebleau. While duties at court allowed Lascaris little time for regular teaching, one who profited from his company and the use of his books was Bude. Lascaris is praised very highly by Erasmus,<sup>118</sup> and Rabelais called him "bon ami."<sup>119</sup>

Louis XII, before his accession in 1499, possessed the celebrated library founded by his grandfather, Louis of Orléans (1372-1407), and erected by his father, Charles of Orléans, the poet (1391-1465). This monarch, the last to be considered in our history of French libraries, united the royal library of France and the collection of the house of Orléans, adding the library of the dukes of Milan and about 150 volumes from the collection of Louis of Blois.

The beginning of the collection at Blois was very modest—only 5

<sup>117</sup> Delisle, *Cabinet*, I, 97.

<sup>118</sup> *The Epistles of Erasmus*, tr. F. M. Nichols, I, 440, 447, 449; III, 372.

<sup>119</sup> *Gargantua*, I, 24.

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volumes, given by King Charles V to his son Louis I, the grandfather of Louis XII. These were 2 Bibles, a missal, *Le Gouvernement des rois*, and *Les Voyages du Venitien Marco Polo*. Louis I added to this collection: *Le Dit royal*, bought from Jean Froissart; *Les Chroniques de la France*; two romances, *La Rose* and *Lancelot*; the works of Aristotle; the fables of Aesop; the *Livre du ciel et du monde*; the *Cité de Dieu*; the *Livre d'échecs*; and some classics: Suetonius, Livy, Lucian, Boethius. In 1397 Louis I charged the architect to make place in the Château of Blois for his library and sent an agent to England to buy books. Etienne l'Angevin furnished the parchment, superintended the work, and paid the salaries for the books made for Louis I. There is no inventory of this library and it is not now possible to indicate even approximately its size; but it was probably large, as in 1397 Guillaume de Villiers, the binder, covered and ornamented 62 books for it.

Valentine Visconti, daughter of the French princess who had been married to the Duke of Milan in order to obtain ransom for her father, John II, became Louis's wife. She was precocious, learning Latin and even Greek at an early age and showing the same interest in letters as other members of the Visconti family. As a girl she had a library of 11 books, almost as many as there were in the royal library of France at the time of her grandfather, King John. She brought to France, in her dowry, 18 volumes, including 2 books written in German and the travels of Sir John Mandeville.<sup>120</sup> At her death she had at least 26 volumes, probably more—for we have no complete inventory of her library.

Charles, son of Louis I and Valentine, and father of Louis II, who was to become Louis XII of France, brought together at Blois the principal works which he had from his father and spent 440 livres to buy some of the books which had belonged to his mother. Among the volumes which he chose were: the Bible in French, *Parceval le Galois*, *Le Livre des trois Maries*, *L'Histoire de Troye*, *Le Miroir des dames*, and *Giron le Courtois*.<sup>121</sup> Charles was taken prisoner after the Battle of Agincourt and sent to England on October 25, 1415. His

<sup>120</sup> P. Champion, *La Librairie de Charles d'Orléans* (Paris, 1910), pp. lxix-lxx.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, p. lxxiii.

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captivity interrupted the library development, but he took every precaution for its conservation. In 1417 an inventory of the jewels, tapestries, and household goods, including the books, was drawn up; and servants were assigned to care for them. The inventory<sup>122</sup> was made by P. Renoul, Charles's secretary, listing over 90 items, beginning with Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in French and including Bibles, a concordance, Psalters, breviaries, and other religious works, and the works of Terence, Vergil, Juvenal, and Aristotle. Before the English reached Blois in 1427, Charles wrote to Jean de Rochechouart, instructing him to remove the household goods to his home in La Rochelle for safe-keeping. Jean brought them there on February 28, 1429, and in 1436 returned them all to Blois.

John, Count of Angoulême, brother of Charles of Orléans, and prisoner with him in England, had copied 9 volumes there, including the *Caton moralisé*, which, until 1562, was chained in the choir of the cathedral of Angoulême. He had Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* transcribed, and annotated his copy. Eudes de Fouilloy, his companion, copied and annotated Boethius and various other philosophical and religious works. John Duxworth copied for him *Meditations of Saint Anselm*. His inventory of 1467<sup>123</sup> shows over 150 volumes, some 15 of which seem to have come from Charles of Orléans. They passed to the library of Francis I at Fontainebleau and are now in the Bibliothèque nationale. The Bastard of Orléans also had a collection of books, many of which seem to have come from the library of Charles of Orléans. An inventory of his library made in 1468 shows 53 volumes on parchment and paper, only 5 of them in Latin.<sup>124</sup>

In 1440, twenty-five years after his capture, Charles returned to France, taking with him many books from the library of the Louvre which had been acquired by the Duke of Bedford. An inventory of 1440 gives a list of 68 books brought from England,<sup>125</sup> but a more detailed catalogue made after his return to Blois shows that he

<sup>122</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 259.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 306. See also Delisle, *Cabinet*, I, 148 f.; Champion, *op. cit.*, Appen. II; Dupont-Ferrier, "Jean d'Orléans, comte d'Angoulême d'après sa bibliothèque," *Bibliothèque de la faculté des lettres de Paris*, III (1897), 39-92.

<sup>124</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 250; Delisle, *Cabinet*, III, 194-95.

<sup>125</sup> Champion, *op. cit.*, pp. xxv-xxix.

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brought over a hundred volumes across the Channel.<sup>126</sup> This Blois catalogue is the last we have;<sup>127</sup> but Charles must have added many more books, of which we have no record, before his death in 1465. After his return to France, Charles made the Château of Blois a literary center, François Villon being among the poets at his court at one time. A manuscript of Alain Chartier which belonged to Marie of Cleves, wife of Charles of Orléans, contains fifty-eight signatures, which serve as a catalogue of the literary friends they gathered about them at Blois. Besides the volumes listed in the inventories, other volumes can be identified by Charles's arms and signature. Often he not only wrote his name in his books but added something regarding the manner in which he acquired the volume; thus:

Hunc librum a magistro Donato, de ordine Fratrum  
Minorum, emi ego dux Aurelianensis, Mediolani<sup>128</sup>

Champion has made a composite catalogue of the library of Charles of Orléans from all records we have of books which belonged to him.<sup>129</sup> He has brought together in this way a list of over 300 volumes, whereas the last catalogue made during the duke's lifetime contained only 188. Books on theology are most numerous; but law, medicine, and the sciences are represented. He had an unusually fine collection of the works of classical authors: Donatus, Cato, Cicero, Seneca, Vergil, Horace, Juvenal, Aesop, Terence, Sallust, etc. He had Bersuire's translation of Livy, and Ovid in French. There were romances, of course, and a good collection of poetry.

At Charles's death his books were carefully preserved by his wife, Marie de Cleves, for the use of their son. Marie also had some books of her own. About the time of her marriage she received a number of historical books, romances, and volumes of poetry. About 25 volumes were found among her effects in her Château of Chauny. The Bibliothèque nationale has two manuscripts with Marie's signature: *La Passion de Notre-Seigneur* and *Les Voies du Dieu*.<sup>130</sup>

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxxiv.

<sup>127</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 261.

<sup>128</sup> Delisle, *Cabinet*, I, 114.

<sup>129</sup> Champion, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-114.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, Appen. I.

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In 1499, when Louis II, Duke of Orléans, became Louis XII, king of France, he began systematically to add to his library at Blois. With him the private library of the kings became that of France. He definitely recognized the principle that the books amassed by a king ought to be faithfully guarded by his successors. There is an inventory of the library of the house of Orléans in 1496<sup>131</sup> but no catalogue of the entire collection of Louis XII. At this time he added: *L'Histoire romaine*, Robert of Herlin's translation; *Influencia celi*, a collection of songs with music; and a fine Italian Book of Hours containing 28 large and 60 small miniatures, which passed to the Museum of the Hermitage. Antoine Verard published and had books especially ornamented for Louis XII, but printed books were slowly added. In 1501 Gilles Hannequin, a priest, bound 126 volumes; one binding, of blue silk, was embroidered with great fleur-de-lis of gold; another binding shows the characteristics of Italian art; 6 Latin manuscripts and 17 French manuscripts, bound for Louis, are especially fine. They include: a treatise on the rights of the crown; a poem addressed to Louis XII by Jacobus Philippus Simonetta; an eclogue addressed to Louis XII; Petrarch's *Les Remèdes* and *Les Triomphes* (translated at Rouen); translations of Xenophon, Appian, Justin, the *Aeneid*, and of Ovid's letters; and a discourse on the king's success in Italy.

Fifteen manuscripts, all noteworthy for calligraphy and illumination, presented to Anne of Brittany or made at her order, have been identified. Anne of Brittany's *Book of Hours* is especially famous for its 300 paintings of plants and insects, its 49 large miniatures from the Old and New Testaments, and its calendar. Anne herself is represented in one of the pictures, and the Château of Blois in another. The decoration of this book, which was used so much that it was rebound during Anne's lifetime, was done by both Jean Poyet and Jean Bourdichon.<sup>132</sup> An inventory of Anne's books was made in 1498.<sup>133</sup>

Louis XII claimed the title of Duke of Milan by inheritance, since

<sup>131</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 269

<sup>132</sup> Delisle, *Cabinet*, III, 346-47.

<sup>133</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 246.



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he was grandson of Valentine Visconti and thus great-grandson of Giangaleazzo Visconti. He marched on Pavia and Milan in 1499 and took the library of Pavia, of the Visconti-Sforza family, as his booty. It was, without doubt, from the library of Pavia that he got several volumes which had belonged to Petrarch, now in the Bibliothèque nationale.<sup>134</sup> Louis also took to Blois some of the books of Louis of Bruges, Lord of Gruthuyse and governor of Holland. There is no documentary evidence as to the manner in which he obtained this library, which is said to have rivaled his own as well as that of the dukes of Burgundy. The great effort made to cover up the arms of the Gruthuyse books makes the manner of their acquisition more than questionable. The arms of Louis of Bruges were replaced by the fleur-de-lis shield, and the second letter of the symbol "L. M." was converted into an "A"; but the traces of numbers and devices which reveal the ownership are found, especially in the body of the manuscripts, and it is possible to identify, among the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque nationale, 150 volumes which once belonged to Louis of Bruges.

One of the most important manuscripts which came from the library of Louis of Bruges was a translation from Seneca made by the scholar Jean de Courtecuisse, whose ambition was to translate all the works of Seneca.<sup>135</sup> Another such valuable book was the *Chronicles and Ancient Histories of Britain, Now Called England*, written by Jean de Wavrin. This curious chronicle extends from the mythical period of British history down to the return of Edward IV to England in 1471, after the second deposition of Henry VI. Among the Harleian manuscripts of the British Museum is a volume which certainly at one period belonged to Louis of Bruges. This is a splendid illuminated manuscript on vellum of the works of Christine of Pisan. Without doubt, Louis of Bruges stimulated the making of fine books. Because of his patronage, both Latin and French manuscripts, carefully transcribed and beautifully illuminated, were to be procured in the Netherlands. Colard Mansion was employed by the Lord of Gruthuyse; and Caxton, while a merchant adventurer at Bruges, had

<sup>134</sup> Delisle, *Cabinet*, I, 138.

<sup>135</sup> Paris, *op. cit.*, No. 6850.

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access to his library.<sup>136</sup> It is probably because Edward IV saw the splendid library of the Lord of Gruthuyse that he had numerous fine manuscripts written and illuminated for him at Bruges and Lille between the years 1470 and 1480.<sup>137</sup>

Francis I, nephew and successor of Louis XII, inherited not only the royal library of France, enriched by the collection of the house of Orléans and the acquisitions of Louis XII, but also the books of the counts of Angoulême. This collection was begun by John the Good, brother of the poet Charles of Orléans and his companion in England. It was preserved and increased by Charles of Angoulême and his wife, Louise of Savoy, and passed to their son, Francis I, and thus into the royal library. In 1534 the books were moved to Fontainebleau, and in 1595, under Henry IV, to Paris, where they formed the nucleus of the present Bibliothèque nationale.

We conclude this chapter on French libraries with some discussion of the papal library during the residence at Avignon. Probably few of the books collected by Boniface VIII in Italy reached Avignon. John XXII (1316-34) was the real founder of the library, for he is known to have spent large sums of money for books and to have ordered an inventory of the books at Assisi. John's successor, Benedict XII, had a catalogue of the library made in 1334. He was actively interested in the collection of books and added to it by purchase and by having manuscripts copied. His successors followed his example, and the library grew rapidly.<sup>138</sup> Urban V (1362-70) had three catalogues of the library made—the last, of 1369, was the most complete ever made of the books at Avignon, with 2,102 entries in inventory form. Clement VII (1378-94) had the books catalogued again in 1379-80. His list does not entirely agree with that of 1369.

In the later years of the papal residence at Avignon the library seems to have been somewhat neglected. There are fewer records of the purchase and copying of manuscripts, and a large number of volumes actually disappeared from the library, perhaps during the

<sup>136</sup> Bradley, *op. cit.*, II, 70.

<sup>137</sup> F. Madden, *Archeologia*, XXVI, 265-74.

<sup>138</sup> According to G. Mollat, *Les Papes d'Avignon* (Paris, 1912), p. 371, the papal right of spoliun between 1343 and 1350 enriched the library of Avignon by 1,200 works.

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confusion following the death of Clement VII in 1394. The diminution in the size of the library is apparent in the catalogue of 1407, which contained only 1,582 items; but some of the discrepancy may be due to differences in the methods of cataloguing. This last-mentioned catalogue is in the National Library at Madrid. It was found by Cardinal Ehrle<sup>139</sup> and has been recently published by P. Galindo Romeo.<sup>140</sup> An examination of the catalogue shows Benedict XIII to be a person of sound literary taste and a patron of the arts, who spared neither pains nor expense in decorating his volumes with the finest work of the binder, illuminator, and miniaturist. Much information on the care and classification is prefaced to the catalogue. The library at Avignon was situated on the top floor of the tower of the papal residence, above the pope's own apartment. The bookcases, called "armaria," lined the four walls of the room except where they were broken by the one door and two windows. Each case was divided longitudinally into several sections, called "domuncule"; and each of the sections was made of several shelves, "ordines."

The scheme of classification divided the collection into three large categories—theology, civil and canon law, and other sciences and arts—the first division containing 1,177 volumes, the second 277 (227 canon and 50 civil law), the third 128. Each of the three major divisions was further subdivided into texts, glosses and commentaries, speculative books, and practical books. The entries in the catalogue give, in shelf-list order, the author and title but no description. The shelf list proper is preceded by a short descriptive list of classes of books, which might almost be termed an index and which must have been of great assistance in the finding of books, for it tells in what shelf, section, and case books on given subjects or by particular authors are to be found.

At the beginning of the year 1408 Benedict XIII and Gregory XII were respectively the popes elected by the Avignonese and Roman factions of the College of Cardinals. At that time Benedict felt secure

<sup>139</sup> "Un Catalogo fin qui sconosciuto della biblioteca papale d'Avignon," *Fasciculus Johanni Willis Clark dicatus* (Cambridge, 1909).

<sup>140</sup> *La Biblioteca de Benedicto XIII* (Zaragosa, 1929). Reviewed by J. L. Cate in *Library Quarterly*, II (1932), 311-13.

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in the support of the French crown, but on June 13 he heard that he could no longer hope for aid from that quarter.

He had previously made all preparations for clearing out from Avignon. Inventories were drawn up of his personal effects, and, being a wealthy man and a "very keen collector of fine books," he had packed up the great papal library in bales and selected over 1000 volumes to be forwarded to him at Peniscola. So, when he found himself threatened on the land, he bolted suddenly in a galley with four of his cardinals, leaving behind, for after-publication on the church doors and on his palace gates, an order summoning a General Council to meet at Perpignan on Nov. 1st, 1408. After cruising for awhile out of harm's way, he landed at Elne on July 2nd, 1408, within the confines of his native Aragon. On July 15th he was at Collioure and on the twenty-third he entered Perpignan and created five new Cardinals to replace those whom he had lost through his breach with France.<sup>142</sup>

Very little is known of the fate of the library of Avignon after the flight of Benedict XIII. Though it cannot be proved with certainty, there is reason to believe that the manuscript in the Bibliothèque nationale from which Faucon printed his catalogue of the collection at Peniscola<sup>142</sup> is only the first volume of two which were prepared at the same time.<sup>143</sup> At present only a small portion of the library may be accounted for. Many of the manuscripts which were taken to Peniscola have been lost, and it is in only a few instances that information relative to the portion which remained at Avignon may be procured.

Upon the death of Benedict in 1424, two cardinals who had remained loyal to his cause decided to name a successor. They chose Gilles de Munos, who, after much hesitation, took the name of Clement VIII. In 1429 the Cardinal de Foix<sup>144</sup> was commissioned by Martin V to persuade the pretender to give up his claims, and as reward for his success was given the ornaments and books of Benedict XIII. An inventory was taken on August 25, 1429, but unfortunately it has been lost. These books, together with others which the cardinal had collected, were part of the endowment of the Col-

<sup>142</sup> Wylie, *op. cit.*, III, 342.

<sup>143</sup> M. Faucon, *La Librairie des papes d'Avignon* (Paris, 1886), II, 43-151.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 60. Delisle in his *Cabinet*, I, 486, quotes Baluze, *Vitae paparum Avinioensium* I, 1193, to the effect that this manuscript is only partially complete, there being nothing on Roman law and little on canon law.

<sup>145</sup> Delisle, *Cabinet*, I, 487-88.

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lège de Foix, which he founded at the University of Toulouse. The cardinal left complete directions for the administration of the library of the college. The books were to be arranged according to subject matter; a catalogue was to be kept on parchment; each member of the college was to promise faithfully to guard the books from harm. Although the library was kept in good condition for a while, it was later damaged greatly through negligence; and in 1680 the manuscripts were purchased by Colbert for the sum of 582 livres. Delisle, in examining the manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale from the Collège de Foix, identified 59 with certainty, and 15 questionably, as having been in the library of Peniscola.<sup>145</sup>

Of the part of the library remaining at Avignon, little is known with certainty. It is known that Martin V ordered some of the manuscripts returned to Rome in 1418. Of the part remaining at Avignon to 1594, about 400 manuscripts were taken to the Palazzo Borghese in Rome under Paul V (1605-21). Here they were discovered in 1884, and in 1892 were transferred to the Vatican. Labande stated that the present city library of Avignon contains a few manuscripts of the popes of the fourteenth century.<sup>146</sup>

<sup>145</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 486-508, for a discussion of the fate of this portion of the library of Peniscola.

<sup>146</sup> L. H. Labande, *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits de la bibliothèque d'Avignon*; reviewed in *Bulletin historique*, 1894, pp. 145-60.

## CHAPTER XV

# German Libraries in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

By S. K. PADOVER

BY THE thirteenth century Europe was becoming urbanized. This shifted the center of intellectual activities from the abbey to the town. The new religious orders, unlike the old, were more interested in charity than in erudition.<sup>1</sup> The monasteries, hitherto centers of learning and education, declined in proportion as the cities rose to power.<sup>2</sup> Such famous houses as St. Gall, Corvey, and Fulda sank so far that but few of their inmates knew how to write.

This monastic stagnation lasted for almost two centuries. Not only was there little copying or new writing in the cells, but the old books were neglected, scattered, or destroyed. Nevertheless, the German monastic libraries, of which there were several thousand,<sup>3</sup> were unexcelled in their riches, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Munich has today no less than 600 catalogues of medieval German libraries.<sup>4</sup> And when the Italian humanists came to search for

<sup>1</sup> Trithemius, *Vita Hrabani*, p. iii: "Since the time of Rabanus the Order of St. Benedict has possessed a multitude of scholars in all Europe. Nothing is truer than the old saying 'Knowledge is found under the hood of the monk.' In France, in Germany, a goodly number of monks applied themselves to Greek and Latin. But nowadays they prefer idleness to study and Greek is no longer pursued either in France or Germany. Then were formed, too, certain other institutions like the Mendicant Friars and with new methods of teaching they introduced a familiar and rustic form of writing."

<sup>2</sup> K. Dziatzko, *Entwicklung und gegenwärtiger Stand der wissenschaftlichen Bibliotheken Deutschlands, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Preussens* (Leipzig, 1893), p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> K. Loeffler, *Deutsche Klosterbibliotheken* (Bonn and Leipzig, 1922), p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> J. A. Schmeller, "Ueber Bücherkataloge des XV. und früheren Jahrhunderts," *Serapeum*, II (1841), 241-54.

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books, they found in Germany a veritable Eldorado. That country, according to Poggio, was "a prison where Roman classics were held captive by Teutonic barbarians."

The church councils of the fifteenth century had two effects on German libraries: on the one hand, intellectual interests were stimulated generally; and on the other, many of the delegates gained access to the German cloisters, whose ancient books they either purchased or stole. Thus, on the eve of the Reformation two intellectual streams—ecclesiastical activities and those of secular humanists—tended to converge. These two movements require separate discussion. First to be considered are the ecclesiastical libraries.

The documentation of German library history at the close of the Middle Ages is too enormous to allow a discussion here of every recorded book collection. Fortunately, however, the prevailing conditions and dominant trends of the period can be established clearly from a study of certain typical institutions. The first of these may well be the library of Reichenau, one of the oldest monasteries of the German cultural area.

When the book-hungry humanists came to Constance in 1414, they soon discovered Reichenau and found there rare classical texts, including the *Silvae* of Statius and the *Punica* of Silius Italicus. What other books were taken away at this time is uncertain; but certainly there were included a *Textus Clementinarum*, a *Tractatus de juribus regis*, a *Bulla aurea*, a *Liber Feodorum*, and a number of documents.<sup>5</sup>

A few years later the losses were made good by Abbot Frederick II (1427-53), "a lover of books, art, and scholars," who, finding many books "pawned, loaned and scattered," spent the enormous sum of 600 gulden on 50 manuscripts, biblical and canonical.<sup>6</sup> Then he sent the monk John Pfuser to Vienna to buy more books, and had the old ones bound. Early in the nineteenth century Reichenau was secularized and its rich store of manuscript books scattered, though fortunately a large number of them are preserved at Karlsruhe.

<sup>5</sup> For the list see A. T. Holder, *Die reichenauer Handschriften*, III, Part II (1906-18), 20-32.

<sup>6</sup> Loeffler, *op. cit.*, p. 112. The list, together with the prices, is given by Holder, *op. cit.*, III, Part II, 28-30.

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The abbey of Fulda went through the same experience as Reichenau. During the Council of Constance the abbot sent *lectissima volumina* to book-loving delegates. These volumes, among which may have been the Ammianus Marcellinus which fell into Poggio's hands in 1420, were never returned to the monastery. There is little direct information available concerning this library, since no complete catalogue was drawn up until 1561. Earlier, however, Ulrich von Hutten, who had studied there, said he found the chronicles of Pliny, Solinus, Quintilian, and Marcellus Medicus. Another Fulda student was John Froben, the Basel publisher, who later remarked that this abbey had a greater collection of good authors than any other library in Germany. Similar testimony was given by John Sichart, George Witzel, and, much later, by the great Protestant scholar Matthias Flacius Illyricus.<sup>7</sup> The 1561 catalogue of 794 titles includes many manuscripts, as well as some printed books. Between the tenth and the sixteenth centuries there seem to have been almost no additions made to the library. Most of the works are medieval and theological.

Another old library that suffered great losses in the fifteenth century was Corvey. In 1412 it gave away or sold 28 theological manuscripts to the Cistercian monastery of Amelungsborn. The rest of the library disappeared in some inexplicable manner, and not even a catalogue has been preserved. During the Thirty Years' War, Corvey was seized a number of times and finally was plundered.<sup>8</sup>

But not all the ancient monasteries degenerated. Tegernsee increased its library after the invention of printing. Abbot Conrad V

<sup>7</sup> Illyricus used the Fulda library in 1556; another scholar, Franz Modius, who worked there almost thirty years later, left a record of 14 manuscripts which the abbey then had. Cf. Loeffler, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-36. In 1632 the Swedes conquered Fulda, and Gustavus Adolphus gave a number of its books to William of Hesse. At least 27 Fulda manuscripts are to be found today in Cassel; the rest are scattered; cf. K. Loeffler, "Die fuldaer Klosterbibliothek," *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, X (1918), 194-202. The catalogue of 1561 is published by K. Scherer, in "Beiträge zur Rekonstruktion der alten Bibliotheca Fuldensis und Bibliotheca Laureshamensis," *Beihefte zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XXVI (1902); cf. M. Manitius, *Neues Archiv*, XXXIV (1909), 759 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Loeffler, *Deutsche Klosterbibliotheken*, pp. 145-59. The remains of the Corvey library are to be found today in the University of Marburg and the library of Wolfenbüttel; cf. F. Behrend, "Corveys elfhundertjährige Geschichte im Spiegel seiner Büchersammlungen," *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, XV (1923), 11-21.



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(1461-92) bought no less than 450 volumes, on which he spent 1,100 pounds heller. In the catalogue of 1484, 1,103 works are listed; ten years later, 635 more.<sup>9</sup> The books were listed alphabetically and were classified under ten subject headings, five of them devoted to classical and secular authors, in which the collection was strong.<sup>10</sup>

The ancient Benedictine house of St. Emmeram in Regensburg likewise experienced a revival. In the tenth century it had 513 books. By 1251 the library was so valuable that the monks, being in debt, pledged it for the huge sum of 500 pounds. In the following century many books seem to have been lost, for the catalogue of 1347 lists only 252 titles.<sup>11</sup> These books were kept on thirty-two desks (*pulpita*) and were divided according to subject. Bibles occupied two desks, exegetics four, theologians nine, historians one, canonists three, jurists one, and liberal arts four. In the fifteenth century, when two other catalogues were compiled, a considerable number of books had been added. At one time, Master Hermann Pötzlinger (d. 1469) gave no less than 110 works. By 1500 St. Emmeram possessed 420 parchment manuscripts and about 80 other books, both written and printed.<sup>12</sup>

The history of St. Gall in Switzerland is perhaps typical of the vicissitudes of German monastic libraries in the pre-Reformation era. In 1314 the city and the monastery were destroyed by fire. Presumably a portion of the library was saved, for a century later, during the Council of Constance, three brilliant Italians, attracted by the fame of St. Gall, visited the abbey to investigate the manuscripts. The

<sup>9</sup> Loeffler, *Deutsche Klosterbibliotheken*, p. 186. In 1683 Mabillon found many interesting books in Tegernsee, including Cyprian, a *Vita S. Ruperti*, an extensive *Martyrologium*, and Dionysius Areopagita's *De celesti et de ecclesiastica hierarchia*. As late as 1717 Bernhard Pez observed that Tegernsee had over 1,000 manuscripts. In 1803, when the monastery was dissolved, the books were taken to Munich.

<sup>10</sup> Loeffler, *Deutsche Klosterbibliotheken*, pp. 186-91; T. Gottlieb, *Ueber mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, No. 204; G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, No. 309; V. Redlich, *Tegernsee und die deutsche Geistesgeschichte im XV. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1931), chaps. ii, iii.

<sup>11</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 171.

<sup>12</sup> Loeffler, *Deutsche Klosterbibliotheken*, pp. 173-82; cf. Docen, "Anzeige der die ältere deutsche Geschichte betreffenden Handschriften der vormaligen Abtey S. Emmeram in Regensburg," *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, I, 425-29; III, 341-51; VII, 113-17.

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unsuspecting Abbot Henry was happy to show his treasures to these learned gentlemen: Poggio, Cencio, and Politiano. The zealous bookmen were thrilled by what they saw. Cencio leaped at the sight of the *Argonauticon*, the eight *Orations* of Cicero, the *De utroque homine* by Lactantius, and the *Architectura* of Vitruvius. Poggio saw things to tempt even an honest man. He is said to have stolen the Quintilian, Tertullian, Asconius Pedianus, Silius Italicus, Marcellinus, Manilius Astronomus, Lucius Septimius, Valerius Flaccus, Eutychius, Probus, and others. In the absence of a catalogue it is not possible to say precisely how many works the Italians carried off. The *Annals of St. Gall* simply mention that a certain Podius (Poggio) took away "many other famous books."

The Council of Basel, in 1431, was equally harmful to the St. Gall library. Again the prelates demanded books, and the abbot was in no position to refuse them. Nevertheless, the abbey retained many rare works. After these repeated losses St. Gall decided to preserve what was left. Abbot Caspar (1442-57) secured the library door with three locks, the keys to which were held by himself and two trusted assistants. He also ordered that no books should be lent except on the deposit of an ample pledge. When he himself took a number of manuscripts, he, too, had to give security.

In the latter half of the fifteenth century St. Gall again became a great intellectual center. Abbot Ulrich VIII (1463-91) bought many new books and set aside an annual sum of 100 gulden for the library. The abbey now developed a school of historians, orators, authors, and calligraphers, whose fame spread throughout the country. Friends of the abbey made donations in money and books, and by 1500 the library was open to scholars.<sup>13</sup>

Another monastic library rich in the classics was Hersfeld. In the first quarter of the fifteenth century Poggio negotiated with the monks there for the works of Tacitus, Agricola, Frontinus, Suetonius, Ammianus Marcellinus, Livy, and Cicero. Whether or not he acquired any of these books is not known, as no catalogue has been

<sup>13</sup> F. Weidmann, *Geschichte der Bibliothek von St. Gallen* (St. Gall, 1841), pp. 52-55, 401-22, and *passim*.

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preserved. Trithemius records that in 1513 the Abbot of Fulda plundered the library of Hersfeld.<sup>14</sup>

According to a catalogue compiled in 1343, the cathedral library of Constance possessed 192 manuscripts, divided into three groups—biblical, canonical, and theological.<sup>15</sup> The Carthusian monastery at Mainz possessed so rich a library that the catalogue drawn up in 1470 filled 100 pages. This inventory was divided into two parts—one an alphabetical register of the books and the other a shelf list. The divisions were, as was customary: biblical, patristic, law, natural science, medicine and arts, and sermons.<sup>16</sup> The books were kept in a vaulted room in the tower.<sup>17</sup>

The Carthusian library at Cologne was burned in 1451.<sup>18</sup> At Trier the monastery St. Maximin possessed 160 volumes, mainly Church Fathers, but also one *medicina*, one *volumen de musica et geometria*, and, modestly enough, *multi alii libri modici valoris*.<sup>19</sup> In the same diocese the Himmerodite order, though not given to scholarship, succeeded in copying no less than 2,000 volumes.<sup>20</sup> Werden on the Ruhr had, by the time of its dissolution in the nineteenth century, 11,000 volumes, many of them ancient and rare manuscripts.<sup>21</sup> The

<sup>14</sup> Loeffler, *Deutsche Klosterbibliotheken*, pp. 165–67.

<sup>15</sup> K. Loeffler, "Zur Provenienzfrage der weingartener Handschriften mit Itala-fragmenten," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XXVII (1910), 435–41; cf. *Serapeum*, I (1840), 49–58, 81–85.

<sup>16</sup> H. Schreiber, "Quellen und Beobachtungen zur mittelalterlichen Katalogisierungspraxis besonders in deutschen Kartausen," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XLIV (1927), 1–19.

<sup>17</sup> F. Falk, "Die ehemalige Dombibliothek zu Mainz," *Beihefte zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XVIII (1897), 76–78.

<sup>18</sup> Loeffler, *Deutsche Klosterbibliotheken*, pp. 249–52, and his "Koelnische Bibliotheksgeschichte im Umriss," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Buchwesen und Schrifttum*, IV (1921), 37 ff.

<sup>19</sup> Among the ecclesiastical books were 19 Augustines, 8 Jeromes, 2 Ambroses, 6 Gregorys, 11 Bedes; cf. Loeffler, *Deutsche Klosterbibliotheken*, pp. 191–99.

<sup>20</sup> The number given here is from the inventory of 1453 (C. and J. Marx, *Geschichte des Erzstifts Trier* [Trier, 1859], IV, 562). On Trier see also J. Montebaur, "Studien zur Geschichte der Bibliothek der Abtei St. Eucharius—Mathias zu Trier," *Römische Quartalschrift*, Beiheft XXVI (1931); V. Redlich, "Zur Bibliotheks- und Geistesgeschichte der Trierer Abtei St. Mathias," *Studien und Mittheilungen zur Geschichte des benediktiner Ordens*, XLIX (1931), 448–64.

<sup>21</sup> The Werden manuscripts are now in Berlin and Düsseldorf; A. Schmidt, "Handschriften der Reichsabtei Werden," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XXII (1905), 241–64; Loeffler,

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Benedictine abbey of Michelsberg at Bamberg almost tripled its number of books in three centuries; it had 188 works in the twelfth century and 512 in 1483. These books were kept in the sacristy alphabetically arranged on eighteen shelves.<sup>22</sup>

The religious and intellectual ferment of the fifteenth century brought about an interesting development of new cloisters for women. This movement was important because many of these women were literate and occupied themselves with reading pietistic literature in the vernacular. The libraries of the sisters contained mainly edifying literature in the "vulgar" tongue, presumably because the women either could not read Latin or were not interested in scholastic speculations. But they did accumulate a surprising number of books. Thus, the rich nunnery of St. Catherine's at Nuremberg had almost 400 manuscripts. This relatively large accumulation was due to the custom of the nuns' bringing books with them upon entering the cloister. One Catherine Tucher brought no less than 30 volumes.<sup>23</sup>

In Austria the Benedictine abbey of St. Florian had a considerable collection of books, acquired largely by gift. Entering novices frequently brought funds for the purchase of manuscripts. One Gundaker von Stahremberg once gave St. Florian a mill, the proceeds of which to be used "daz er darumbe puoch chauf." The library was further increased by zealous copying, either by monks or by professional writers who lived in the monastery.<sup>24</sup>

The great foundation of Klosterneuburg, near Vienna, likewise

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*Deutsche Klosterbibliotheken*, pp. 199-206; Martène and Durand, *Voyage de deux religieux Bénédictins* (Paris, 1724), p. 231; M. Ziegelbauer, *Historia rei literariae ordinis S. Benedicti*, I, 458, 512.

<sup>22</sup> There is a great amount of literature on Bamberg; for bibliography see E. G. Vogel, *Literatur früherer und noch gestehender europäischer öffentlicher und Corporations-Bibliotheken* (Leipzig, 1840); Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22; Loeffler, *Deutsche Klosterbibliotheken*, pp. 206-15; H. Bresslau, "Bamberger Studien," *Neues Archiv*, XXI (1896), 139 ff.; F. Leitschuh and H. Fischer, *Katalog der Handschriften der kgl. Bibliothek zu Bamberg* (1895-1908), I; A. Lahner, *Die ehemalige Benediktinerabtei Michelsberg* (Bamberg, 1889), pp. 92 ff.

<sup>23</sup> A. Hauber, "Deutsche Handschriften in Frauenklöstern des späteren Mittelalters," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XXXI (1914), 341-73.

<sup>24</sup> A. Czerny, *Die Bibliothek des Chorherrnstiftes St. Florian* (Linz, 1874), pp. 40 ff. This work includes valuable data on book prices, costs of materials, and scribes' wages in Austria between the eleventh and the fifteenth centuries.

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accumulated a large library by means of donations and copying. In 1330 one Magister Martin compiled a catalogue of the library, listing 366 manuscripts, most of which still exist.<sup>25</sup> The catalogue was divided into four sections: Church Fathers, law, medicine, and logic. In the last category were listed the classics, arithmetic, music, and poetry.<sup>26</sup> A century later Klosterneuburg set aside a special fund for the purchase of books, and an active literary life began for the monastery.

In Prague there were at least two considerable libraries—that of the Caroline University, which we shall consider in connection with the secular collections, and that of the Augustinian monastery of St. Thomas. A catalogue of the latter was compiled in 1409, with marginal annotations indicating the content and origin of each volume. From these notes we discover that the monastery had acquired its 130 books both by purchase and by gift. The most distinguished donors were Ernst of Pardubitz, archbishop of Prague, and John of Neumarkt, bishop of Olmütz and chancellor of Charles IV, among whose gifts were a Livy, the tragedies of Seneca, and two manuscripts of Dante, which he probably picked up in Italy.<sup>27</sup>

The Benedictine abbey of Raigern, in Moravia, once possessed many books, but its position was fatal to intellectual life. In the thirteenth century the Mongols laid Moravia in ashes. Before Raigern could recover, it again fell victim in the conflicts of the Hussite

<sup>25</sup> The catalogue was not found until 1775; for this and other book lists see H. J. Zeibig, *Die Bibliothek des Stiftes Klosterneuburg* (Vienna, 1850), pp. 19-56; Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-44.

<sup>26</sup> Under the first heading were listed Augustine, Hugo of St. Victor (5 vols.), Ambrose (3), Hilary (3), Jerome (7), Isidore of Seville, Rabanus Maurus, Cassian, Prudentius. Under *libri juris* we find: decretals and institutions with commentaries, in 28 volumes; Gregory the Great; Bede; and mixed medical books, legends, homilies, and Bibles. *Libri medicinales* included Serapion, Giraldu Cambrensis, Walther, Johannicius, Platearius, Egydius, and commentaries on Hippocrates in 14 volumes, all of which, except one, have been preserved. *Libri logici* contained, beside the 28 volumes of the Roman classics, Aristotle, Porphyry, Boethius, and commentaries in 13 volumes, Priscian, Donatus, and commentaries in 12 volumes, *libri arti = arithmeticae* in 3 volumes, *libri musicales* in 2 volumes, and *flores poetarum*. See Zeibig, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-11.

<sup>27</sup> J. Neuwirth, "Die Bücherverzeichniss des prager Thomasklosters vor den Hussitenkriegen," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, X, (1893), 153-79.

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wars. Thus it preserved a few manuscripts, and only 235 fifteenth-century printed books.<sup>28</sup>

Apart from these monasteries, books were also to be found in the cathedrals and in a few church libraries. Strassburg Minster had 50 volumes in 1027, only 91 in 1372, and apparently even fewer at the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>29</sup> In 1343 the cathedral collection at Constance contained some 200 books.<sup>30</sup> Gnesen, in 1450, possessed only 35 volumes; and Speyer, in 1051, a mere 14,<sup>31</sup> though the collection was later praised by Wimpfeling.<sup>32</sup> Lübeck, in 1297, had some 150 volumes.<sup>33</sup> In 1409 the treasurer of Hildesheim Cathedral recorded "twenty-one chained books in the choir" and a number of other liturgical works.<sup>34</sup> A catalogue of Frauenburg of about 1446 lists 160 manuscripts,<sup>35</sup> but the collection was destroyed at the end of the century.<sup>36</sup>

By and large the cathedral collections were not important; but the churches were even poorer—in most cases they had only a few theological works. Many of these church collections originated as legacies; among such gifts were St. Mary's at Danzig (1413), Stargard in Prussia (1404), St. Mary's at Lübeck (1468),<sup>37</sup> Brunswick (1495), Schmalkalden (1489), Wertheim (1458), St. Catherine's at

<sup>28</sup> M. Kinter, "Die Bibliothek des Stiftes Raigern," *Archiv für Bibliographie, Buch- und Bibliothekswesen*, I (1926), 204-13. On the burning of Hussite books see E. H. Gillett, *The Life and Times of John Huss* (Boston, 1863), II, 14-15 and *passim*. For other Austrian monastic libraries see G. Reichhart, "Einige Incunabel-Drucke aus der Stiftsbibliothek zu Gottweig in Oesterreich," *Serapeum*, XIII (1852), 53-59, 87-94, 153-60, 217-34, 263-72; H. Menhardt, "Neue Forschungen über die Herkunft der Handschriften aus alten Bibliotheken Kärntens," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XLI (1924), 225-44. This deals with the library of St. Paul's at Klagenfurt, which had 250 books in 1470; when the monastery was dissolved under Joseph II, in 1789, it had only 271 works.

<sup>29</sup> C. Schmidt, *Zur Geschichte der strassburger Bibliothek*, pp. 6 f.

<sup>30</sup> *Serapeum*, I (1840), 49.

<sup>31</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, Nos. 65, 192.

<sup>32</sup> *Serapeum*, XV (1854), 1.

<sup>34</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 83.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, XXV (1864), 177.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 46.

<sup>36</sup> F. Hipler, *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands*, V (1871), 347.

<sup>37</sup> E. Deecke, *Die öffentliche Bibliothek in Lübeck* (Lübeck, 1851), p. 6.

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Hamburg (1477), St. Jacobi (1400),<sup>38</sup> Hameln (1492), Elbing (1477), Schlettstadt (1452), and St. Mary's at Zeitz (1496).<sup>39</sup>

Any account of ecclesiastical libraries must mention the two most distinguished churchmen of the German renaissance, Nicholas of Cusa and John Trithemius. The former has been called "the most prodigious phenomenon of the expiring Middle Ages."<sup>40</sup> He was born at Cues, on the Moselle, in 1401 and was educated at Deventer by the Brethren of the Common Lot<sup>41</sup> and at Heidelberg and Padua. From this background Nicholas acquired that blend of theology and humanism which distinguished him and led to speedy recognition. As secretary to Cardinal Orsini the young man attended the Council of Basel for eight years. Then, as papal legate, he traveled in Germany, Holland, France, England, and Bohemia. At forty-seven he was made cardinal by Pope Nicholas V; and ten years later, in 1458, his friend Pope Pius II appointed him vicar-general of the Papal States. The two friends, cardinal and pontiff, died in the same month, August of 1464.

Nicholas was a theologian, a philosopher, and a scientist. "No one of his time was more learned in mathematics," wrote a contemporary.<sup>42</sup> He dabbled in Hebrew,<sup>43</sup> was master of Greek and Latin, and

<sup>38</sup> C. Petersen, *Geschichte der hamburgener Stadtbibliothek* (Hamburg, 1838), pp. 1-4.

<sup>39</sup> Thus, St. Nicolai's at Brieg, according to a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century catalogue, had 40 books, mostly liturgical; in 1451 St. Helen's Church at Strassburg had about a dozen books; the parish church of Schweidnitz had 22 books in 1471; St. Elizabeth's at Breslau, some 40 books in 1483; the Oldesloe Church, in 1489, had 33 liturgical works; a report from the year 1566 at Rostock gives 30 books for St. Nicolai's Church and 63 for St. Peter's. For these and other figures see G. Kohfeldt, "Die Geschichte der Büchersammlungen und des Bücherbesitzes in Deutschland," *Zeitschrift für Kulturgeschichte*, VII (1900), 336-37.

<sup>40</sup> W. Andreas, *Deutschland vor der Reformation* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1934), p. 37.

<sup>41</sup> From the Brethren of the Common Lot, Nicholas acquired his love for the classics. As cardinal and legate, he later used his influence in the multiplication of the Brethren's schools and the teaching of the classics in Germany; cf. J. Guiraud, *L'Eglise romaine et les origines de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1904), p. 284.

<sup>42</sup> John Andrea de Bussi, quoted in B. Botfield, *Prefaces to the First Edition of the Greek and Roman Classics and of the Sacred Scriptures* (London, 1861), p. 77. Cusa carried out many scientific experiments. His *De staticis experimentis*, describing his scientific work, was published, together with Vitruvius' *De architectura* (Strassburg, 1543). A German translation by B. Bramer, entitled *Dialogus von Wag und Gewicht*, was printed at Marburg, in 1617.

<sup>43</sup> It is not certain that Cusa knew Hebrew, but his library contained several Hebrew volumes (E. Vansteenberghe, *Le Cardinal Nicolas de Cues* [Paris, 1920], p. 28, n. 4).

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was a zealous collector of classical books. His wide travels as papal legate enabled him to acquire manuscripts in many corners of Europe and even in Constantinople. At the cathedral library in Cologne he discovered, and copied, what he thought was Cicero's *De republica* but which, after an impatient correspondence with Poggio, he found to be a commentary by Macrobius on the *Somnium Scipionis*. Cusa later announced other rich finds, which, however, were "ridiculous fragments" of Aulus Gellius and Quintus Curtius.<sup>44</sup>

Many of the manuscripts which Cusa discovered were borrowed by Lorenzo de Medici and finally found their way to the Vatican; others to Montserrat.<sup>45</sup> In the abbey of Egmond he copied the writings of Moses Maimonides, which he presented to the pope.<sup>46</sup> He also had translations or copies made of Seneca, Strabo, Plato, Aristotle, Polybius, and Eusebius, as well as George of Trebizond, Filelfo, Traversari, Guarino, and Bessarion. Most of these books are now in Rome, Brussels, or London.<sup>47</sup>

Since Nicholas' library was partly distributed during his lifetime and scattered after his death, it is impossible to determine the number of books in his collection. J. Marx, editor of the catalogue of the Cusa library<sup>48</sup> has identified many of his manuscripts by their marginal notes. Among them are 5 in Hebrew and 5 in patristic Greek. Cusa was intensely interested in Mohammedanism and possessed not only Peter the Venerable's translation of the Koran but another version from the Dominican convent at Pera.<sup>49</sup> A few days before his death Nicholas drew up a will, leaving his library to the hospital

<sup>44</sup> The correspondence is to be found in R. Sabbadini, *Guarino Veronese e gli archetipi di Celso e Plauto* (Livorno, 1886), p. 35; Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte dei codici latini e greci*, I, 110-11; Vansteenberghe, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, n. 2; 19, n. 2; 20, n. 6.

<sup>45</sup> See E. König, *Kardinal Giordano Orsini* (Freiburg, 1906), p. 117. For the catalogue of Orsini's books, many of which were found by Cusa, see F. G. Cancellieri, *De secretariis basilicae Vaticanae* (Rome, 1786), pp. 906-14; for Cusa's book-hunting activities while at Basel see "Niccolo da Cusa e i conciliari di Basilea alla scoperta dei codici," *Rendiconti della reale accademia dei Lincei* (Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche), 5th ser., XX (1911), 3-40. See also Poggio, *Epistolae*, I, 305; Sabbadini, *Scoperte, passim*.

<sup>46</sup> Vansteenberghe, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22 and *passim*.

<sup>48</sup> *Verzeichnis der Handschriften-Sammlung des Hospitals zu Cues* (Trier, 1905).

<sup>49</sup> H. Bett, *Nicholas of Cusa* (London, 1932), p. 97.



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at Cusa, which he had founded. But no list of them has survived. A large part of Cusa's library was sold in 1723-24 to Robert Harley and is now in the Harleian Collection in the British Museum.<sup>50</sup>

Two years before Cusa died, in 1462, John Trithemius was born, of poor parents, in the same diocese as the great cardinal. He studied at Heidelberg with such famous scholars as Dalberg, Celtes, and Reuchlin. In his early twenties he became abbot of the ancient monastery of Sponheim, where he was to achieve fame.<sup>51</sup> This abbey, founded in 1124, had been in decline since the beginning of the thirteenth century. The later abbots, some of them absentees, had scattered or sold the old books to buy luxuries for themselves. A few years before Trithemius' election, the once-rich library possessed only 40 minor books, 30 of them printed. The abbey was 2,200 gulden in debt; its ground and buildings mortgaged; its tools gone. Only six monks remained, and these were undisciplined and ignorant. Young Trithemius, the twenty-fifth abbot, was not in an enviable position.<sup>52</sup>

He began at once to improve the material conditions of the abbey, but his chief interest was in books. Himself a scholar in Greek and Hebrew, he corresponded with most of the learned men, as well as publishers, of his time.<sup>53</sup> He even planned to establish a printing-press in the monastery.<sup>54</sup>

Trithemius used two methods for the acquisition of books: he

<sup>50</sup> Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, p. 113. Cusa was also interested in the new art of printing; Van-steenbergh, *op. cit.*, p. 30 and nn. 3 and 5. For further data on Cusa see F. X. Kraus, in *Serapeum*, XXV, reprinted as *Die Handschriftensammlung des Cardinals Nicolaus von Cusa* (Leipzig, 1864); K. Beyerle, in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, XXXIX (1922), 116-22; J. Klein, *Ueber eine Handschrift des Nicolaus von Cues nebst ungedruckten Fragmenten ciceronischer Reden* (Berlin, 1866), pp. 3 ff.

<sup>51</sup> On the life of Trithemius see R. W. Seton-Watson, "The Abbot Trithemius," *Tudor Studies* (London, 1924), pp. 75 ff.; P. S. Allen, *The Age of Erasmus* (Oxford, 1917), pp. 76-77.

<sup>52</sup> Much of the history of Sponheim comes from Trithemius himself; he wrote a *Chronicon Sponheimense* and another book entitled *Nepiachus*; see E. G. Vogel, "Die Bibliothek der Benedictinerabtei Sponheim," *Serapeum*, III (1842), 312 ff.

<sup>53</sup> The first collection of Trithemius' letters was published by P. Brubachius at Hagenau in 1536: *Epistolarum familiarium libri duo ad diversos Germaniae principes, episcopos, ac eruditione praestantes viros*. There are 139 exceedingly valuable letters, written to such men as Duke Frederick of Saxony, Conrad Celtes, Wimpfeling, Conrad Peutinger, Pirckheimer, George Sibutus, Hermann Buschius, Wolfgang Hopyl (the Paris printer), etc.

<sup>54</sup> Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-62.

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made his monks copy borrowed texts; and, with money given by his friends, he visited neighboring monasteries to purchase what he could. Once, in 1496, he had an exciting experience. In a Benedictine abbey he, the inventor of a new shorthand,<sup>55</sup> saw an ancient codex in Tironian stenography, much neglected and covered with dirt. This, he found, would be exchanged by the abbot for the newly printed works of St. Anselm. He hastened to the nearest bookshop and bought them at a low price, completed the exchange, and left the abbot convinced that he had struck a bargain. Thus, the oldest example of Tironian shorthand was saved at a moment when the monks were ready to erase the incomprehensible writing to save the expensive parchment.<sup>56</sup>

During his twenty-five years as abbot, Trithemius spent between 1,500 and 2,000 gulden on books, accumulating approximately 2,000 volumes, many of them rare.<sup>57</sup> In 1502 he compiled a catalogue of his cherished collection, classifying it according to language. Aside from the 100 Greek manuscripts, there were books (in print or manuscript) in Hebrew, Latin, Chaldean, Arabic, Hindu, Russian, and Tartar, as well as German, French, Italian, and Bohemian.<sup>58</sup>

Turning, now, to secular libraries, we find that a number of German princes and nobles were book-collectors during this period. Duke Ludwig of Brieg had, according to his testament of 1360, a considerable private library.<sup>59</sup> Prince Fürstenberg founded a library at

<sup>55</sup> Trithemius, *Polygraphiae libri sex*, dedicated to Emperor Maximilian and published in Mainz or Basel about 1518, is the first work on cryptography and ciphers; the second half of the book contains a "key," "Clavis polygraphiae." The work was finally burned officially, for Trithemius came to be considered a cabalist and necromancer.

<sup>56</sup> Vogel, *op. cit.*, pp. 312-28; this is the best short account of the Sponheim library under Trithemius.

<sup>57</sup> Seton-Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

<sup>58</sup> C. and J. Marx, *op. cit.*, I, 442. The catalogue of 1502 has been lost; see Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, p. 325 and note. For other data on Trithemius and Sponheim see P. Lehmann, "Die Sponheimer Bibliothek des Trithemius," *Festgabe Hermann Grauert gewidmet* (1910), pp. 205 ff.; Loeffler, *Deutsche Klosterbibliotheken*, pp. 239-42, 349-50; W. Schneegans, *Abt Johann Trithemius* (Kreuznach, 1882); Ziegelbauer, *op. cit.*, I, 490-98; III, 226-29. After Trithemius' death the great library was scattered, and many of the books found their way to Heidelberg; see F. Wilken, *Geschichte der Bildung, Beraubung, und Vernichtung der alten heidelbergischen Büchersammlungen* (Heidelberg, 1815), pp. 137-41.

<sup>59</sup> *Zeitschrift des Verein für Geschichte Schlesiens*, V (1863), 165.

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Donaueschingen in the fifteenth century. In Württemberg, Count Eberhard of Barte was apparently the first to collect books in the German language.<sup>60</sup> As early as 1432, the chapel at Wittenberg had two chests containing 31 German books.<sup>61</sup> Count Wilhelm von Oettingen (1425-67) possessed 77 German books;<sup>62</sup> another fifteenth-century catalogue, listing German works, shows that the noble Katzenelnbogen family had a private library at Darmstadt.<sup>63</sup> In 1490 Count Gerhard von Sayn gave 128 Latin books to the cloister Marienstadt.<sup>64</sup>

Many ruling princes seem to have had an interest in books. For example, in 1430 Duchess Margaret of Brunswick sent "vele buchir" to her brother; Duke Adolf of Cleve, in 1446, thanked his nephew for a German Bible and asked for more books.<sup>65</sup> The knights displayed similar interest in books. Many Alsations were collectors, particularly one Jacob von Fleckenstein, who possessed historical works.<sup>66</sup> Jacob Putrich of Reichertshausen (d. 1496) was the proud owner of 164 volumes of German poetry.<sup>67</sup> Elsbeth von Volkensdorf possessed 50 German books.<sup>68</sup>

Numerous medieval catalogues show that individual churchmen had their own book collections. As far back as the tenth century the Bishop of Passau was said to own 56 books.<sup>69</sup> Later there was a definite decline in private clerical libraries.<sup>70</sup> In the fourteenth and

<sup>60</sup> C. F. Stälin, *Zur Geschichte der alten und neuen Büchersammlungen in Württemberg* (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1838), p. 32.

<sup>61</sup> *Serapeum*, XXI (1860), 299.

<sup>62</sup> G. Grupp, "Eine gräfliche Bibliothek im 15. Jahrhundert," *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, IX (1892), 484-90.

<sup>63</sup> *Archiv für hessische Geschichte*, VII (1853), 190.

<sup>64</sup> Kohfeldt, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

<sup>65</sup> K. Falkenstein, *Beschreibung der königlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden* (Dresden, 1839), p. 7.

<sup>66</sup> C. G. A. Schmidt, *Zur Geschichte der ältesten Bibliotheken und der ersten Buchdrucker zu Strassburg* (Strassburg, 1882), p. 32.

<sup>67</sup> R. Duellius, *Excerptorum genealogicorum* (Leipzig, 1725), p. 277.

<sup>68</sup> Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 42.

<sup>69</sup> *Serapeum*, XX (1859), 107.

<sup>70</sup> One scholar, who spent years in research on Strassburg, wrote: "Before the beginning of the fifteenth century I do not know of a single ecclesiastic, even among those who enjoyed the richest benefices, who had any other books than liturgical or juridical" (Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 28).

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fifteenth centuries, however, private book collections increased. In the fourteenth century, for example, Deacon Wilhelm von Hasenburg, at Prague, left 114 volumes, which were purchased by Emperor Charles IV. Chancellor Conrad von Gelnhausen, in 1396, left 153 books; Marsilius von Inghen, some 200. Gerhard of Emelisse had 35; Conrad of Worms, 59; Cantor Colinus of Worms, 47; one Dr. Johann Muntzinger, 92 volumes. Early in the fifteenth century Dr. Neidhart, the parson of Ulm, left 300 volumes, which became the foundation of the public library.<sup>71</sup> Nicolaus Matz, the cathedral priest of Speyer, gave to the church at Michelstadt a collection of 117 books. In 1410 Bishop Matthias of Worms gave 90 volumes to Heidelberg University.<sup>72</sup> Prior Peter of Gengenbach, in 1420, deeded his library of more than 100 books to the Strassburg Dominicans.<sup>73</sup> In 1450 the parish priest Johannes Most donated 40 volumes to Prague University. In 1453 the provost of Brünn, Dr. Johann Polczmacher, left more than 100 legal works.<sup>74</sup> In 1454 the Abbot of Reichenau bought the library of Bishop of Constance, consisting of 60 volumes, for 500 gulden.<sup>75</sup>

Nor should one overlook the collections of educated laymen. Hugo of Trimberg, at Bamberg at the end of the thirteenth century, had 200 books, which, he hoped, would support him in his old age. One "Fridericus notarius" deeded 117 books to the cloister Admont in 1376.<sup>76</sup> In 1429 Dr. Kühnhofer, a lawyer and provost, bequeathed his 151 books to the city council of Nuremberg.<sup>77</sup> Johannes Sindel, the physician of Emperor Frederick III, left, in 1450, his 200 volumes of medicine and mathematics to Prague University.<sup>78</sup> Dr. Paulico, a Dresden physician, had at least 59 books, 37 of which were the-

<sup>71</sup> *Serapeum*, V (1844), 196.

<sup>72</sup> Wilken, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>73</sup> Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>74</sup> *Sitzungsberichte der wiener Akademie*, XIII (1854), 135.

<sup>75</sup> *Anzeiger für Bibliographie*, Notiz, 1848-49, p. 52.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, Notiz, 1878, p. 133.

<sup>77</sup> *Mittheilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg*, VI (1886), 137-44.

<sup>78</sup> F. K. G. Hirsching, *Versuch einer Beschreibung sehenswürdiger Bibliotheken Deutschlands* (Erlangen, 1786-91), III, 229 f.

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ological and 22 described as *in artibus*.<sup>79</sup> In 1456 Heinrich Rubenow, the burgomaster, deeded all his books, which he valued at over 1,000 gold gulden, to Greifswald University.<sup>80</sup> Poetzlinger (d. 1469), the rector of the school of St. Emmeram at Regensburg, left 110 books to his institution.

There is also evidence that some artisans possessed books. In the fifteenth century, skilled craftsmen were in the ascendancy; many had attended school, and some were associated with ecclesiastics and scholars. Not infrequently students took up a trade after their wandering years were over. These educated artisans sometimes composed poetry or recorded their experiences, as did the father of Dürer. According to the educational reformer, Johannes Busch (d. 1479), a hundred monastic foundations in the Utrecht region possessed books in the German language, which, he says, ordinary lay folk could read.<sup>81</sup> Apprentices and journeymen were frequently exhorted to "attend mass and listen to the sermons and to learn to read good books."<sup>82</sup> Nevertheless, the great mass of the population were without books.

There was also developing in Germany at this period a new group, small in number but of the utmost social importance. This group consisted of the professional scholars, who gave to books and libraries a new significance. They pursued learning, not merely as preliminary to vocational studies in theology, law, or medicine but for its own sake; and to them books were not merely acceptable tools for prescribed routines but instruments of research. Their library ideal was, inevitably, a huge collection of pure texts containing trustworthy information in accessible format. They, therefore, of all bookmen, accepted most quickly and most completely the products of the printing-press, which were abundant, cheap, legible, and, as time went on, carefully edited.

<sup>79</sup> *Anzeiger für Bibliographie*, 1842, p. 64.

<sup>80</sup> Becker, *op. cit.*, No. 293.

<sup>81</sup> See Zimmermann, *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Bürgerschule im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1878); K. Uhlirz, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des wiener Buchwesens 1326-1445," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XIII (1896), 79 f.

<sup>82</sup> O. Willmann, *Didaktik als Bildungslehre* (Brunswick, 1882), I, 258.

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The cultural transformation wrought by the new invention will show itself most clearly in an account of the private libraries of some of the outstanding German scholars of the transitional period. While a conservative minority disliked printed books and refused to use them, the majority of scholars bought them voraciously and discarded manuscripts as fast as purer or more legible texts were published. Though the library history of the age of printing is beyond the scope of the present treatise, these reactions must be mentioned to complete the story of the book in manuscript.

An outstanding example of first a rejection and then an acceptance of the printed volume is the private library of the Schedel family at Nuremberg. Hermann Schedel (1410-85), who introduced humanism in the city, began collecting books as a student of liberal arts at Leipzig and of medicine at Padua. He continued to do so while a physician to Elector Frederick II of Brandenburg. In 1453 he left the dismal north, and henceforth devoted most of his time to acquiring books, mainly classical and Italian. At Eichstädt he copied Petrarch, Boccaccio, Filelfo, and Aeneas Silvius. At Augsburg he served as city physician and had access to Sigismund Gossembrot's respectable library of classical authors.<sup>83</sup> He also met many distinguished scholars, who sent him books. At the age of fifty-seven he returned to Nuremberg, where he made efforts to create an interest in the classics. Yet it is noteworthy that he, an "advanced" spirit, disliked printing. His library contained only 2 printed volumes. Part of his collection was dispersed after his death—to monasteries and to friends—but the rest went to his cousin Hartmann.

Like his cousin and patron, Hartmann Schedel (1440-1514) was a physician and humanist, but his interests were wider. In Italy he studied not only medicine but also Greek, art, and archeology. He became a prominent historian. He felt no antipathy toward printed books and bought them freely. Indeed, the most valuable material now in the collection are, perhaps, the publishers' announcements and a priced trade catalogue, which he carefully preserved. Unlike most German private libraries, this collection remained intact. In

<sup>83</sup> See P. Joachimsen, "Aus der Bibliothek Sigismund Gossembrots," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XI (1894), 249-68, 297-307.

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1552 Melchior Schedel, Hartmann's grandson, sold most of the books to the great financier John Jacob Fugger for 500 florins. Fugger, in turn, presented his own large collection to Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria (1572). All these books are today in the Hofbibliothek at Munich.<sup>84</sup>

In their acceptance of the printed book, other German scholars resembled Hartmann Schedel rather than his cousin Hermann. All of them acquired books in large numbers but sought manuscripts only for unpublished texts or for unusual beauty or antiquity. Some made provision for the permanent preservation of their book collections. Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522) left his to his native Pforzheim; today a large part of this collection is at Karlsruhe.<sup>85</sup> Willibald Pirckheimer<sup>86</sup> divided his between his nephew and his daughter. The latter's portion passed by sale first to the Earl of Arundel and later to the Duke of Norfolk, who presented them to the Royal Society of London, which in 1840 gave the manuscripts to the British Museum and sold the printed books at auction, some of them as late as 1925. Other scholars dispersed their books, by gift or sale, during their own lifetimes or made no testamentary provision so that their heirs disposed of them at their own discretion. Such was the fate of the private libraries of Jacob Wimpfeling,<sup>87</sup> Conrad Celtes,<sup>88</sup> Ulrich von Hutten,<sup>89</sup> and Erasmus.<sup>90</sup>

In Germany there were a number of public libraries long before the Reformation. Brunswick had such an institution in 1413; Aachen in

<sup>84</sup> R. Stauber, *Die schedelsche Bibliothek* (Freiburg, 1908).

<sup>85</sup> See K. Schottenloher, "Johann Reuchlin und das humanistische Buchwesen," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, 1922, pp. 295 ff.; K. Christ, "Die Bibliothek Reuchlins in Pforzheim," *Beihefte zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, II (1924).

<sup>86</sup> F. Homeyer, "Pirckheimer's Bibliothek," *Monatshefte für Bücherfreunde*, I (1925), 358; L. Baer, "Pirckheimer's Bibliothek," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, December 8, 1925.

<sup>87</sup> J. Knepper, *Jacob Wimpfeling* (Freiburg, 1902).

<sup>88</sup> F. von Bezold, "Konrad Celtis, 'der deutsche Erzhumanist,'" *Historische Zeitschrift*, XLIX (1883), 1-45, 193-228.

<sup>89</sup> D. F. Strauss, *Ulrich von Hutten* (Leipzig, 1858-60), II, 326.

<sup>90</sup> The tradition that Erasmus' books are at Munich has been exploded in a carefully documented study by Dr. Fritz Husner in the *Gedenkschrift zum 400. Todestage des Erasmus* (Basel, 1936).

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1418; Danzig and Hamburg in 1469. The books were usually kept in churches or monasteries. In 1477 a library was opened at Frankfort "for the use of the common people."<sup>91</sup> The municipal library of Nuremberg celebrated its five-hundredth anniversary in 1929. Other cities which had municipal libraries in the fifteenth century were Lübeck, Hanover, Leipzig, Erfurt, Nördlingen, and Naumburg; these collections were located in the city hall. Apart from Frankfort and Nuremberg, actual city libraries ("public libraries," in the American sense of the word) were established also in Hamburg, Memmingen, and Regensburg. Bautzen is supposed to have had a public library as far back as 1407. Most of these municipal collections, originating in legacies from mayors and councilors, contained juridical works. One exception may be noted: Hamburg had a medical library for the use of the city physician, which, in 1469, contained 159 titles in 40 volumes.<sup>92</sup> Schlettstadt, a little city in Alsace, was distinguished in this period by the scholars Martin Bucer, Peter Schott, and Jacob Wimpheling and by others who studied there, and by its city library, founded about 1429 in connection with the Latin school of the parish church. Schlettstadt's collections grew in the sixteenth century with the bequest of the library of the humanist Beatus Rhenanus.<sup>93</sup>

While the humanists pursued their scholarly activities more or less as secular free lances, the universities remained largely theological, indifferent or hostile to the "new" thought. Nevertheless, at the end of the fifteenth century even they began to collect nontheological printed books. Germany had few institutions of higher learning before the Reformation, and so our account will necessarily be brief.

An elaborate arrangement of books was to be found in the library of the Caroline University at Prague, founded in 1347. According to

<sup>91</sup> F. Falk, "Zur Geschichte der öffentlichen Büchersammlungen in Deutschland im 15. Jahrhundert," *Historisches Jahrbuch*, XVII (1896), 343-44; W. Ziesmer, "Zur Kenntnis des Bibliothekswesens Preussens im 15. Jahrhundert," *Festgabe zur vierhundertjährigen Jubelfeier der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek zu Königsberg* (Königsberg, 1929), pp. 393-400.

<sup>92</sup> Petersen, *op. cit.*, p. 7; for the other libraries see Kohfeldt, *op. cit.*, pp. 339-40.

<sup>93</sup> On the early history of Schlettstadt's library see J. Gény and G. C. Knod, *Die Stadtbibliothek zu Schlettstadt* (Strassburg, 1889); on the existing collection, P. Nercux and E. Dacier, *Les Richesses des bibliothèques provinciales de France* (Paris, 1932).



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a catalogue of the fifteenth century,<sup>94</sup> the university library was divided into four groups, each located in a separate room. This is in itself unusual, for few libraries at this period had more than one chamber. This university library was remarkable not only for its arrangement but also for its contents; for here were an extraordinary number of classical and scientific books—over 130 medical works, more than 20 in mathematics and astronomy, almost 100 of the classics, and at least the same number in jurisprudence. This gives approximately 350, or about 20 per cent, nontheological works.

The University of Heidelberg was founded in 1386 by Ruprecht I, whose son, Ludwig III, presented his collection of 89 theological, 45 medical, 12 legal, and 6 philosophical works. These 152 books formed the nucleus of a library which, within two centuries, became the foremost collection of Europe.<sup>95</sup>

Leipzig, founded in 1409, had a collection of its own, although the students were able to use the books in the Augustinian library.<sup>96</sup> Erfurt, in 1433, acquired a considerable collection and, according to a catalogue of 1485, had more than 800 works.<sup>97</sup> The universities of Greifswald,<sup>98</sup> Basel,<sup>99</sup> Ingolstadt,<sup>100</sup> Rostock,<sup>101</sup> Tübingen,<sup>102</sup> and Munich<sup>103</sup> also had academic libraries in the fifteenth century.

<sup>94</sup> The Prague catalogue, bound in parchment and containing 113 paper leaves, was discovered in the Lobkowitz Library at Rauenitz, Bohemia. It was the work of many hands, the first entry being from the year 1405; other entries are from 1453, 1461, 1468, 1469, and the 1490's (J. Loserth, "Der älteste Katalog der prager Universitäts-Bibliothek," *Mittheilungen des Instituts für oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung*, XI [1890], 301-18).

<sup>95</sup> Wilken, *op. cit.*

<sup>96</sup> F. A. Ebert, *Geschichte und Beschreibung der königlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden* (Dresden, 1822).

<sup>97</sup> H. O. Lange, "Ueber einen Katalog der erfurter Universitätsbibliothek aus dem 15. Jahrhundert," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, II (1885), 277.

<sup>98</sup> M. Perlbach, *Geschichte der Universitäts-Bibliothek Greifswald* (Greifswald, 1882), p. 1.

<sup>99</sup> A. Heusler, *Geschichte der öffentlichen Bibliothek der Universität Basel* (Basel, 1896).

<sup>100</sup> Hirsching, *op. cit.*, I, 166.

<sup>101</sup> O. G. Tychsen, *Geschichte der öffentlichen Universitätsbibliothek . . . Rostock* (Rostock, 1790), p. 5.

<sup>102</sup> H. L. Zoepf, "Zur Frühgeschichte der tübinger Universitätsbibliothek," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, LII (1935), 471 ff.

<sup>103</sup> C. Rupprecht, "Die älteste Geschichte der Universitätsbibliothek München (1472-1500)," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XXXII (1915), 21-28.

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The last great library of the Germanic cultural area to be considered here is that of King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary.<sup>104</sup> This is a highly complicated subject, for, concerning it, more fabulous exaggerations have been made and given wide circulation than for any other collection except that of Alexandria. Thus, there has been a tradition that the Corvina contained 50,000 volumes. Yet the most careful search of a recent scholar in most of the libraries of Europe failed to disclose more than 174 manuscripts of Corvinian origin. We may safely assume that the Corvina never had more than 1,000 books, though that was a very large number for the period.<sup>105</sup>

Matthias Hunyadi (1440-90), surnamed Corvinus, was elected king of Hungary at the age of seventeen. The country at that time was strongly influenced by the Italian spirit, in both trade and culture. This was particularly true of young Matthias, whose teachers, John Vitez and the Pole, George Sanocki, were Italianized humanists. Though an active soldier, Matthias was a lover of books and an admirer of antiquity. He read much, even during campaigns, and slept little. His chief pleasure, almost a monomania, was the collecting of books. In 1476 the king married Beatrice of Aragon, the young daughter of Ferdinand of Naples, a precocious girl who, at the age of ten, read Cicero and spoke Latin fluently. Husband and wife had the same dominant interests; they were both passionate collectors of books, illuminated manuscripts, medallions, engravings, and works of art.<sup>106</sup>

The royal couple invited to Buda a number of Italian architects,

<sup>104</sup> There is an incredibly large bibliography on the Corvinus library and its fate. The best summaries of its contents and history are given by A. de Hevesy, *La Bibliothèque du roi Matthias Corvin* (Paris, 1923), and G. Schütz, "Bibliotheca Corvina," *Library Quarterly*, IV (1934), 552-63.

<sup>105</sup> W. Weinberger, "Die Bibliotheca Corvina," *Sitzungsberichte der wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil.-hist. Kl.), CLIX (1908), 1-85, reports Corvinus books in Agram, Berlin, Besançon, Bologna, Breslau, Brussels, Budapest (36), Cambridge, Dresden, Erlangen, Florence, Göttingen, Hamburg, Jena, Kiel, Leipzig, London, Milan, Modena, Munich, Naples, Paris, Parma, Petersburg, Prague, Pressburg, Rome, Salzburg, Stuttgart, Thorn, Turin, Venice, Verona, Volterra, and Vienna. In 1502, ten years after Corvinus' death, a French knight visited Budapest and observed that the royal library had "three to four hundred books" (Le Roux de Lincy, "Discours des cérémonies de mariage d'Anne de Foix avec Ladislas II," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 5th ser., II [1861], 438).

<sup>106</sup> On Beatrice see A. de Berzevicy, *Béatrice d'Aragon, reine de Hongrie* (Paris, 1911-12).

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engravers, miniaturists, musicians, and scholars. Thirty copyists, four of them in Florence, were employed regularly for transcribing rare books. Agents were sent to all parts of Europe to buy for the royal collector. Miniaturists and illuminators and binders decorated the books with all the skill and beauty known to man. Altogether, Matthias is said to have spent 30,000 gulden annually on his library. All these acquisitions—by purchase, gifts, copying, and confiscation—were splendidly housed in a wing of the royal palace built of red marble and located on a hill overlooking Buda. The books were kept in two large and magnificently decorated rooms, one containing Latin manuscripts and the other Greek and oriental works.

Of the nature of books in this sumptuous library, which was dispersed soon after the king's death, there is less definite information; but apparently works on theology, poetry, military science, philosophy, and history, as well as national Hungarian literature, were included. The volumes, it must be emphasized, had great value as works of art (for their bindings and ornamentation) rather than for their content. Only a fraction of them have been traced. In 1501 Queen Beatrice, upon her return to Naples, took with her a number of books. Matthias' successors sold or gave away many rare works. The Turks, after the Battle of Mohacs (1526), captured Buda and removed much of the library to Constantinople. In 1862 three Hungarian bibliophiles were shown by the Turkish archivist 16 Corvinas; seven years later Emperor Francis Joseph, on his way to Suez, was presented with 4 of them by the sultan (they are now in Budapest). There may have been many others in the palace of Bagdad, but the building was burned in 1917. Recently Budapest was presented, for political reasons, with 2 Corvinas by Italy and 16 by Austria.

Two later movements were disastrous to the German libraries of the late Middle Ages—the Peasants' War, of Luther's time;<sup>107</sup> and the Thirty Years' War, a century later.<sup>108</sup> The latter lies beyond the

<sup>107</sup> K. Schottenloher, "Schicksale von Büchern und Bibliotheken im Bauernkrieg," *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, XII (1908-9), 396-408.

<sup>108</sup> For the destruction of libraries in the Thirty Years' War see O. Walde, *Storhetstidens Litterära Krigsbyten en Kulturhistorisk-Bibliografisk Studie* (Uppsala and Stockholm, 1916); R. Ehwald, "Geschichte der Grothaer Bibliothek," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XVIII (1901), 434-63; F. Leitschuh, "Zur Geschichte des Bücherraubes der Schweden in Würzburg," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XIII (1896), 104-13.

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limits of this work, but a brief account of the Peasants' War may be given here. This was a social revolution. For library history the significant thing is that the peasantry rose in rebellion against the church and the nobles, on whose property they wreaked their vengeance. In the process of the burning of churches and palaces, books and manuscripts fell prey to the flames. The peasants also aimed specifically at the destruction of written and printed works—and this for two reasons. First, they knew that their dues, debts, and obligations were inscribed on written documents and contracts which were kept in the same archives as the books; hence, the rebels' first act was to destroy all traces of their servile condition. Second, they demolished books in bitter protest against a culture whose benefits they did not share.<sup>109</sup>

Hundreds of libraries, mainly monastic, were obliterated. In Thuringia no less than seventy monasteries were razed.<sup>110</sup> In Augustinian Anhausen the peasants wrecked the cloister and tore up books to the value of 300 florins.<sup>111</sup> Altogether 1,200 books were thus lost here. The same story repeated itself in numerous other places. St. Blasien, near Freiburg in Breisgau, was attacked by the rebels, who "scattered, tore, and burned" the library. Five hundred guildens' worth of books were burned in Ebrach in the Steigerwald.<sup>112</sup> In Kempten the abbot brought suit in court against his subjects, who "despoiled and carried off all registers, letters, books, and documents."<sup>113</sup> In Maihingen the peasants broke into the monastery and destroyed 3,000 volumes; some of the books were piled in a heap and set on fire, other were cast into the water, and the rest sold as waste

<sup>109</sup> F. von Bezold, *Geschichte der deutschen Reformation* (Berlin, 1890), p. 479.

<sup>110</sup> For a list see R. Hermann, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für thüringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, VII (1871), 1-176.

<sup>111</sup> C. Jaeger, "Markgraf Casimir und der Bauernkrieg in den südlichen Grenzämtern des Fürstentums unterhalb des Gebirgs," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg*, IX (1892), 111-12.

<sup>112</sup> J. Jaeger, *Die Zisterzienser-Abtei Ebrach zur Zeit der Reformation* (Erlangen, 1895), p. 11.

<sup>113</sup> F. L. Baumann, *Akten zur Geschichte des deutschen Bauernkriegs aus Oberschwaben* (Freiburg, 1877), p. 332; for similar destructions in Gross-Frankenthal in Pfalz, Herrenalb in the Schwarzwald, Ilseburg, Irrsee, and other south German places see K. Hartfelder, *Zur Geschichte des Bauernkriegs in Südwestdeutschland* (Stuttgart, 1884), pp. 215 f. and *passim*.

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paper."<sup>114</sup> The prior of Reinhardsbrunn stated that the peasants "smashed, cut up, tore up the whole library worth 3,000 gulden, and then burned the fragments in the court of the cloister."<sup>115</sup> Wettenhausen, near Günzburg, was stormed by the peasants "and the beautiful library totally destroyed."<sup>116</sup> In Bamberg the peasants attacked the episcopal palace. Here "they plundered, tore up books, registers, and letters, especially those of the fiscal office; there were many judicial acts and registers. . . ."<sup>117</sup>

With this account we may conclude the history of German libraries, for we have now reached the age of printing. One should perhaps remark that the damage which the peasantry inflicted on the libraries was not fatal, since the printing-press could duplicate any losses, provided a single copy was somewhere preserved.

<sup>114</sup> Hartfelder, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

<sup>115</sup> J. H. Moeller, *Urkundliche Geschichte des Klosters Reinhardsbrunn als Amt und Lustschloss* (Gotha, 1843), p. 215.

<sup>116</sup> Baumann, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

<sup>117</sup> G. E. Waldau, *Beitrag zur Geschichte des Bauernkriegs in Franken, besonders im Bisthum Bamberg* (Nuremberg, 1790), p. 24.

## CHAPTER XVI

# Scandinavian Libraries in the Late Middle Ages

By CLAUDE H. CHRISTENSEN

THE history of medieval libraries in the Scandinavian countries covers a period of four hundred years. Situated in the northern outskirts of Europe, these countries were late in developing Christian medieval culture, and few of their libraries were comparable to those on the Continent. Whatever historical evidence has been preserved concerning them is accidental; only a small part of the actual books survive. All other information about reading and libraries is hidden in old documents<sup>1</sup>—in the records and inventories of churches and monasteries, in wills,<sup>2</sup> and in flyleaf notations of extant volumes; and, finally, we still have a few catalogues. The Reformation produced a sharp reaction against the books of the Middle Ages. Aurivillius began the study of medieval libraries in Sweden, but his work is incomplete.<sup>3</sup> In recent times the researches of Weibull in the Scanian, Ellen Jørgensen in Danish, Annerstedt, Gödel, and Collijn in Swedish, Johnsen and Munthe in Norwegian, and Olmer and Hermannsson in Icelandic medieval libraries have brought to light a mass of interesting material.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Many of these documents are published in *Scriptores rerum Danicarum*, ed. J. Langebek (Hafniac, 1772–1878); *Diplomatarium Svecanum* (Stockholm, 1829—); *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* (Christiania, 1849—); *Diplomatarium Islandicum* (Kaupmannahöfn, 1857—).

<sup>2</sup> *Testamenter fra Danmarks Middelalder indtil 1450*, ed. K. Erslev (Köbenhavn, 1901), *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> P. F. Aruivillius, *Dissertatio gradualis de bibliothecis medii aevi in Sviogathia* (Upsala, 1782).

<sup>4</sup> In addition to the works of these scholars and of others noted in course, the following may be cited: C. J. Br[andt], "Et Prästebibliothek i Slutningen af Middelaldren," *Dansk Kirketidende*, VI (1851), 299–310; G. Carlsson, "Vårt största enskilda medeltidsbibliotek

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Books made their appearance in the Scandinavian countries only with the introduction of Christianity. The literature of the pre-Christian period was preserved through oral tradition; and, except in Iceland, practically all this literature perished because of the hostility or indifference of the Christian church to things of pagan origin. There is no indication that runes were ever used for recording literature on wood or stone or that there existed collections of runic writings which might be called "libraries."<sup>5</sup> Books were undoubtedly brought into the country by early missionaries.<sup>6</sup> Schools were soon established in the larger churches, and by the middle of the twelfth century we have the first evidence of libraries.

The avenues through which books came were always determined largely by the foreign connections of the clergy and by the Continental universities in which Scandinavians had studied. During the twelfth century, Scandinavian students frequented Paris almost exclusively; comparatively few went to the Italian universities. The University of Prague came into prominence in the fourteenth century; and in the fifteenth, the nearer German universities.<sup>7</sup> The ex-

och dess ägare," *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen*, V (1918), 228-38; J. B. Daa, *Om de danske Klostre i Middelalderen* (Köbenhavn, 1830), pp. 106-12; G. Eneström, "Schwedische Bibliotheken," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, IV (1887), 329-35; V. Gardthausen, *Handbuch der wissenschaftlichen Bibliothekskunde* (Leipzig, 1920), I, 136-37; E. Jørgensen, "De middelalderlige latinske Manuskripter i det kgl. Bibliotek," *Festskrift til Kristian Erslev* (Köbenhavn, 1927), pp. 211-26; E. Jørgensen, "Fra svenske Biblioteker," *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger*, R. 5, V (1909-11), 771-86; "Katalog over Bøgerne i Oem Kloster 1554," in P. F. Suhm, *Nye Samlinger til den danske Historie* (1794), III, 312-24; W. Munthe, "Norske boksamlere i Norge i eldre tid," *Bok- och bibliotekshistoriske studier tillägnade Isak Collijn* (Upsala, 1925), pp. 249-63; C. S. Petersen, "De danske Bibliotekers Historie," in S. Dahl, *Haandbog i Bibliotekskundskab*, II, 34-44; H. Schück, *Den svenska förlags-bokhandelns historia* (Stockholm, 1923), pp. 5-50; O. Walde, "De svenske Bibliotekers Historie," in S. Dahl, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-87.

<sup>5</sup> Parchment was not known in the Scandinavian countries until after the introduction of Christianity. Runes were used in writing on parchment long after the introduction of the Latin alphabet. Cf. H. Hermannsson, *Icelandic Manuscripts* (Ithaca, 1929), pp. 1-3.

<sup>6</sup> *Scriptores rerum Danicarum*, I, 444; *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 1911, pp. 667-68; *Vita Anskarii*, x, xxi.

<sup>7</sup> C. Annerstedt, *Upsala universitets historia*, I (Upsala, 1877), 1-21, 44-45; L. Daa, *Matricker over nordiske studerende ved fremmede universiteter* (Christiania, 1885); E. Jørgensen, "Nordiske Studierejser i Middelalderen," *Historisk Tidsskrift*, R. 8, V (1915), 331-82; E. Jørgensen, "Nogle Bemærkninger om danske Studerende ved Tysklands Universiteter i Middelalderen," *ibid.*, VI (1915-17), 197-214.

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tant wills indicate that, up to the year 1350, almost every person leaving books of importance had studied in Paris or had other French connections.<sup>8</sup> Archbishop Sunesön, it seems, purchased his books while a student there.<sup>9</sup> Hemming, canon of Upsala, made his will at Paris in 1299; and the volumes he mentions in it were undoubtedly bought there.<sup>10</sup> So were several of Benechinus Henrici's books.<sup>11</sup> But books were also purchased by Scandinavians in Flanders and in England, and about 1350 Prague became an important market. Purchases were also made at the church councils, notably at Constance and Basel.

Many books were copied at home, especially in the monasteries. One of the most industrious scribes was a Franciscan friar, Johānnes Pashae. In 1297 he finished a 2-volume Bible after eighteen months' labor; two years later he finished another Bible, in 5 volumes. He also copied many other books for the monasteries of his order in Roskilde, Copenhagen, and Lund.<sup>12</sup> The Bridgetine monasteries, especially Vadstena in Sweden and Munkeliv at Bergen in Norway, were centers of copying and literary activity; and one of the finest Scandinavian manuscripts from the fifteenth century, the *Psalterium literis capitalibus*, was the work of a nun of Munkeliv, Birgitta Sigfusdatter.<sup>13</sup>

In some countries it is possible to follow the development of a library from successive catalogues. That cannot be done for Scandinavia. Here old and new books are listed together and were evidently shelved without any thought of differentiation.<sup>14</sup>

Toward the close of the Middle Ages the Scandinavian libraries had become sufficiently important to excite the curiosity of the Italian Humanists. Poggio, in several letters, expresses hope of se-

<sup>8</sup> H. Schück, "Anteckningar om den äldsta bokhandeln i Sverige," *Festskrift med anledning af svenska bokförläggareföreningens femtiårsjubileum* (Stockholm, 1893), p. 26.

<sup>9</sup> L. Weibull, *Bibliotek och arkiv i Skåne under medeltiden* (Lund, 1901), p. 33.

<sup>10</sup> *Diplomatarium Suecanum*, II, 287.

<sup>11</sup> Erslev, *Testamenter*, pp. 118-24.

<sup>12</sup> J. Lindbäk, *De danske Franciskanerklostre* (Köbenhavn, 1914), p. 163.

<sup>13</sup> C. A. Lange, *De norske klostres historie i middelalderen* (2 Udg.; Christiania, 1856), p. 143. The manuscript is now in the Metropolitan Library in Prague.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. E. Jørgensen, "Studier over danske middelalderlige Bogsamlinger," *Historisk Tidsskrift*, R. 8, IV (1912-13), 66-67.



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curing a Livy from the monastery of Sorö. In the middle of the fifteenth century Pope Nicholas V sent his agent, Enoch d'Ascoli, to Denmark; but the latter was apparently able to secure only a copy of Sidonius Apollinaris' *Letters*, though it seems that he also saw two of Maecenas' elegies. Pope Julius II and Pope Leo X also sent book-hunters to Denmark. Undoubtedly, some books were carried off by these papal agents, but probably not many. There are few medieval books of Scandinavian origin in Italian libraries. The Vatican Library has a codex which once belonged to the monastery of Esrom; in the Laurentian there is a copy of Pliny's *Historia naturalis*, which Cosimo dei Medici secured in Lübeck and which has an inscription suggesting a Danish connection.<sup>15</sup>

The libraries of the two Scandinavian universities did not attain any prominence during the medieval period.<sup>16</sup> Some of the cathedral and monastic schools may have possessed libraries, but little is known about them. The Scandinavian libraries of which we have any record may be studied as cathedral and church libraries, monastic libraries, and private collections. National characteristics had not developed sufficiently to make a distinction by countries significant. The stream of culture became thinner as it advanced northward; but, with the exception of books in the vernacular and certain books peculiar to a certain locality, there is practically nothing to differentiate, for instance, a Danish and a Swedish library in this period.

It is not possible to reconstruct the cathedral libraries of the Scandinavian countries. The outlines remain, but details are lacking. About 20 manuscripts, including the 2 *libri datici* and the *necrologium*,<sup>17</sup> and some incunabula are extant from the library at Lund, one of the most important of these cathedral libraries.<sup>18</sup> The manuscripts

<sup>15</sup> Cf. E. Jörgensen, "Italienske Humanisters Manuskriptrejser til Danmark," *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen*, II (1915), 76-80.

<sup>16</sup> The University of Upsala was founded in 1477; the University of Copenhagen, in 1479.

<sup>17</sup> A *liber daticus* was an official record of all the gifts made to an ecclesiastical institution; the *necrologium*, an official list of the benefactors arranged according to the calendar, so that memorial masses could be celebrated for each on the anniversary of his death.

<sup>18</sup> To the 17 manuscripts mentioned by Weibull, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-19, Miss Jörgensen adds, law codices and parts of a Bible ("Studier over danske middelalderlige Bogsamlinger," *Historisk Tidsskrift*, R. 8, IV [1912-13], 7). *Libri datici* is published in *Scriptores rerum*

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date from the beginning of the twelfth to the middle of the fifteenth century and are generally well written but with few pictures and ornaments. This library existed as early as the first quarter of the twelfth century. In 1124, Ulf, one of the deacons, gave the cathedral books and other precious gifts;<sup>19</sup> seven years later Dean Asser gave the Old and the New Testament and several volumes on medicine and natural history. Other donations followed throughout the twelfth century: the deacon Bernhardus, "many good books"; the deacon Helbodo, several missals; the presbyter Amundus, a Psalter and other volumes; and the subdeacon Bero, the *Decretales*. Archbishop Absalon gave several books; but the largest gift was that of Archbishop Anders Suneson, who, in 1228, gave 30 volumes, principally theological works.<sup>20</sup> Niels Bunkaflø gave 2 books on canon law (1346),<sup>21</sup> and Benechinus Henrici 2 *Decretales* (1358),<sup>22</sup> while several other churchmen connected with the cathedral bequeathed books to the library. Undoubtedly, many books were copied.<sup>23</sup> In the beginning of the sixteenth century the library received two large donations—one from the canon Hans Seber, and the other from the cantor Bengt Arvidsen, the latter so considerable that it was kept as a separate collection.<sup>24</sup> Archbishop Birger had the service books for the cathedral printed, and the printed works were shelved with the manuscripts.

If we may judge from the donation record and extant volumes, the library contained little beyond liturgical and theological works. In the oldest documents the library is referred to as the "armarium

*Danicarum*, III, 474-579; *Liber daticus recentior*, in *ibid.*, IV, 26-68; the *Necrologium Lundense* in *ibid.*, III, 422-73. The two *libri datici* and the *necrologium* have been edited by C. Weeke, *Libri memoriales capitulo Lundensis* (Köbenhavn, 1884 and 1889); the *necrologium* by L. Weibull, *Necrologium Lundense* (Lund, 1923).

<sup>19</sup> *Scriptores rerum Danicarum*, III, 458.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 524-25.

<sup>21</sup> Erslev, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>23</sup> The *libri datici* mention copyists. From certain characteristics in manuscripts made for Lund Cathedral, Miss Jörgensen raises the question of the possibility of a local school of writing there. Cf. her "Studier over danske middelalderlige Bogsamlinger," *Historisk Tidsskrift*, R. 8, IV (1912-13), 5-7.

<sup>24</sup> Weibull, *Bibliotek och arkiv i Skåne*, pp. 17, 134-35.

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librorum." Toward the close of the Middle Ages it is generally called the "liberia Lundensis." The main collection seems to have been located in the vestry and to have been intended for the exclusive use of the clergy connected with the cathedral. The oldest library rule in the Scandinavian countries, about the year 1100, reads as follows: "The library is administered by the cantor. It behoves him to know the titles of the books and to record those that are taken out, so that none are lost through carelessness."<sup>25</sup> Toward the close of the Middle Ages the rule was established that canons who had borrowed books were to return them the day after the "capitulum generale"; and if they wished to renew them, they had to sign again.<sup>26</sup>

Few works are extant from other Danish cathedral libraries: 3 from Roskilde, 2 from Aarhus, another possibly from Ribe Cathedral, and 1 work from the parish church of Our Lady in Copenhagen. The records are equally meager. Several donations to Roskilde Cathedral are recorded: a Psalter in 1292, several works on canon law in 1346, a *Summa hostiensis* in 1358, a *Gesta Danorum* in 1386, a Bible and some works on canon law in 1434,<sup>27</sup> and Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historale* in 2 large volumes in 1503.<sup>28</sup> The library undoubtedly received other gifts; and that it had a more varied collection is indicated by a document from the middle of the fifteenth century, which contains references to other titles borrowed from the cathedral library.<sup>29</sup>

In 1312 the inventory of Ribe Cathedral mentions only a few service books,<sup>30</sup> and few gifts are recorded.<sup>31</sup> Very little is known

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>26</sup> "Lunds domk. statuter 1489," *Samlingar till Skånes historia*, utg. af M. Weibull (1874), II, 50.

<sup>27</sup> Erslev, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>28</sup> *Danske Magazin*, I (1745), 297.

<sup>29</sup> *Scriptores rerum Danicarum*, VII, 324-25.

<sup>30</sup> *Samling af Adkomster, Indtægtsangivelser og kirkelige Vedtægter for Ribe Domkapitel og Bispestol, 1290-1580 (Avia Ripensis)*, udg. af O. Nielsen (Kjöbenhavn, 1869), pp. 114-15.

<sup>31</sup> There are several donations in the fourteenth century (cf. *Scriptores rerum Danicarum*, V, 536-43) and a gift of Gregory's *Moralia* in 1427 (cf. Erslev, *op. cit.*, p. 200). A curate from Ribe diocese in the beginning of the sixteenth century gave a breviary and a collection of sermons, *Dormi secure* (cf. Terpæger, *Ripae Cimbricae*, pp. 64-65).

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about the libraries of the cathedrals at Aarhus, Børglum, Viborg, and Odense; but an interesting list of books exists from the cathedral of Slesvig (1519).<sup>32</sup> It contains both manuscripts and printed works, the majority undoubtedly printed, and enumerates about 250 items. Most of the books are theological; there is good selection of the Church Fathers, including St. Augustine's *De civitate dei*, which is not found in any other Danish medieval library, and Cyril's *The-saurus*, also a rare item in Scandinavia. The commoner medieval authors are well represented: history, by the works of Flores, Orosius, Cassiodorus, Petrus Comestor, Saxo, and late medieval works such as Aeneas Sylvius' *Historia Bohemorum* and Platina's *De vitis pontificum*. Of Humanistic writings we find Petrarch's *De contemptu mundi*, *De vita solitaria*, *De remediis utriusque fortunae*, and his Latin translation of Boccaccio's tale of Griseldis; Aeneas Sylvius' *De duobus amantibus*; and works of Gasparinus Barzizius, Guarino, Tortello, Vegius, and Poggio. The classical writers include Cicero, Vergil, Ovid, Persius, Juvenal, Martial, Lucan, Herodotus, and Plutarch, the last two in Latin translation. The list is impressive evidence of the influx of Humanism into the Scandinavian countries.<sup>33</sup>

The library of the cathedral of Upsala, the seat of the Archbishop of Sweden, was undoubtedly an important library toward the close of the Middle Ages. The records go back to the twelfth century. Dean Bero, in his will of 1278, donated a Bible, the Gospels, the Acts, and a Psalter;<sup>34</sup> other gifts, usually by churchmen, are recorded during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries.<sup>35</sup> It seems that, besides the cathedral library, there was also one belonging to the archiepiscopal palace. In a list of books which Archbishop Birger Gregers-

<sup>32</sup> The library was connected with the chair in philosophy at the cathedral school. The title of the list is: *Inventarium librorum spectantium ad domum lectoris ordinarii Slesuicensis*. Cf. J. Lindbäk and E. Jørgensen, "To Bogfortegnelser fra det 16. Aarhundrede," *Danske Magazin*, R. 6, I (1913), 307-19.

<sup>33</sup> T. Gottlieb, "Die mittelalterlichen lateinischen Handschriften der kgl. Bibliothek in Kopenhagen," *Archiv für Bibliographie, Buch und Bibliothekswesen*, I (1926), 216-25.

<sup>34</sup> *Diplomatarium Svecanum*, I, 725.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 94; V, 305, 572; J. F. Peringskiöld, *Monumenta Ullerakerensia* (Stockholm, 1719), pp. 170, 223, 224.

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son, the biographer of the Holy Brigitta, borrowed and, for some reason, deposited at the church of Arnö,<sup>36</sup> it is stated that some of the books are from the "libraria ecclesiae" and others from the "domus lapidea." That there was a considerable library in the palace is attested by the inventory of 1369, which lists 120 works, including Bibles, theological works, collections of sermons, lives of saints, works on canon law, and a few books in other disciplines.<sup>37</sup> These books were scattered during the sixteenth century. A few remnants were retained, and they were incorporated into the library of the University of Upsala in 1789. Most of these have been lost; of the surviving manuscripts, only 2 can be traced to the cathedral library with any certainty.<sup>38</sup>

The library at Strängnäs is the only cathedral library in the Scandinavian countries that has been kept intact to the present day. Bishop Konrad Rogge (1455-61) gave his valuable manuscript collection,<sup>39</sup> but the surviving remnant of the collection is very small.<sup>40</sup>

An inventory of 1317 of the property belonging to Västerås Cathedral lists only service books and a few works on canon law.<sup>41</sup> Only one donation of liturgical books in 1413 is recorded;<sup>42</sup> yet the collection must have been sufficiently large to be called a library, for in the sixteenth century it is referred to as the "Bibliothecae templi cathedralis vel capituli," and it was still intact in 1589, when an inventory lists 56 volumes.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>36</sup> H. Reuterdaahl, *Svenska kyrkans historia* (Lund and Stockholm, 1838-63), III, Part II, 415 f.

<sup>37</sup> The list is published in Peringskiöld, *op. cit.*, pp. 312-19.

<sup>38</sup> V. Gödel, *Sveriges medeltidslitteratur* (Stockholm, 1916), pp. 84-85.

<sup>39</sup> *Diplomatarium Svecanum*, I, 643; III, 286.

<sup>40</sup> F. V. Brannius, *Catalogus bibliothecae templi cathedralis Strengnesensis* (Strengnesiae, 1776), and H. Aminson, *Bibliotheca templi cathedralis Strengnesensis* (Stockholm, 1863), describe the works that belonged to the medieval cathedral library. For extant incunabula, see I. Collijn, "Svenska boksamlingar under medeltiden och deras ägare," *Sammlaren*, XXV (1904), 209-10.

<sup>41</sup> *Diplomatarium Svecanum*, III, 325-26.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 689.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Gödel, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79. Gödel wrongly attributes Cod. Ups. C:120 as having belonged to Strängnäs cathedral library. See also Petrus Olai, *Bibliotheca s. catalogus librorum templi et consistorii cathedralis Arosiae* (Västerås, 1640), and I. Collijn, *Katalog öfver Västerås läroverksbiblioteks incunabler* (Upsala, 1904), p. 7.

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The library at the cathedral of Skara dates back to the second half of the twelfth century; and in 1475 it received the library of Bero, consisting of 130 volumes. Considering the number of learned men connected with the cathedral of Linköping during the Middle Ages, we may assume that its library was of some importance. The numerous donations of the fourteenth century, none of them large, mention service books and works on canon law.<sup>44</sup> A manuscript from the fifteenth century and a few incunabula are extant.<sup>45</sup> Several of the bishops of Åbo had literary interests and concerned themselves with the administration of the cathedral library. In 1354 Bishop Hemming gave his collection of 40 volumes, mostly theological books and canon law but also containing some works of medieval writers.<sup>46</sup> With the exception of a missal and some fragments, nothing remains of the library.

Although there are few references to the library of the cathedral of Nidaros in Norway, it apparently goes back to the twelfth century. Tjodrek Munk, in his *Historia de antiquitate regum Norvagensium*, written perhaps in Nidarholm Monastery about 1187, cites an imposing number of works by classical writers, the Church Fathers, and medieval authors, whom he must have known directly or indirectly through the libraries of the monastery and the cathedral.<sup>47</sup> In the chapel of the Bishop of Bergen in 1408 there were 19 books.<sup>48</sup>

Iceland was divided into two bishoprics. We know little about the library at Skálholt, the procathedral of the southern see;<sup>49</sup> there is, however, reason to believe that it was considerable, since Arni

<sup>44</sup> *Diplomatarium Suecanum*, I, 181; II, 29, 107, 182; III, 4, 397; IV, 332; VI, 236.

<sup>45</sup> Gödel, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81; I. Collijn, "Svenska boksamlingar under medeltiden," *Sam-laren*, XXV (1904), 206-7.

<sup>46</sup> The list is published in H. G. Porthan, *Historia bibliothecae r. acad. Aboensis* (Aboae, 1771-87), pp. 15 f.

<sup>47</sup> W. Munthe, "De Norske Bibliotekers historie," in S. Dahl, *Haandbog i Bibliotekskundskab* (3 Udg.; København, 1924-30), II, 157.

<sup>48</sup> *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, XV, 38.

<sup>49</sup> The inventory of 1548 mentions only 4 books. It is, however, possible that the Latin works were disregarded or already destroyed or lost in the fire that ravaged the church in 1532.

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Magnusson<sup>50</sup> secured many manuscripts in this region. In 1396 the library at Hólar, the northern procathedral, had a large collection of service books, a number of sagas, and 2 volumes of romances.<sup>51</sup> The inventory of 1525<sup>52</sup> records a larger number of service books and other books, both in Latin and in the vernacular, and a number of works, such as Ovid's *De arte amandi*, Aristotle's *Auctoritas*, and Boethius' *De philosophiae consolatione*, not listed in other Icelandic inventories. This library was dispersed, perhaps, during the Reformation.

The parish churches of Scandinavia had few books except liturgies. The Bible is seldom listed, as it was not used in the public services. The gifts most frequently mentioned are missals and breviaries, and many churchmen remembered some of the smaller churches in their wills. In 1503 Hans Urne, of Odense, gave 30 manuals to poor churches in the diocese.<sup>53</sup> Occasionally, one had a good collection. The church of Ylmheim, Norway, lists 19 manuscripts in 1323.<sup>54</sup> If a vicar happened to be a man of literary interests, the library of his church might include the Bible and theological works.<sup>55</sup> The inventory at Trinity Church, Upsala, 1519, mentions 30 works, all service books.<sup>56</sup>

Because of numerous inventories, we are in a better position to judge the parish libraries of Iceland. A full account is, however, impossible, since many lists are incomplete. Some churches mention only their more important books, and others give the approximate number or the value of the collection in terms of ells of wadmal.<sup>57</sup> The earliest inventories indicate that the book collections were small.

<sup>50</sup> Icelandic historian and antiquarian (1663-1730). He spent many years collecting Icelandic manuscripts, which he bequeathed to the library of the University of Copenhagen.

<sup>51</sup> *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, III, 612-13.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, 298-99. Cf. Hermannsson, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

<sup>53</sup> *Danske Magazin*, I (1745), 207.

<sup>54</sup> *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, XV, 10-11.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Reuterdahl, *op. cit.*, pp. 417 ff.

<sup>56</sup> Peringskiöld, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>57</sup> Thus the church at Hítarðalur, 1397, states merely "X hundrat j bokum." The "hundred" refers to a hundred ells of wadmal. During the Freestate period, 360 ells of wadmal was equal to one mark of pure silver. Cf. E. Olmer, *Boksamlingar på Island 1179-1490* (Göteborg, 1902), p. 77.

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In the see of Hólar in 1318<sup>58</sup> there are, however, many churches which list 15 works, and some over 20. The inventories of the same see for 1394<sup>59</sup> and later<sup>60</sup> exhibit growth in variety rather than in size. The inventory for Skálholt bishopric, of 1397, indicates that the southern see was poorer in books than the northern; but possibly the listing was less thorough.<sup>61</sup> These church libraries include service books, canon law, chronicles, annals, and a few sagas.

The monastic libraries were, perhaps, the most significant; but few of their books escaped the destruction of the Reformation, and the monasteries were constantly exposed to the ravages of political feuds and suffered frequent losses by fire. The Benedictines were first to arrive, in the eleventh century, followed by the Cistercians, to whom Archbishop Eskil extended special favors. The Dominicans established themselves at Lund about 1221, and the Franciscans at Flensburg in 1223.

The Benedictine book collections have almost completely perished. A *Calendarium* and a few incunabula from the monastery of Nästved are extant, and a few fragments are known which may have belonged to other Benedictine monasteries. Several Cistercian monasteries had good collections, though but few books remain. A codex from the monastery of Esrom, containing parts of Bede and some miscellaneous pieces, is in the Vatican Library.<sup>62</sup> There are references to books owned by a wealthy monastery of Sorö: a manuscript of Adam of Bremen, the *Hexameron* by Archbishop Sunesön, and a few other volumes;<sup>63</sup> a Valerius Maximus manuscript from Sorö was burned with the library of the University of Copenhagen in 1728; and a Justin manuscript is still extant. A Bible manuscript from the monastery of Ryd,<sup>64</sup> two manuscripts and the *Necrologium*

<sup>58</sup> *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, II, 423-89.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 508-91.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 247-361.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 27-240.

<sup>62</sup> M. Vattasso and P. F. de'Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani Latini* (1902), I, No. 636.

<sup>63</sup> C. F. Wegener, *Historiske Efterretninger om Anders Sörensen Vedel* (Copenhagen, 1846), p. 103; *Scriptores rerum Danicarum*, IV, 541; V, 457 f.

<sup>64</sup> In the library of the Gymnasium at Flensburg.



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from Lögum,<sup>65</sup> a manuscript of mixed theological content from Herisvad,<sup>66</sup> and another from Vitsköl<sup>67</sup> also survive.

*Exordium carae insulae*,<sup>68</sup> a chronicle and the only existing manuscript from the monastery of Oem, records a few facts about the library. Bishop Svend of Aarhus prepared parchment and paid his own copyists and illuminators; and therefore the chronicle states: "In our books there are letters in gold and in colors, which our order forbids us to paint, but allows us to receive, when the work is done by others, and it is a gift." Several of the abbots were good scribes and illuminators. A list of books in the library from 1554 is extant,<sup>69</sup> which undoubtedly contains many printed works; but it is essentially one of a medieval monastic library—in all about 200 items. This is the only catalogue of a Danish monastic library that has been preserved.

The Swedish and Norwegian Cistercian libraries have left few vestiges. The library of the University of Upsala possesses a manuscript Bible and a Latin-German dictionary<sup>70</sup> from the monastery of Alvästra. A copy of Voragine from Gudsberga Monastery<sup>71</sup> and a book from Nydala are extant. There are also records of a book which once belonged to Varnheim.<sup>72</sup> The monastery of Roma, near Visby, is said to have had a large library; but the account that it had a collection of 2,000 volumes has been discredited.<sup>73</sup> A donation to the

<sup>65</sup> One of the manuscripts contains Petrus de Riga, *Aurora*, and is in the Royal Library of Copenhagen (Gl. kgl. Saml., 54 fol.); the other contains Hieronymus, *Epistolae*, and is at Wolfenbüttel (Gude Lat. 51). The *Necrologium* is in the library of the University of Copenhagen (A.M. 868, 4°).

<sup>66</sup> In the library of the University of Copenhagen (E. don var. 138, 4°). The monastery is also known to have owned an Aelnoth manuscript.

<sup>67</sup> In the Royal Library of Copenhagen (Nye kgl. Saml. 13, 8°).

<sup>68</sup> In the library of the University of Copenhagen (E. don var. 135, 4°) and published in *Scriptores rerum Danicarum*, V, 235–302.

<sup>69</sup> Suhm, *op. cit.*, III, 312–24.

<sup>70</sup> Cod. Ups. C:37 and C:152.

<sup>71</sup> I. Collijn, "Smärre bidrag till de svenska klosterbibliotekens historia," *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen*, IV (1917), 66–67.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. N. Beckman, "Cistercienserklostrens bibliotek," *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen*, IV (1917), 81.

<sup>73</sup> This statement appeared in J. Ziegler's *Scandia* (Strassburg, 1532) and has often been repeated. G. Lindström, *Anteckningar om Gotlands medeltid* (Stockholm, 1895), II, after examin-

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Cistercian monastery of Hovedö near Oslo is recorded;<sup>74</sup> this monastery was plundered in 1532 by Mogens Gyldenstjerne, who removed the books to Akershus.<sup>75</sup>

The books of the Augustinians have been almost entirely destroyed. The old library of the University of Copenhagen possessed two books from Dalby.<sup>76</sup> An inventory of this monastery for 1530 mentions books inlaid with gold and silver and precious stones.<sup>77</sup> The remnants of Danish Augustinian libraries comprise one manuscript from Dalby, one from Grinderslev, and one which may have belonged to Börglum.<sup>78</sup> An inventory of the monastery of Kongs-helle, Norway, in 1485,<sup>79</sup> records 21 books—all service books, without a complete Bible or works in the vernacular. A list from the monastery of Tuterö, 1531–32, mentions 70 old books.<sup>80</sup> Several Augustinian monasteries in Iceland had considerable collections. In 1397 the Viðey monastery lists 61 books;<sup>81</sup> Helgafell, the same year, records about 25 service books, 35 books in the vernacular, and almost a hundred in Latin, but does not name the authors or titles.<sup>82</sup>

One of the most interesting inventories, giving complete account of the books, is that of Möðruvalla Monastery for 1461.<sup>83</sup> It lists about 140 items, of which about 70 are service books, 30 are other works in Latin, and 40 are in the vernacular. A note adds that many

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ing the evidence, comes to the conclusion that the statement is greatly exaggerated. Nothing is known definitely about the size of the library, and except for possibly a few fragments, nothing remains. Cf. Gödel, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

<sup>74</sup> *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, IV, 279–80.

<sup>75</sup> O. A. Johnsen, "Norske geistlige og kirkelige institutioners bogsamlinger i den senere middelalder," *Sprogliche og historiske afhandlinger viede Sophus Bugge* (Kristiania, 1908), p. 80.

<sup>76</sup> S. Birket Smith, *Om Kjöbenhavns Universitetsbibliothek för 1728* (Kjöbenhavn, 1882), p. 162.

<sup>77</sup> P. Wieselgren, *De claustris Svoio-Gothicis* (Lund, 1832), p. 50.

<sup>78</sup> The first is in the Royal Library in Copenhagen (Gl. kgl. Saml. 1325, 4°); the second, in the library of the University of Copenhagen (A.M. 783, 4°); the third, in the Royal Library of Stockholm.

<sup>79</sup> *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, XIV, 128.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, XI, 653, 655.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 282.

<sup>82</sup> *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, IV, 110–11.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 286–91; Olmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 71–75.

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other works in Latin were not listed. The vernacular works include many legendary sagas, especially those of local interest and secular sagas, like *Volsungasaga*, *Skjoldungasaga*, the *Saga of Rolf Kraka*, and the Olaf sagas. A later inventory, 1525,<sup>84</sup> mentions only a number of service books and a legendary saga, which may indicate that the disintegration of monastic libraries and the decadence of monastic life had begun before the Reformation.

The Franciscans were book-lovers and educators; their schools at Aalborg and Lund were famous, and the libraries cannot have been unimportant.<sup>85</sup> When the Franciscan monastery of Lund was wrecked during the Reformation, some of its books were brought to Copenhagen and some were incorporated into the library of Lund Cathedral. Books from Helsingör and other Franciscan monasteries were destroyed in the Copenhagen fire of 1728.<sup>86</sup> Little remains to-day: 23 manuscripts and 4 incunabula from the Franciscan monastery of Stockholm, a few works from the monastery of Flensburg, 1 manuscript each from the monasteries of Ystad, Malmö, and Helsingör, and a printed book from Linköping.<sup>87</sup>

Franciscans and Dominicans were vowed to poverty, but apparently some of the friars owned books. Manuscripts C:250, C:614, and C:647 in the University of Upsala contain notes which indicate that they once were in the possession of Franciscans or Dominicans; similar notes are found in printed books now in the Royal Library in Copenhagen and in the Universities of Copenhagen and Lund.<sup>88</sup>

The extant books from the Franciscan monastery of Stockholm form the second largest collection of its kind in Scandinavia, according to Collijn's study. Numerous learned men were connected with this house, many of whom had studied at foreign universities. The

<sup>84</sup> *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, IX, 317-18.

<sup>85</sup> Small donations are recorded to the monasteries at Roskilde, Svendborg, Lund, Ystad, and Ribe (cf. Erslev, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 28, 76; *Scriptores rerum Danicarum*, V, 518).

<sup>86</sup> J. Lindbäk, *De danske Franciskanerklostre*, pp. 40-41, 181.

<sup>87</sup> I. Collijn, "Franciskanernas bibliotek på Gråmunkeholmen i Stockholm," *Nordisk tidsskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen*, IV (1917), 101-71; Weibull, *Bibliotek och arkiv i Skåne*, p. 35; I. Collijn, "Svenska boksamlingar under medeltiden," *Sammlaren*, XXV (1904), 207.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. E. Jörgensen, "Studier over danske middelalderlige Bogsamlinger," *Historisk Tidsskrift*, R. 8, IV (1912-13), 51-53.

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house had been founded in 1270; but early references to the library are few, and the *Diarium*<sup>89</sup> mentions only a few donations. Toward the middle of the fifteenth century, information about the library becomes more definite; and most of our knowledge about it is gleaned from the notes which Kanutus Johannis<sup>90</sup> made in books that were repaired. Seventeen of the manuscripts and all 4 of the surviving incunabula passed through his hands. The bindings of these manuscripts form an interesting chapter in the history of Swedish book-binding. The stamps used are similar to those of Lübeck printers.<sup>91</sup> Fourteen of the books contain a large painted *ex libris*, the emblem of the monastery in black or white in a shield of blue, from which extends on each side a vine of strawberries with green leaves and white-dotted red berries.<sup>92</sup> The manuscripts date from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, the majority being of the fourteenth and fifteenth. More than a third are of French origin, a few of German, several of English, and about a half-dozen are by Swedish scribes. Theological and homiletic literature constitutes the bulk of the collection; Aristotle is the only classical author mentioned. There are also small tracts on astrology, medicine, and grammar; and 1 manuscript and parts of 2 others are in the vernacular. The monastery was dissolved in 1527. In 1576 it became a Jesuit college, but the Jesuits were soon expelled. The tradition that they plundered the library before they left is probably untrue.<sup>93</sup> Books from other monasteries were added to the remnants of the Franciscan library, which, under King Gustavus Adolphus in 1620 and 1621, became the foundation for the library of the University of Upsala.

Little remains of Dominican libraries. In Denmark and in Norway

<sup>89</sup> *Scriptores rerum Suecicarum*, I, 67-82.

<sup>90</sup> Or Knut Jenson, one of the important churchmen in Sweden of his time. He is mentioned as a friar in the Franciscan monastery of Stockholm in 1467; in 1484 he became the guardian and died in 1496. He was a man of literary interests who had studied at Greifswald, Strassburg, and Upsala, and had been a teacher in Randers, Lund, and Stockholm.

<sup>91</sup> The Lübeck printers, Johann Snell and Bartholomaeus Ghotan, were in Stockholm at the time; it is possible that the first press in Sweden was put up in the Franciscan monastery in Stockholm. Cf. Collijn, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-23.

<sup>92</sup> See reproduction, Collijn, *ibid.*, plate opposite p. 101.

<sup>93</sup> Gödel, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-54.

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there is hardly a vestige. The Dominican house at Lund received 1 book from Archbishop Sunesön, and a large gift of books in the middle of the fourteenth century is recorded.<sup>94</sup> There are records of small donations of books to the monasteries of Västerås and of Strängnäs; and in 1377 Archbishop Birger borrowed 4 books from the Dominican monastery of Visby.<sup>95</sup> The monasteries of Skänninge and Sigtuna were centers of Dominican learning, but nothing is known about the library of the former. Archbishop Thomas donated books to Sigtuna in 1248;<sup>96</sup> and in 1328 Laurentius de Vaxald, deacon of Upsala, bequeathed to the monastery a number of books, including a Bible and several works on canon law.<sup>97</sup> Bishop Erlands-son, once a lecturer at the monastery, remembered the library with books;<sup>98</sup> and in the middle of the fifteenth century it received a considerable gift from Olaus Petri.<sup>99</sup> Seventeen manuscripts in the library of the University of Upsala and 1 incunabulum can be traced to the Sigtuna Library.<sup>100</sup> One book is also extant from the Dominican monastery of Västerås.<sup>101</sup>

The Dominican monastery at Stockholm, one of the foremost in the city, is said to have had a splendid library. It was destroyed by fire in 1407 and was rebuilt, but the new library hardly measured up to the old. Collijn has traced 2 extant manuscripts to the library,<sup>102</sup> 3 incunabula, now in the library of the University of Upsala, and 4 in the Royal Library of Stockholm. These were part of a donation by one of its priors, Laurentius Magnus; and, since some of the incunabula are the first volumes of sets, the donations may have included at least 13 books.<sup>103</sup>

The library of the monastery of Vadstena, the chief seat of the

<sup>94</sup> Weibull, *Bibliotek och archiv i Skåne*, pp. 21-22.

<sup>95</sup> Gödel, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

<sup>96</sup> *Diplomatarium Suecanum*, I, 329.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 68.

<sup>99</sup> Reuterdaahl, *op. cit.*, 419.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 214.

<sup>100</sup> Gödel, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

<sup>101</sup> I. Collijn, "Smärre bidrag till de svenska klosterbibliotekens historia," *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen*, IV (1917), 71-72.

<sup>102</sup> Cod. Ups. C:614 and C:616.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. I. Collijn, "Svenska boksamlingar under medeltiden," *Samlaren*, XXIII (1902), 126-30.

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Bridgetines, was undoubtedly the largest and most significant collection in Scandinavian countries. The *Diarium*<sup>104</sup> and other documents have been saved. From the first, Vadstena was an aristocratic institution, but the fact that the order originated in Sweden endeared it to the common people also. Many books were given by its inhabitants—by churchmen and by laymen. Its leaders were men of literary interests and scholarly tastes; and there were frequent negotiations with other monasteries about manuscripts—copies were ordered made or scribes were sent to copy or collate texts.<sup>105</sup> The monastery was in close touch with foreign book markets and had its agents at the great church councils. Several of the extant manuscripts were bought in Prague, and large purchases were made at the councils at Constance (1414–18) and at Basel (1436).<sup>106</sup> In 1406 Father Tyrnerus returned from Paris with a number of books which he had bought at his own expense and which he gave to the library; and the purchases made by Andreae and Hildebrandi in Paris 1419–20 were made on behalf of the monastery. In 1414 one of the monks from Vadstena returned from Reval with numerous books, and in 1418 another brought back books from England.<sup>107</sup>

Many books were copied in the monastery, the *Diarium* mentioning both monks and nuns as scribes. Toward the close of the Middle Ages numerous translations from the Latin into the vernacular were made, mostly religious works for the benefit of the nuns. A thorough and complete study of the Vadstena manuscripts has not been made. They were chiefly theological and homiletic, and a number of manuscripts contain sermons by Vadstena brothers.<sup>108</sup> The size of the li-

<sup>104</sup> The *Diarium* has been edited by E. Benzeliuſ, *Diarium Vaſtenenſe* (Upsala, 1721); and a Swedish translation (Stockholm, 1918) has appeared.

<sup>105</sup> C. Silfverſtolpe, "En blick i Vadſtena kloſters arkiv och bibliotek," *Ur några antecknares ſamlingar* (Upsala, 1891), pp. 102 ff.

<sup>106</sup> Cod. Ups. C:102, C:199, and C:261 were purchased in Prague; Cod. Ups. C:26, C:72, C:76, C:77, and C:277, at Conſtance; and C:156, at Baſel.

<sup>107</sup> Gödel, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

<sup>108</sup> Some were prolific writers. Cod. Ups. C:302, C:303, C:304, C:327, and C:362 contain about 4,000 pages written by the ſame hand; Malin identifies the writer as Nicolaus Ragvaldi, general confessor at Vadſtena. About 30 ſermons in Cod. Ups. C:333, Malin believes, were compoſed by Johannes Swenonia, a learned ſcholastic. See his "Studier i Vadſtena kloſters bibliotek," *Nordisk tidſkrift för bok- och biblioteksväſen*, XIII (1926), 139–50.

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brary is not stated; but Annerstedt,<sup>109</sup> basing his calculations upon the classification system, estimates that, at its height, the library had about 1,400 volumes. Goedel believes it came close to 1,500.<sup>110</sup> About 455 manuscripts and 40 incunabula are extant.<sup>111</sup> Most of the Latin manuscripts are in the library of the University of Upsala; those in the vernacular are in the Royal Library of Stockholm; and there are Vadstena manuscripts in the libraries of Lund, Linköping, Copenhagen, Berlin, and Giessen.

Some of the books received toward the close of the fifteenth century have no notation, which may indicate that the library was neglected and, perhaps, already in decadence. Possibly because of the Swedish origin of the order, the monastery suffered less during the Reformation than many other foundations, but it was dissolved in 1595. The library fell into disuse; in 1543 the archives were plundered by order of the king, and the fact that in 1557 over 60 books were stolen indicates plainly that little was done to protect the library.<sup>112</sup> Its remnants were moved to Stockholm in 1619 and were included in the donation of Gustavus Adolphus to the University of Upsala.

There are few books extant from other Bridgetine monasteries. Nådendal, in Finland, received an initial gift of books from Vadstena; and one of its brothers, Jöns Budde, was an industrious copyist and translator. Two manuscripts are extant, and as late as 1890 a missal and a *lectionarium* from the monastery were kept in the church of Nådendal. The house of Munkeliv at Bergen had a fine library, and several donations of books are recorded.<sup>113</sup> A few volumes are extant from the Danish Bridgetine convent at Maribo.<sup>114</sup>

Few books from the libraries of other monastic orders escaped destruction, but several volumes are extant from the library of San

<sup>109</sup> C. Annerstedt, *Upsala universitetsbiblioteks historia intill år 1702* (Upsala, 1877), I, 47, n. 4.

<sup>110</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 99.

<sup>111</sup> Malin, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-30.

<sup>112</sup> Gödel, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-26.

<sup>113</sup> *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, XII, 112, 117.

<sup>114</sup> E. Jørgensen, "Studier over danske middelalderlige Bogsamlinger," *Historisk Tidsskrift*, R. 8, IV (1912-13), 53-54.

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Spiritu at Aalborg.<sup>115</sup> Collijn has identified a manuscript as the *Necrologium* of the monastery of the order of St. John at Eskilstuna.<sup>116</sup> There are references to books of the Carmelite monasteries at Helsingör and Skälskör in Denmark;<sup>117</sup> and several incunabula from the Carthusian monastery, Mariefred, at Gripsholm are extant.<sup>118</sup>

All the important private collections belong to the clergy. The books that Archbishop Sunesön donated to Lund Cathedral were almost all theology and canon law.<sup>119</sup> The will that the Upsala deacon Hemming made in 1299 lists books of a varied character and is the largest known collection in the Scandinavian countries before the fourteenth century. The books cover theology, canon law, metaphysics, metrics, mathematics, astronomy, and music; there is a treatise on veterinary science, a map of the world, and works of Lucan and Vergil.<sup>120</sup>

The library of Archbishop Jens Grand is the largest fourteenth-century Scandinavian library of which there is a record.<sup>121</sup> After his death, in Avignon in 1327, a list of his books was made,<sup>122</sup> which enumerates 81 items but does not include all the volumes. The whole library was appraised at 544 guilders. The turbulent archbishop saved possibly only a small part of his library when he left Den-

<sup>115</sup> J. Lindbäk and G. Stemmann, *De danske Helligaandsklostre* (Köbenhavn, 1906), pp. 99, 203-5.

<sup>116</sup> "Ett necrologium från Johanniterklostret i Eskilstuna," *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen*, XVI (1929), 1-21.

<sup>117</sup> *Scriptores rerum Danicarum*, VIII, 358.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. I. Collijn, "Svenska boksamlingar under medeltiden," *Samlaren*, XXV (1904), 207-8.

<sup>119</sup> *Scriptores rerum Danicarum*, III, 524.

<sup>120</sup> *Diplomatarium Suecanum*, II, 287.

<sup>121</sup> Jens Grand belonged to one of the most powerful families in Denmark. As archbishop of Lund his opposition to the Danish king led to his imprisonment. Later he became archbishop of Bremen, but a dispute with the chapter led to his resignation. He spent the last years of his life in Avignon.

<sup>122</sup> The complete list is published in P. A. Munch, "Diplomatiska bidrag til erkebiskop Jens Grands levnetshistorie," *Annaler for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie*, 1860, pp. 172-75.



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mark.<sup>123</sup> The books are principally theology and canon law, but there is a good selection of other writers. We find the popular works of Vincent de Beauvais, Henrico de Segusio, Boethius, Isidore, and Thomas of Ireland; some works on Roman law; about 20 on philosophy, natural history, and medicine;<sup>124</sup> and a book which, by its title, is on alchemy. None of the Church Fathers are included, and Hippocrates' *Aphorisms* is the only classical work mentioned. The list concludes with a remark by the papal agent who made the inventory that the library also contains documents concerning the archbishop's homeland and books in the vernacular, but he passes these by as of no monetary value.

Several other archbishops of Lund accumulated considerable libraries. At the time of his death Archbishop Niels Johannssön Bild had 46 volumes, but he had already given others to the cathedral school. The will of Archbishop Karl mentions many books. Other churchmen of Lund Cathedral had good libraries, notably Nicholaus Bunkaflö, Tucho Thuronis, Benechinus Henrici, Jacob Järmer, and Sven Saxtorph.<sup>125</sup> The size of their libraries is difficult to determine, as one cannot be sure that their wills, the only records that remain, mention all their books. The library of Benechinus must have contained about 80 works. The library which Bishop Hemming gave to the cathedral at Åbo contained 40 volumes.<sup>126</sup> In Norway the collections were smaller. The library of Arne Sigurdsson, bishop of Bergen from 1304 to 1314, contained 33 volumes:<sup>127</sup> works of St. Augustine and Gregory, a book on the destruction of Troy,<sup>128</sup> and 8 works in the vernacular. The collection of Botolf Asbjörnssön, bishop of Ber-

<sup>123</sup> At his trial before the Danish king the archbishop complained that his library had been plundered when he was made a prisoner in 1294. The king replied that the only book confiscated was a "liber necromanticus."

<sup>124</sup> When the list was made, Pope John XXII had borrowed most of the books on natural history, medicine, and law, and 9 works on theology.

<sup>125</sup> Erslöv, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>126</sup> Porthan, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

<sup>127</sup> G. Storm, "Den bergenske biskop Arnes bibliothek," (*Norsk Historisk tidsskrift*, II (1880), 185-92.

<sup>128</sup> The work is listed as "Brutum" and was undoubtedly one of the medieval accounts of the Troy story.

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gen, included the whole *corpus juris* and many books on theology and canon law.<sup>129</sup>

The character of the collections remains the same during the first half of the fifteenth century. The books mentioned in the will (1427) of Otto Boecii, canon of Ribe,<sup>130</sup> would fit any collection owned by a churchman of the preceding century. Nor do the collections in general increase in size. As bishop of Bergen, Aslak Bolt owned about 20 works, all theology except a *Cronica gestorum Noricorum*, which may have been a copy of parts of the history of Adam of Bremen.<sup>131</sup> Later, as archbishop of Nidaros, he exchanged a Bible and a *Decretum* for a beautiful Bible, preserved in the Deichmann Library in Oslo. The largest known collection privately owned in Copenhagen was that of Dr. Peder Albertsen, who gave some books to the library of the University of Copenhagen in 1482, and 24 more works in 1497.<sup>132</sup> These books, mostly canon law and medicine, became the foundation for the university library.

Perhaps the largest private library of any Scandinavian during the fifteenth century was that of Bero de Ludosia, a canon of the chapter of the cathedral at Skara. He studied at the University of Vienna, where he remained as professor of Aristotelian philosophy from 1429 until his death in 1465. His library of 138 volumes was bequeathed to Skara Cathedral, and a list of the books was made in 1475.<sup>133</sup> Although residing in Vienna, Bero evidently kept in close touch with the cathedral, for the canons elected him bishop; through papal intervention, however, the office was secured by another. His library was evidently collected at Vienna; the major part, over 90 works, consists of theology. Canon law comprises only 9 items; and the remaining books cover a wide range of interests: philosophical works, a well-chosen collection of books on grammar, 5 volumes of medicine, a few books on mathematics and music, the zoölogical compendium,

<sup>129</sup> *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, IV, 375.

<sup>130</sup> Erslev, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-201.

<sup>131</sup> Johnsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-89.

<sup>132</sup> *Scriptores rerum Danicarum*, VIII, 346.

<sup>133</sup> Published in Reuterdaahl, *op. cit.*, pp. 562-67; G. Carlsson, "Mäster Beros af Lödöses bibliotek," *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen*, IX (1922), 135-41. See also Carlsson, "Vårt största enskilda medeltidsbibliotek och dess ägare," *ibid.*, V (1918), 228-38.

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*Phisoölogus*, and *Fagifacetus*, a book on table manners. Aristotle is the only author of antiquity included.

Printed works predominate in the collections of the late fifteenth century. Three lists of the library of Clemens Rytingh, professor at the school of the Dominican monastery in Stockholm, were made between 1484 and 1487, and together number 61 works, many of more than one volume. Collijn estimates that Rytingh's library contained at least 80 volumes, of which 7 are extant.<sup>134</sup> Books from the collections of Laurentius Magnus, Rytingh's contemporary, and from those of other Swedish collectors of the period have been saved.<sup>135</sup> Well-to-do churchmen, such as Hans Urne, had books printed. This learned deacon of Odense Cathedral gave 30 service books to poor churches and 200 school books to needy students in Odense.<sup>136</sup> At the time of his death, his printer's bill amounted to 5,054 marks.<sup>137</sup>

The lower clergy had few books, usually liturgical; an occasional cultured vicar had a fine collection. Seventeen works are mentioned in the will (1338) of Wilhelm, vicar in Ribe: 2 copies of the *Decretales*, 2 copies of *Graecismus*, a Psalter, a breviary, Seneca's *Auctoritates*, Ovid's *De remedio amoris*, Theodolus with commentaries, and several collections of sermons.<sup>138</sup> A list of books in the library of Hans Jeppeseh, curate of a parish in Jutland, contains 15 works: 7 collections of sermons, a Bible, a Psalter, *Tractatus sacerdotales*, *Speculum exemplorum*, the *Revelations of the Holy Brigitte*, Rolewinck's *Fasciculus temporum*, a *Cronica mundi*, and a *Herbarius*.<sup>139</sup> The inventory of the property belonging to Mikkell Pedersen, last Catholic curate in Købelev on Falster, lists 2 breviaries, 3 collections of sermons, 3 service books, and 1 other book.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>134</sup> I. Collijn, "Svenska boksamlingar under medeltiden," *Samlaren*, XXIV (1903), 129-36.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV (1903), 137-40; XXIII (1902), 125-30; XXVII (1906), 99-105.

<sup>136</sup> *Danske Magazin*, I (1745), p. 297.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 299.

<sup>138</sup> Erslev, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75.

<sup>139</sup> C. J. Brandt, "Danske Kirkelevninger fra Middelalderen," *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger*, I (1849-52), 461-63.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 458-61.

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No collections of consequence are found among the laity. In the homes of the nobles there were perhaps a few service books for use at family devotions, a volume for devotional reading, and another in the vernacular for entertainment. Nor were collections of the kings and princes large. Among the treasures which King Birger deposited at the chapter of Upsala Cathedral in 1311, there is only one book, *Liber de coronacione regis, cum ystoria de spina corona domini*, a book which concerned the king officially.<sup>141</sup> The will of King Haakon V of Norway (d. 1319) mentions only a missal and 2 breviaries. The inventory of the Swedish king, Magnus Eriksson, in Båhus Castle, 1340, enumerates 14 works:<sup>142</sup> a large Bible in Swedish,<sup>143</sup> a Bible in German, 5 law codices, 2 romances, a *Liber decani Upsalensis*, which may be Laurentius de Valla's *Summa*, 2 other works in German, and 2 works not specified.

Private collections at least have greater variety than the libraries of cathedrals and monasteries. The laity, especially at the close of the period, preferred the secular literature of chronicles, romances, and sagas. Prayer books in their collections decline both in quantity and quality. Books in Low German begin to appear at this time. The *Biblia pauperum* was popular among the lower clergy, as well as other books of its class: *Summa pauperum*, a book of selections; *Panis pauperum*, a collection of sermons; *Liber pauperum*, a legal handbook; and *Thesaurus pauperum*, on medicine (also found in collections of the higher clergy). *Specula* and compilations like *Manipulus florum* and *Flores philosophiae* are frequently mentioned. Historical works are rarely included, and vernacular literature is found chiefly among the laity. Occasionally, as in the case of Bishop Arne of Bergen, a member of the higher clergy exhibits interest in the national literature.

The general impression of library collections left by examination of the records and surviving specimens is of monotony and meager-

<sup>141</sup> *Diplomatarium Suecanum*, III, 31.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 709 f.

<sup>143</sup> There is a tradition that the Holy Brigitta sponsored a translation of the Bible into Swedish, in which case she may have given her royal relative a copy. It is, however, more likely that it was merely a paraphrase of the Pentateuch popular at the time.

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ness; up to the middle of the fifteenth century, of almost deadly similarity. The two books most frequently mentioned are Gregory's *Moralia* and Comestor's *Historia scholastica*; Boethius' *De consolacione philosophiae* and Isidore's *Etymologiae* are standard works in collections of any size. Other names which appear repeatedly are Jacobus de Voragine, Raimundus de Pennafort, Vincent de Beauvais, Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, Henrico de Segusio, Ebrardus, and Durandus. Patristic literature comprises chiefly the works of Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, Ambrose, and Origen. Of Latin authors, Cicero and Seneca are found most often; Ovid appears in the libraries of several churchmen.<sup>144</sup> The will of Bishop Hemming (1299) and others mention Lucan and Vergil. The Slesvig list includes Juvenal, Persius, and Martial. There are several references to Livy; and Archbishop Absalon owned manuscripts of Justin and Valerius Maximus. Malin found fragments of Maximus and Statius in Finnish libraries and is of the opinion that there was more classical literature in medieval Scandinavian libraries than references in wills and extant specimens allow us to believe.<sup>145</sup> Classics in Greek are practically unknown; those mentioned—Hippocrates, Aristotle, and later Herodotus and Plutarch—are in Latin translations.<sup>146</sup>

The collections toward the close of the period include works of the Italian Humanists and a better selection of the classics. A Humanistic trend is observed in the 1519 list of the library of Slesvig Cathedral and that of Trondhjem Cathedral in 1550; but cathedral libraries were seriously hampered by the religious unrest of the time. The libraries of monasteries were scattered or neglected, and the schools connected with the monasteries declined. Only the private

<sup>144</sup> The curate Wilhelm of Ribe had the *De remedio amoris*; Tucho Thuronis, canon of Lund, the *Metamorphoses* and *De arte amandi et alii Ovidiani in uno volumine* (Erslev, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-15).

<sup>145</sup> A. Malin, "Bidrag till nordisk bokhistoria under medeltiden," *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen*, IX (1922), 146, 155-58.

<sup>146</sup> Cod. Ups. C:647, which was owned by a Dominican friar in Denmark, contains the Prologue to Plato's *Timaeus*. Cod. Ups. C:447, a breviary belonging to the Danish curate, Johannes Svenonis, and inscribed with the date 1477, has on leaf 60 a Pater Noster and an Ave Maria in poor Greek, written with Latin letters, which illustrates sufficiently the lack of Greek culture at that time. Cf. E. Jörgensen, "Studier over danske middelalderlige Bogsamlinger," *Historisk Tidsskrift*, R. 8, IV (1912-13), p. 26, n. 1.

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collections were free to expand, and those of the sixteenth century reflect the wide interests of the Renaissance.<sup>147</sup>

Schoolbooks, like Ebrardus' *Graecismus*, the works of Priscian and Donatus, and codices of mixed content for use in schools occupy an important place and are found not only in cathedral and monastic libraries but also in many private collections. Indeed, the libraries of Tucho Thuronis and of Curate Wilhelm are almost entirely made up of books of that type.

Works of secular history are rarely found, even those of national importance. The monasteries preserved their local chronicles; but when Christian Pedersen, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, prepared for the editing and printing of Saxo's *Gesta Danorum* and sent to Denmark from Paris for a manuscript, none could be found. He returned to Denmark and searched a long time in vain among Danish monasteries, until the Archbishop of Lund finally found a manuscript in his diocese.<sup>148</sup> Books on natural science and medicine are found in some collections—in the smaller, a *Herbarius* or, perhaps, a *Thesaurus pauperum*; in the larger, the medical treatises of the period. There were medical books in the donation of Asser to Lund Cathedral; and Ribe Cathedral had Avicenna and other medical authors. A manuscript containing books on medicine is extant from the Roskilde cathedral library. Cod. Ups. C:647, once the property of a Danish Dominican, contains parts of Averras, Avicenna, and Algazel; Cod. Ups. C:587 has Albushasis' *Liber de conservatione sanitatis*. These books were, naturally, in Latin translations. The libraries of Jens Grand and of Bero contained some books on medicine; and others are found in the collections of Bunkaflø and Semun-

<sup>147</sup> The library collected by the Franciscan, Lutke Naamensen, most of whose books undoubtedly antedate 1536, is mostly theology. In the library of the Danish nobleman, Jørgen Gyldensjerne, who died in 1551, we find a greater variety, and among the classics several new names: Plautus, Terence, Pliny, Vergil, Horace, Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, and Suetonius. The library of Jacob Ulfelt contained works in Spanish and Italian; many works of writers of the Renaissance; and, among the classics, Hesiod, Plato, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Plutarch. The Swedish kings of the late sixteenth century, Erik XIV and Johan III, had good libraries. In the library of Benedictus Olai, physician to Erik XIV, many important classics are represented; the libraries of Nicolaus Johannes Smalandius and Hogenskild Bielke are rich in historical literature.

<sup>148</sup> Weibull, *Bibliotek och arkiv i Skåne*, pp. 29-30.

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dus Johannis. Since monks acted as physicians and surgeons in this time, we may assume that monastic libraries were not wholly without medical literature. Other sciences are represented with an occasional work on mathematics, astronomy, alchemy, or veterinary science. Books of church music are included in many libraries.<sup>149</sup>

The numerous fragments of law books indicate that these were popular toward the close of the Middle Ages in court and other collections and, naturally, with judges and lawyers. The wills of Benechinus Henrici and of Saxtorph mention law codices.<sup>150</sup> Extant fragments of vernacular literature also lead one to believe that such works existed in larger quantities than the records indicate. Sagas are included in the library of Bishop Arne. Trond Gardarssön, canon at Nidaros Cathedral, had a part of *Heimskringla*; and there are other isolated examples of churchmen possessing national literature.<sup>151</sup> Fragments of the Olaf sagas, *Heimskringla*, *Sverresaga*, *Sturlungasaga*, and other sagas have been found in the Norwegian national archives.<sup>152</sup> In Icelandic collections *Njálassaga* is the only work of the earlier period mentioned. There are no references to manuscripts containing the *Edda*.

Thousands of fragments of medieval books have been salvaged from the bindings of government accounts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Of the 6,000 parchment leaves rescued from the Norwegian national archives, there are fragments from about 1,000 Latin and 100 Norse works. Most of the Latin works are theology; but there are also parts of medical treatises, Sallust's *Jugurtha*, and a commentary on Vergil. Fifty-nine of the Norse works are law codices; but there are fragments from sagas, lives of saints, and a few romances.<sup>153</sup> Over 1,200 fragments from Danish libraries have been saved.<sup>154</sup> The 30,000 leaves salvaged from the Swedish archives and

<sup>149</sup> A. Hammerich, *Musik-Mindesmærker fra Middelalderen i Danmark* (København, 1912).

<sup>150</sup> Erslev, *op. cit.*, pp. 121, 177-78.

<sup>151</sup> Johnsen, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

<sup>152</sup> P. A. Munch, "Levninger af norsk old litteratur nylig opdagede i Rigsarkivet," *Norsk tidsskrift for videnskab og litteratur*, 1847, pp. 25-52.

<sup>153</sup> W. Munthe, "De norske bibliotekers historie," in Dahl, *op. cit.*, II, 161.

<sup>154</sup> E. Jørgensen, "Les Bibliothèques danoises au moyen âge," *Nordisk tidsskrift för bok- och biblioteksvesen*, II (1915), 334-35.

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examined by Collijn contain parts of over 4,000 manuscripts, mostly from church and monastic libraries.<sup>155</sup>

Since few libraries were large, no elaborate classification and cataloguing system was necessary. Generally the cantor was in charge of the library, and it was his duty to care for the books and see that books taken out were properly returned. The statutes of Nils Allesson for Upsala diocese, 1297, decree that, upon taking office, a new priest must make an inventory of books and other property belonging to the church in the presence of some of his parishioners; and the following year an order was issued demanding that strict care be taken in the handling of the books.<sup>156</sup> A document drawn up subsequent to an investigation of the chapter at the Church of Our Lady in Copenhagen in the middle of the fourteenth century states that a list of the books must be kept and that once a year their presence must be affirmed under oath.<sup>157</sup>

In the cathedrals the books were usually shelved in the vestry or in one of the chapels. Liturgical books were placed in the chancel, and other books were chained to desks in the church. In the will of Otto Boecii (1427) it is expressly stated that Gregory's *Moralia*, which he and another person had copied for Ribe Cathedral, must be chained to a desk in a place where people may have access to it.<sup>158</sup> The curate Petrus Mathie bequeaths a *Dormi secure* under similar conditions.<sup>159</sup> There is nothing to indicate that schools connected with cathedrals and monasteries had separate collections, as was the case in some Continental institutions.

The most common schemes of classification were a differentiation according to language or to the four faculties, or a combination of both methods. The library of Bishop Arne is divided into three

<sup>155</sup> See his article in *Bilaga till kung. bibl. Handlingar*, XXXIV (1914). The library of the University of Helsingfors has a collection of over 10,000 leaves, of which only a small part is vernacular literature. Cf. T. Haapenen, *Verzeichnis der mittelalterlichen Handschriftenfragmente in der Universitäts-bibliothek zu Helsingfors* (Helsingfors, 1922 and 1925).

<sup>156</sup> *Diplomatarium Suecanum*, II, 227 f.; II, 268.

<sup>157</sup> H. F. Rörðam, *Köbenhavns Kirker og Klostere i Middelalderen* (Kjöbenhavn, 1859-63), p. 48.

<sup>158</sup> Erslev, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

<sup>159</sup> *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksvesen*, II (1915), 347.



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classes: theology, "grammaticales libros," and Norse books.<sup>160</sup> In the catalogue of the library of Jens Grand the books are arranged systematically as theology, law, historical and philosophic works, natural science and medicine, with a final reference to books in the vernacular.<sup>161</sup> The books in the library of Viðey monastery in Iceland (1397) are classified into Latin works, Norse works, and school-books;<sup>162</sup> and those of Möðruvalla Monastery into service books, Latin works, and Norse works.<sup>163</sup> The collection of Bero is divided into theology, law, "in artibus," and "in grammatica."<sup>164</sup> The Slesvig list, 1519, has three groups: "in sacris litteris," "in jure," and "in naturalibus, historiis, artibus, humanitatis, et aliis."<sup>165</sup> The catalogue of the cathedral at Trondhjem, 1558, uses three divisions: "libri sacrae scripturae," "libri judici," and "libri historici."<sup>166</sup> The books of Jörgen Gyldenstjerne are arranged in three groups: books of the Old Testament, books of the New Testament, and philosophic works.<sup>167</sup>

Vadstena is the only library in the Scandinavian countries of which we can reconstruct a detailed arrangement. Extant manuscripts have markings of a classification system using Roman capital letters for the main classes, in which B has been identified as chiefly exegesis; classes D, E, and F, homilies; G, canon law; and N-Q, printed works.<sup>168</sup> Collijn has located a Vadstena manuscript with the notation "S VIII."<sup>169</sup> Notations like "A IV 6:™ in ordine" are found, in which the capital letter evidently refers to the case, the

<sup>160</sup> (*Norsk*) *Historisk tidsskrift*, R. 2, II, 186.

<sup>161</sup> *Annaler for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie*, 1860, pp. 172-75.

<sup>162</sup> *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, IV, 110-11.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 286-91.

<sup>164</sup> *Nordisk tidsskrift för bok- och biblioteksäsen*, IX (1922), 135-41.

<sup>165</sup> *Danske Magazin*, R. 6, I (1913), 309-19.

<sup>166</sup> *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, XII, 823-25.

<sup>167</sup> H. F. Rörðam, "Efterretninger om Humanisten Jörgen Gyldenstjerne," *Danske Magazin*, R. 5, I (1887-89), 260-63.

<sup>168</sup> A. Malin, "Studier i Vadstena klostrets bibliotek," *Nordisk tidsskrift för bok- och biblioteksäsen*, XIII (1926), 136.

<sup>169</sup> *Nordisk tidsskrift för bok- och biblioteksäsen*, IV (1917), 359.

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Roman numeral to the shelf, and the last part of the notation to the order of the book on the shelf. Perhaps because of the increasing size of the library, a second capital letter was added to the notation late in the fifteenth century. Cod. Ups. C:98, C:104, and C:172 have the notations KV 7, BV 4, and EI 5, respectively; but the covers show, in red ink, the earlier notation, P VII, I XI, and G VI.<sup>170</sup> There may well have been a separate collection, in chains, of service books for the nuns or for general use.<sup>171</sup> The library had its special hall, and the fact that some manuscripts contain notes by the same hand over definite periods indicates that there was a librarian in charge.<sup>172</sup> The books were used in the library, and loans seem to have been permitted only in exceptional cases.<sup>173</sup>

About the middle of the sixteenth century the Danish bishop Chrysostomus made an inventory of books in the homes of curates in his diocese. He expressed his displeasure with the books he found with these comments: "Psalterium Ludolphi mendacis scriptoris, qui vitam Christi descripsit plenam mendaciiis," and "Postilla cuiusdam Franciscani quae biga salutis inscribitur, antiquae et insipidae farinae."<sup>174</sup> Printing made books cheaper; the cultural bonds with the preceding age were broken; and the old books were considered both ungodly and useless. During the reign of King Christian III of Denmark an effort was made to collect old books from cathedrals and monasteries. The books were examined, and those that seemed useful were incorporated into the library of the University of Copenhagen.<sup>175</sup> But many valuable manuscripts perished. In 1608, 76 old books from the monastery at Sorø, which had been stored in the

<sup>170</sup> Malin, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

<sup>171</sup> Gödel, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-98.

<sup>172</sup> Malin, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-38.

<sup>173</sup> An order of 1388 reads: "Tactum fit de libris et reponais, quod ex licentia et permissione confessoris possunt fratres habere libros in cameris suis ad studendum pro sermonibus faciendis, prout necesse habuerint, et potissime quilibet illos libros, quos vel personaliter superfecerat vel in quibus longo tempore studere consueverit, sic tamen quod non negentur aliis ad tempus, si petuntur." Cf. C. Silfverstolpe, *op. cit.*, pp. 102 f.

<sup>174</sup> Cf. E. Jørgensen, "Studier over danske middelalderlige Bogsamlinger," *Historisk Tidsskrift*, R. 8, IV (1912-13), 58. The second work referred to is Michael de Hungaria, *Biga salutis*.

<sup>175</sup> Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-16.

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arsenal in Copenhagen, were deliberately burned;<sup>176</sup> and at the marriage of Prince Christian in Copenhagen, 1634, old manuscripts are reported to have been used as fuel.<sup>177</sup> The Lutheran minister at Helgafell in Iceland made several bonfires in 1623-24 of books that had belonged to the monastery.<sup>178</sup>

Far worse than the fanaticism of the Reformation was the vandalism that began about 1530 and lasted for over a century. The parchment manuscripts were cut to pieces and used as binding material for government accounts. Catholic service books were used first, then Latin works in general, and finally manuscripts in the vernacular. By the middle of the seventeenth century it seems that all parchment was used up.<sup>179</sup> Much as we may regret this wholesale destruction, it at least has helped to preserve thousands of fragments, which otherwise would have been entirely lost. Collectors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries rescued some of the medieval works, and some were secured by libraries. As a final stroke of fate, however, all the manuscripts that had been collected for the University of Copenhagen perished when the *Vetus Bibliotheca* was destroyed by fire in 1728.

This chapter may be concluded with a brief account of what is known concerning the libraries of medieval Iceland.<sup>180</sup> Iceland was discovered and settled by the Norse in the middle of the ninth century, and in the year 1000 Christianity was officially adopted. By the middle of the twelfth century—before 1150—the island had twenty thousand inhabitants, two bishoprics, and one monastery.

<sup>176</sup> Petersen, *op. cit.*, in Dahl, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

<sup>177</sup> E. Jørgensen, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

<sup>178</sup> Hermannsson, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>179</sup> Th. B. Bircherod, "Dissertatio de causis deperditarum apud Septentrionales et praesertim apud Danos antiquitatum," *Dänische Bibliothek*, IV (1743), 366-422; O. Nielsen, "Levninger af danske Haandskrifter fra Middelalderen," *Nye Kirkehistoriske Samlinger*, III (1864-66), 435-48; P. A. Munch, "Levninger af norsk oldlitteratur, nylig opagede i Rigsarkivet," *Norsk tidsskrift for videnskab og litteratur*, 1847, pp. 25-52; S. A. Sørensen, "Middelalderske latinske membranfragmenter i det norske Riksarkiv," (*Norsk Historisk Tidsskrift*, R. 4, VI (1910), 23-47; S. Gödel, *op. cit.*, chaps. iv and v.

<sup>180</sup> Tenney Frank, "Classical Scholarship in Iceland," *American Journal of Philology*, XXX (1909), 139-52; F. Jónsson, *Den old norske og islandske Litteraturs Historie* (Köbenhavn, 1896-1902), especially II, 921 ff.

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The oldest monastery was the Benedictine abbey of Thingey, founded in 1133. The next was an Augustinian house at Munkapvera. Both soon became renowned for their schools. No book lists, however, survive from these foundations. The best sources, although yet meager, of information about books in Iceland before the end of the fourteenth century are the lives of the bishops.<sup>181</sup> The first of these is *Jóns Biskups Saga* written by Gunnlaug about the year 1200. John (1052-1121) learned Latin from Bishop Isleif, was sent abroad to England, France, and Italy for further study, and upon his return in 1106 was made the first bishop of northern Iceland. His first act was the establishment of a cathedral school, sending to France for one teacher and to Gothland for the other. Evidently not all the books in John's school were of a religious and ecclesiastical nature, for one day the bishop surprised his favorite pupil reading "a book of verse called *Ovidius de Arte*. In this book master Ovid tells of the love of women and how men beguile them." The life of Bishop Laurentius (b. 1267)<sup>182</sup> relates that he began his studies under Thorarin, a famous teacher "who had written many books for the church," and that his education was continued in Norway under a teacher who had studied law at Orléans and theology at Paris.<sup>183</sup>

Unfortunately, not much data is available in the form of monastic catalogues. The lists of books which have survived are few in number and from small and obscure localities. To quote Tenney Frank:

The inventory of Helgafell cloisters, for example, made in 1397 . . . contains the item of "35 Norse books and about 100 Latin books besides some breviaries." That of Kirkjubæ, after listing some 30 books used in the service, adds the item of "20 Latin and Norse books," while that of Möðrdalur, which is even less explicit, simply records "about 150 books."

The catalogue of Viðey monastery, however (1397) furnished more definite information as to the nature of the monastic book-shelves. It gives about 100 titles. . . . Among these are found most of the books of the Bible; homilies, sermons and commentaries of St. Augustine, Gregory, Leo, etc.; several standard church books as e.g., *Vitae patrum*, *Martiriologium*, "Cura pastoralis, Vitae sanctorum; a fairly

<sup>181</sup> Cf. *Biskupa Sögur* (Copenhagen, 1858).

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 789.

<sup>183</sup> Other Icelandic bishops were educated in England and France. Bishops Isleif and Gissur were sent to school at Hereford. Bishops Thorlak, Haldorson, and John the Fleming studied at Paris. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 267, 799, 838. Hereford, Lincoln, Paris, Orléans, and Bologna were favorite schools of Icelanders. Cf. Frank, *op. cit.*, p. 141 n.

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long list of text-books as e.g., Isidore's *Etymologiae*, *Quaestiones Orosii*, *Cato* (*disticha*) með *glossa*, *Tobias Glossatus*, a doctrinale, a *Gracismus*, a *Lucidarius*; a few books of profane history, as a "chronica," two *Annales* and an *Alexander Magnus*; and finally, nine books of poetry. . . . <sup>184</sup>

In general it may be said that medieval Icelandic libraries were replicas of Continental libraries on a small scale. *Cato* is the first Latin book cited in Icelandic, quoted in the first grammatical treatise written about 1140. Law books and medical works were brought from Bologna. A fragment of a *materia medica* containing extracts from *Dioscorides* and *Galen* is written in a hand of about 1250. The *Hauksbok*, the autobiography of the lawyer Hawk, written about 1290, throws light upon the intellectual interests of a cultivated lawyer of the time.<sup>185</sup> He was a man who, besides being an honest and efficient judge, was a student who wrote upon Icelandic history, read Latin and French, apparently had some knowledge of Hebrew, and was familiar with the scientific literature of the age—the standard texts in astronomy, geography, and natural history—and who himself made the first translation of the Arabic arithmetic, through Latin, into Icelandic. Nor was the lighter and more diverting literature of the Continent without readers in Iceland. The British and French romances of *Geoffrey of Monmouth* and *Chrétien de Troyes* and the poems of the Trojan and Alexander cycles were familiar. Iceland produced its own Troy tale, the *Trojumanna Saga*; *Snorre*, the historian in the Introduction to the *Younger Edda*, claimed Trojan ancestry for the Norsemen; and the lawyer Hawk compiled a genealogical table which traced his family through *Woden*, *Thor* (= *Tros*), *Priam*, *Zeus*, *Javan*, etc., to *Adam*.<sup>186</sup>

<sup>184</sup> Frank, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

<sup>185</sup> Ed. Jónsson (Copenhagen, 1896).

<sup>186</sup> *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, III, 5.

## CHAPTER XVII

# Libraries of the Italian Renaissance

By DOROTHY M. ROBATHAN

THREE stages in the history of Italian libraries during the renaissance may be distinguished: first, what J. A. Symonds called the "age of passionate desire";<sup>1</sup> next, the formation of many princely libraries; and finally, beyond the horizon of this book, the age of printing.

The first movement, springing from a revived awareness of the glories of ancient civilization, was a conscious effort to recover the works of classical authors. The quest proceeded in two directions, a systematic search of the West for forgotten manuscripts and the reimportation from Greece and Byzantium of books which had disappeared with the decline of Greek studies.<sup>2</sup>

Many renaissance scholars participated in both activities. This is true even of Francesco Petrarch, the first of the Humanists. So much has been written concerning him that it is not necessary to review here the details of his life or the influences that led to his interest in classical studies. But we can easily see how his enthusiasm for ancient authors made him desire to read everything that they had written and led him to seek out works no longer in circulation. For example, Petrarch had an unbounded admiration for Cicero. Although some of his works had been known during the Middle Ages, it remained for Petrarch to find others in manuscripts which had been

<sup>1</sup> *Age of the Despots* (ed. 1907), p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> The material which follows is based on R. Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte dei codici latini e greci nei secoli XIV e XV*, I (Florence, 1905); II (Florence, 1914). Additional references will be given in course.

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forgotten for centuries. His greatest triumph here was the discovery at Verona in 1345 of an ancient codex of the *Epistulae ad Atticum*. Already in 1333 he had discovered at Liège the *Pro Archia*, and seventeen years later he obtained from the same place four other Ciceronian orations. Petrarch's influence in Italy and his close relationship with men of importance in France, Spain, Germany, and England made it possible for him to trace even manuscripts hidden in foreign collections. From his own writings we know that this "first modern man" had a wide acquaintance with classical literature and that he had at his disposal manuscripts of authors that were not commonly known at that time.

With Petrarch is always associated his illustrious follower, Giovanni Boccaccio, whose dramatic discovery of the manuscript of Tacitus (*Ann.* xi-xvi; *Hist.* i-v) at Monte Cassino, where he found it in a dark cupboard with other ancient codices, all more or less in a state of disintegration, is well known. To his energy, also, belongs the first appearance of the complete Martial, Ausonius, Varro, Lactantius Placidus, Fulgentius' *Expositio*, part of the *Appendix Vergilianus*, the *Priapea*, and perhaps of Cicero's *Verrines*. Other manuscripts which he sought and never gave up hope of finding were lost works of Cicero and the missing books of Livy.

To the third early Florentine Humanist, Coluccio Salutati (1330-1406), we also owe the discovery of a number of ancient writings. He had copied at Vercelli the *Epistulae familiares* of Cicero, after their discovery by Pasquino Cappelli and, perhaps, Antonio Loschi. Coluccio himself was the first to find the *Aratea* of Germanicus, the *De agricultura* of Cato, the *De centum metris* of Servius, the commentary of Pompeius on the *Ars maior* of Donatus, the *Elegiae* of Maximianus, and the Pseudo-Ciceronian *Differentiae*.

But the greatest distinction in the field of manuscript discovery belongs, without contest, to Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459). This doughty traveler and persistent book-hunter is credited with the discovery, in whole or in part, of Lucretius, Manilius, Statius, Probus, Eutyches, Capreolus, Tertullian, Silius Italicus, Valerius Flaccus, Asconius Pedianus, Petronius, Columella, Vitruvius, Festus (Paulus), Nonius Marcellus, Frontinus, Cicero, and Ammianus Marcellinus.

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His imposing accomplishments were achieved in a series of expeditions over a wide range and through a number of years.

Poggio's first conspicuous success came when, in 1415, he accompanied Pope John XXIII to the Council of Constance. During an adjournment Poggio made an excursion to Cluny and returned with a number of orations of Cicero, two of which were then entirely unknown. The following year, with Bartolomeo da Montepulciano and Cencio Agapito, Poggio visited the celebrated monastery of St. Gall, where, to his delight, he found the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus and a complete manuscript of Quintilian. The next year (1417) another trip was made to Swiss monasteries; and St. Gall was revisited, again with great profit, since Poggio found new texts of Tertullian, Lucretius, Manilius, Silius Italicus, Ammianus Marcellinus, and the grammarians Caper, Eutyches, and Probus. Poggio's fourth excursion, in the same year, extended into Germany and France and resulted in the discovery of eight orations of Cicero, hitherto unknown. Probably, also, the introduction into Italy of the *Silvae* of Statius belongs to this period.

With the election of Pope Martin V, Poggio's status in the Curia changed; and the year 1418 found him in the service of an English cardinal, which took him to England for nearly five years. On his journey he paused at Paris, where he found a manuscript of Nonius Marcellus, which he dispatched at once to Florence. From England he brought back the *Bucolics* of Calpurnius and a fragment of Petronius, supplemented by another section which he found in Cologne on his return journey. His last important contribution to the growing list of new works acquired by the Italian Humanists was the *De aquis urbis Romae* of Frontinus, which came to light at Monte Cassino in 1429. But Poggio himself was never satiated with his impressive discoveries. To the end he sought certain lost works by Cicero, for which he searched even in Portugal; and he looked in vain for the elusive books of Livy. Despite his frustration on these points, Poggio's successes have dwarfed those of all who came before and after him; and his adventures have invested him with a halo of romance.

Of other Florentines who were conspicuous for the diffusion of new pieces of classical literature, Niccolò Niccoli holds a prominent place.



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Unlike Poggio, he went to no distant lands; but in some mysterious fashion, newly found codices came to him. In only one instance have we a record of Niccolò's traveling. In 1430 an epidemic in Florence forced him to leave the city. After a sojourn in Verona and Venice, he returned to Florence with a number of theological manuscripts, such as tracts by Lactantius. Other important finds were fragments of the *De medicina* of Celsus and the last 14 books of Gellius, unknown until this time. As a result of his feverish energy in collecting, Niccolò left, at his death, a legacy of 800 volumes, which became the nucleus of the library of San Marco.

One of Niccolò's helpers was Ambrogio Traversari, who made monasteries his chief hunting-ground; but, unfortunately, the Italian monasteries in 1432-34 did not yield much of literary value. To Traversari's credit belongs the discovery of a number of theological works, but his only novelty in classical Latin texts was the *Vitae* of Cornelius Nepos. In spite of the small literary returns of his search, Traversari had made a thorough investigation of the monastic libraries in the vicinity of Bologna, Ravenna, Vicenza, Padua, and Venice, as well as at Rome itself.

We cannot omit, in an account of the Florentine group of early fifteenth-century Humanists, mention of the part played by Vespasiano da Bisticci in the manuscript trade. He is well known for his biographical writings, but it is as a literary agent that he deserves even greater fame. Like Niccolò Niccoli, he made no extensive trips in search of unknown codices; but from his strategic position in Florence he was in constant touch with recent developments both in Italy and abroad. Unlike Niccolò, however, he built up no library of his own but devoted all his energies to his clients, among whom were not only the most distinguished patrons of literature in his own country but such eminent foreigners as King Mathias Corvinus of Hungary. Vespasiano occupies a unique position in the history of the Italian renaissance, and he has well been called "the last of the medieval scribes and at the same time the first of modern booksellers."

But this intense interest in acquiring and copying new manuscripts of ancient authors was by no means confined to the enthusiasts on the banks of the Arno. Let us glance at some of the leaders in the

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same movement in the extreme north of Italy. With Milan as a center of Humanistic activity, we find Gerardo Landriani, bishop of Lodi, bringing to light in the archives of his cathedral a valuable manuscript which contained 5 rhetorical works of Cicero; of which the *Brutus* was entirely new and the *Orator* and *De oratore* had existed before only in mutilated form.

Another dignitary of the church, Bartolomeo Capra, made a discovery of 9 codices, probably in some convent in Milan. Besides some entirely new works of Augustine, Priscian, and Festus Rufus, these included other authors, known before but not very widely diffused, such as Martial and Censorinus. Another famous Milanese codex is one of Celsus, discovered in 1427 by Giovanni Lamola. Lamola was an able follower of one of the most outstanding of northern Humanists, Guarino of Verona, who had brought to light important codices of Pliny's *Letters* and of Aulus Gellius.

We have already observed in the case of Poggio and his helpers how the Council at Constance aided in the search for new material. Fifteen years later (1432-40) another church council was held, at Basel, and another opportunity occurred to search the neighboring monasteries of Switzerland and Germany. Among those active here were: Tommaso Parentucelli (later Nicholas V), who did so much to help in establishing Italian libraries; Bartolomeo Capra, whose activities in Milan we have noted; Giovanni Aurispa, an outstanding bibliophile, who played a leading part in the commerce of Greek manuscripts in Italy; and Francesco Pizzolpasso, bishop of Pavia. Among the texts secured by these ecclesiastics and scholars during the Council of Basel were Tertullian, Donatus on Terence, Probus, Sallust, and a rich store of patristic literature, including Latin translations of Origen, Cyril, and Eusebius, as well as 6 codices of Augustine and 10 of Jerome.

But the relations of the Italian Humanists with men of similar interests in Germany were not confined to the meetings of the councils. It was Nicholas of Cusa, an intimate of Poggio and Pizzolpasso, who was responsible for bringing into Italy a codex containing 20 plays of Plautus, of which 12 were new, and other manuscripts of Seneca and Publilius Syrus.

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Nor were the rich literary treasures of Germany exhausted at this time. Toward the middle of the century still other finds were made by Enoch of Ascoli, who was sent by Pope Nicholas V not only to Denmark, Sweden, and Germany, but even to the Orient to hunt for new treasures. With his name will always be associated the discovery of a manuscript which is important because it alone has preserved for us the *Agricola* and *Germania* of Tacitus, and another containing the fragmentary *De grammatica et rhetorica* of Suetonius. Both these manuscripts were found in the monastery of Hersfeld. Other discoveries by Enoch were the *De re coquinaria* of Apicius and the commentary of Porphyrio on Horace.

While Enoch was hunting manuscripts in Germany and the north, Iacopo Sannazaro in France, and another Italian, Angelo Decembrio, in Spain, there were still treasures awaiting discovery in their native land. It remained for Angelo Politian and Giorgio Merula (or, rather, his secretary, Giorgio Galbiate) to bring these to light at the very end of the fifteenth century. In 1493 there was discovered at Bobbio a most important collection of new manuscripts, chiefly works on grammar, meter, and lexicography, but including a few poetical texts, among them the satire of Sulpicia, hitherto unknown.

At about the same time that Galbiate was making these discoveries and Merula was getting credit for them, Politian was making a systematic tour of the libraries of Italy. From his own record of this survey we are able today to identify a number of manuscripts which he used or observed in different collections. Most of them, however, contained things already known. In fact, at the end of the century there were very few works still undiscovered. The chief exceptions were: the correspondence between Pliny and Trajan found near Paris about 1500 by one Giocondo from Verona; the important manuscript of Tacitus (Med. I) containing the first 6 books of the *Annals*, acquired from the monastery of Corvey in 1508; a codex of Velleius Paterculus from the monastery of Murbach, which came to light in 1516; and some additions to Livy, found at Lorsch in 1527.

It is not possible in a work of this scope to enumerate all who hunted manuscripts. Only the most outstanding discoveries can be mentioned; and while emphasis has been placed chiefly upon the indi-

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viduals who actually made the discoveries, we must not forget that many of them would not have been able to do their work without the financial assistance and sympathetic interests of patrons, like Lorenzo dei Medici and Pope Nicholas V, whose work as founders of libraries will be considered later.

An important aspect of the Humanistic movement for library history was the development of interest in the language and culture of ancient Greece. We may trace the movement from its inception in Petrarch to its full development at the end of the fifteenth century. Although Petrarch was not able to read Greek, he enjoyed having in his library a manuscript of Plato in the original language, which he probably got from France, and one of Homer, which came directly from Greece.<sup>3</sup> Both of these codices later formed part of the Visconti library at Pavia. We know, too, that Petrarch tried to get copies of Hesiod and of Euripides from Constantinople.<sup>4</sup>

Like his distinguished predecessor, Boccaccio also endeavored to add Greek codices to his library. Fortunately for both of these early Humanists, they established connections with Italians who did know Greek. From a Calabrian named Barlaam, who had lived in Constantinople, Petrarch took a few lessons while he was at Avignon. And from Barlaam's pupil, Leonzio Pilato, a southern Italian who also had spent some time in the East, Boccaccio endeavored to acquire some knowledge of Greek. Though Pilato was later made professor of Greek at Florence, his knowledge of classical authors was negligible, for he knew only the Byzantine vernacular. Yet Boccaccio, with his aid, worked out the first complete Latin translation of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

A larger part in spreading Greek culture was played by a native of Constantinople, Manuel Chrysoloras, who came to Venice in 1394 to request aid from the city-republic against the Turks. Failing in this, he returned to his fatherland for a brief time; but in 1397 he came back to Italy, where he was appointed to a professorship of Greek in Florence and where he found fertile ground for planting the seeds of Hellenic culture. From Florence the movement spread to

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 43.

<sup>4</sup> P. de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme* (2d ed.; Paris, 1907), II, 131.

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other centers—Venice, Milan, Padua, and Rome, which the Greeks visited in turn.

One of the first to come under the influence of Chrysoloras was the young Florentine, Giacomo Angeli da Scarperia, who had returned to Constantinople with him after his unsuccessful diplomatic mission to Venice. In his journey Giacomo was commissioned by Salutati to obtain manuscripts containing all of Plato, Homer, and the other poets, and works of grammar and mythology. The exact results of his quest are unknown, but Angeli da Scarperia is famous as the first of a series of Italians who visited Constantinople to secure Greek codices. Among these were other pupils of Chrysoloras. Guarino da Verona accompanied his teacher on a later return to his native land in 1405, and five years later came home with a substantial collection of Greek texts. That he kept at least a part of them for himself seems probable from a seventeenth-century inventory,<sup>5</sup> which lists 54 Greek manuscripts formerly Guarino's, then in Ferrara, where this scholar had died in 1460. Mentioned in this list, in addition to the Gospels and the Psalms, are Aristotle, Plutarch, Homer, Pindar, Sophocles, Apollonius Rhodius, Xenophon, Dio Chrysostom, Aesop, Plato, Polybius, Basil, and Isocrates. Other Greek manuscripts came into Guarino's possession after his return to Italy, as we know from his correspondence. Unfortunately, his collection was dispersed, and only 5 extant Greek manuscripts have been identified as his, of which 2 are in Wolfenbüttel and 1 each in the Vatican, Paris, and Vienna.

A contemporary of Guarino's, who visited the East to search for Greek manuscripts, was Giovanni Aurispa. On his first trip, from which he returned in 1417, he acquired a small but good collection, some of which he sold to Niccolò Niccoli. The most precious manuscript in this first group was the commentary of Aristarchus on Homer (now Venetus A. Marcianus 454). Late in 1421 Aurispa went to Greece again, this time for Gianfrancesca Gonzaga; and among 238 treasures which he secured were Homeric hymns, Plato, Aristophanes, Aristotle, Athenaeus, Pindar, Xenophon, Aeschines, Demos-

<sup>5</sup> Published by H. Omont, *Revue des bibliothèques*, II (1892), 78-81.

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thenes, Appian, Isocrates, Strabo, Eusebius, Plutarch, Plotinus, Diodorus Siculus, and Procopius.<sup>6</sup> He had already sent from Constantinople to Florence the famous composite codex containing Sophocles, Aeschylus, and Apollonius of Rhodes, which is now in the Laurentian Library. Unlike Guarino, Aurispa sold his manuscripts; and at his death he possessed only 30, of slight importance.<sup>7</sup>

The year before Aurispa's second visit to Constantinople, Francesco Filelfo went there for the first time; and after seven years, in 1427 he returned with the works of 40 different authors, including a number not contained in Aurispa's collection. Among these are Lysias, Philostratus, and Suidas. Although we have no complete catalogue of Filelfo's manuscripts, there is extant a short list of 27 select volumes<sup>8</sup> of poetry, philosophy, geography and history, and grammar and oratory. Of these codices, 5 antedate the fifteenth century. Some of them may be identified with manuscripts in Rome, Paris, Florence, the Escorial, Leyden, and Wolfenbüttel.

Among the less famous searchers for Greek books were Roberto Rossi and Leonardo Bruni, each of whom possessed a manuscript of Demosthenes presented by Chrysoloras. Other codices which had belonged to Chrysoloras formed the nucleus of Niccolò Niccoli's Greek library, which must have contained about 100 volumes. An emulator of Niccolò was Giannozzo Manetti, 40 of whose Greek manuscripts passed eventually into the Palatine collection of the Vatican, along with many in Latin. Angelo Politian collected manuscripts not only for himself but for Lorenzo dei Medici. In this connection the name of John Lascaris must also be mentioned, for he was the most successful collector of Greek manuscripts in the fifteenth century and introduced into Italy at least 80 works previously unknown there. Although many of his acquisitions found their way into the Medici collection, he kept a number for himself, since 128 volumes have been

<sup>6</sup> R. Sabbadini, *Carteggio di Giovanni Aurispa* (Rome, 1931), pp. xvii-xx.

<sup>7</sup> R. Sabbadini, *Biografia documentata di Giovanni Aurispa* (Noto, 1892), pp. 157 ff.

<sup>8</sup> H. Omont, "Un nouveau manuscrit de la *Rhétorique* d'Aristote et la bibliothèque grecque de Francesco Filelfo," *La Bibliophilie*, II (1900), 136-40.

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identified as formerly in his possession.<sup>9</sup> His library was dispersed at his death, and parts of it went into the library of Fulvio Orsini and into the Vatican. Other works went to Cardinal Ridolfi and later to the Bibliothèque nationale of Paris.<sup>10</sup>

Although Lorenzo dei Medici may have brought together the greatest number of Greek manuscripts in this period, Pope Nicholas V early sent Enoch of Ascoli to the Orient to seek manuscripts. And no less important for the diffusion of Greek culture was the intensive work of translation which was carried on at the court of this pontiff. Among the Greek authors then made available to Latin readers were Thucydides, Strabo, Polybius, Appian, Diodorus Siculus, Herodotus, Xenophon (the *Cyropaedia*), Aristotle (*Physics*, *Problems*, and *Metaphysics*), Plato (*Laws* and the *Republic*), Theophrastus, Ptolemy, some of the Greek fathers, and various minor authors.

It is not surprising, then, that the inventories of the various Italian libraries of the period indicate a growing interest in Greek. In two of the earliest lists, that of the Gonzaga collection at Mantua, drawn up in 1417, and that of Cosimo dei Medici, compiled a year later, there are no Greek manuscripts included. The next three in chronological order—that of Pavia in 1426, Ferrara in 1436, and of the Vatican in 1443—contain 2, 1, and 2 Greek codices, respectively. In Pavia and Ferrara, where there were a large number of manuscripts in the Romance tongues, not more than 2 in Greek were recorded to the end of the century. In the collections of the Medici and of the popes, on the other hand, there is a steady increase of interest in Hellenism. Indeed, in one inventory the number of manuscripts in the Greek language surpassed those in Latin. This was the rich library bequeathed by Bessarion to the Republic of Venice, which played an important part in disseminating Hellenic culture both during the lifetime of its owner and afterward.

A side light on the intense enthusiasm for acquiring and copying

<sup>9</sup> P. de Nolhac, "Inventaire des manuscrits grecs de Jean Lascaris," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, VI (1886), 252. We must not confuse John Lascaris with his contemporary, Constantine Lascaris, who was also a collector of manuscripts; of the latter's collection, 62 are now in Madrid. Cf. H. Rabe "Konstantin Laskaris," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XLV (1928), 1-6.

<sup>10</sup> P. de Nolhac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* (Paris, 1887), p. 157.

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Greek manuscripts in the fifteenth century appears from a study of the dated Greek codices now in Paris; those prior to the fifteenth century are mostly of Eastern origin, while most of those transcribed during the fifteenth and sixteenth century are by Italian scribes.<sup>11</sup> In their desire for Greek learning, the Italians commenced to print in that language. During the rule of Lorenzo the Magnificent, in 1488, a Florentine press issued the *editio princeps* of Homer; and other printers—in Milan, Venice, and Vicenza—produced Greek texts. But Aldo Manuzio was pre-eminent in spreading Greek literature through the new medium;<sup>12</sup> however, this work lies beyond the horizon of this volume.

In this epoch the development of monastic libraries came to a halt. The greatest libraries of the Italian renaissance were princely collections, even that of the Vatican falling into this category. Although in general the cathedral libraries of Italy played but a slight role during the renaissance, Verona took an important part in the revival of learning of the fourteenth century. Some indication of its wealth of material is given by an anonymous florilegium of 1329 written at Verona.<sup>13</sup> Other evidence of the same sort is found in the works of Guglielmo da Pastrengo (d. 1335) and of Giovanni Mansionario (d. 1337), who cited a surprising number of classical works.<sup>14</sup> The earliest known manuscript of Catullus, which disappeared after Coluccio Salutati had copied it, was at Verona. Another rare possession was a codex of Cicero's *Epistulae ad Atticum*, which remained in the chapter collection from the ninth century to the beginning of the fifteenth, when it was appropriated by Giangaleazzo Visconti for his library at Pavia. A copy of this manuscript, made in 1393, also once belonging to Salutati, is now in the Laurentian Library in Florence.

<sup>11</sup> H. Omont, "Les Manuscrits grecs datés des XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles de la Bibliothèque nationale," *Revue des bibliothèques*, II (1892), 1-32.

<sup>12</sup> A. F. Didot, *Aldo Manuce et l'hellenisme à Venise* (Paris, 1875).

<sup>13</sup> Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, I, 2.

<sup>14</sup> It has recently been shown that some of the authors cited by these Veronese scholars were familiar to them merely from quotations in a popular florilegium which had its origins in France. Thus, we can no longer conclude that the Verona library contained a complete manuscript of every author cited—e.g., Calpurnius. See B. L. Ullman, "Tibullus in the Medieval Florilegia," *Classical Philology*, XXIII (1928), 172-74.



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Thus, we may well believe that Ambrogio Traversari, who visited Verona between 1431 and 1434, was not exaggerating when he described its library as "celeberrima" and added that he found there a great many volumes of remarkable antiquity.

By 1300 a distinctly pre-Humanistic movement started in Verona. No other Italian city of the fourteenth century equaled her in culture, and she may well be regarded as the cradle of the Italian renaissance.<sup>15</sup> Frequently visited by Dante and Petrarch, she quickly felt their influence. The best-known figures during this early awakening were John de Matociis, Guglielmo Pastrengo, and the compiler of the anonymous anthology. Other Veronese of considerable prominence were Rinaldo da Villafranca and Gasparo dei Broaspini, friends of Petrarch; Antonio de Legnago; Alberico da Marcellise; Leonardo da Quinto; the chronicler Marzagaia; Gidino da Sommacampagna; and Giovanni Evangelista da Zevio.<sup>16</sup>

Between 1306 and 1320 the priest John de Matociis, mansionary of the cathedral, composed his *Historia imperialis*, a vast chronicle from Augustus to Charlemagne, which could never have been written if its author had not had access to a large number of books, both sacred and profane. According to Sabbadini, Zeno and the Plinys were John's favorite authors; he cites not only Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory the Great, Boethius, Chrysostom, and Gregory of Nyssa but also Livy, Suetonius, Justin, Solinus, Eutropius, Orosius, Cassiodorus, Eusebius, Rufinus, and acts of councils.<sup>17</sup> He died in 1337 and left his books to the cathedral.

Bencius of Alexandria, chancellor in Verona from 1325 to 1329, traveled over northern Italy in search of chronicles. Ausonius, especially, attracted his attention.<sup>18</sup>

Guglielmo da Pastrengo displayed familiarity with an extremely

<sup>15</sup> G. Biadego, "Dante e l'umanesimo veronese," *Nuovo archivio veneto*, N.S., X (1905), 39 ff.

<sup>16</sup> *Atti dell'Accademia di agricoltura, scienze e lettere di Verona*, CLXXXII (1906), 254-55.

<sup>17</sup> Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, II, 88-89.

<sup>18</sup> R. Sabbadini, "Bencius Alexandrinus und der Cod. Veronensis des Ausonius," *Rheinisches Museum*, LXIII (1908), 225-26. A note on fol. 145v of the manuscript of Ausonius says: "Hunc etiam cathalogum Ausonii reperiri in archivo ecclesie Veronensis, in quo erant librum innumeri et vetustissimi."

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wide range of literature. His culture was both varied and profound; it included classical, Christian, and medieval literature. He states that he composed the *De originibus rerum* from a desire to preserve from oblivion the names of authors likely to be forgotten through the loss of their books<sup>19</sup>—loss through ignorance, neglect, lapse of time, dampness, fire, shipwreck, moths, and mice. His chief sources were Eusebius, Jerome, Gennadius, Isidore, Gellius, Macrobius, John of Salisbury, Burley, and Matociis. He knew the more common Latin poets: Terence, Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, Statius, Persius, Juvenal, and the less common Claudian. He was acquainted with the works of several historians: Livy, Valerius Maximus, Curtius, Suetonius, Solinus, and others. He knew Gellius, Quintilian, the two Senecas as one, and such grammarians as Donatus, Servius, Priscian, and Capella. Among scientific authors he knew Frontinus, Vegetius, Palladius (on agriculture), and Pliny (*Natural History*). He had in his possession or at his command the works of 25 astrological authors. Of Christian authors he knew Jerome, Isidore, Orosius, Fulgentius, Boethius' translations, Ambrose, Sulpicius Severus, Gregory of Tours, and the letters of Cyprian and Sidonius Apollinaris; among translations from the Greek he knew, besides Boethius' Aristotle, Josephus and something of Gregory of Nyssa and John of Damascus. Of works little known but recently brought to light, he knew Catullus, Pliny's *Letters*, Varro's *De re rustica*, Corippus' *Johannis*, and the *Historia Augusta* (probably the famous manuscript now No. 899 of the Palatine collection in the Vatican, which passed through the hands of Petrarch and Manetti and through Heidelberg).<sup>20</sup> He noticed that the works of Simonides and Sappho were not to be found in the libraries of Verona. Sabbadini is convinced that Pastrengo did not get many of his citations from anthologies but had direct knowledge of most of these works in the original. Here, again, it must be assumed that he found them in the chapter library.

The work of Piero di Dante leads to the same conclusion. He was a jurist with a taste for grammar, and during his residence in Verona

<sup>19</sup> Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, I, 6, n. 21.

<sup>20</sup> Susan H. Ballou, *The Manuscript Tradition of the "Historia Augusta"* (Leipzig, 1914), p. 39.

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between 1339 and 1341 he wrote a commentary on his father's *Divine Comedy*. In it he showed a wide knowledge of Latin classics; of Greek literature he knew the *Timaeus* and Josephus' *Antiquities* in ancient translations, and several treatises of Aristotle, a work of Isocrates, and Ptolemy's *Almagest* in medieval translations.

At the end of the sixteenth century these treasures vanished from sight, and it was not until 1713 that they were rediscovered.<sup>21</sup> Of the codices which were found at that time, a number still remain at Verona. The paleographical importance of the collection can scarcely be overestimated; it includes 1 of the 4 extant examples of square capital script, 1 of the 33 existing manuscripts written in rustic capitals, and 26 of the 388 uncial codices which are scattered through the libraries of the world.<sup>22</sup>

Another flourishing chapter library was that of Bologna.<sup>23</sup> Of this there are certain inventories extant which are important for the light they throw on literary culture in Bologna, for no doubt this chapter library was used by scholars outside, as well as within, the church. The earliest surviving inventory is one of 1420.<sup>24</sup> This shows that at that time the collection contained only 43 manuscripts. But a catalogue of 1451 lists nearly 300 volumes, some of which contained several works. Besides theological books, there were works in law, philosophy, Latin classics, history, and science, both natural and physical. In history there was little except medieval chronicles and Josephus. Nor were the Latin classical authors widely represented—only Seneca, Statius, Lucan, Cicero, Vergil, Ovid, Quintilian, and Quintus Curtius. In the large philosophical group Aristotle was the most prominent. In theological literature we find almost all the Church Fathers and a great many sermons. An interesting feature of this catalogue is the recheck made in 1457, when the words “est” and “non est” (the latter rarely) were added in the margins. As the books were listed according to their location in the library, the reviser inserted at the end of each *banca* list new accessions. Thus we

<sup>21</sup> Cf. chap. v, above.

<sup>22</sup> L. Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen* (Munich, 1909), pp. 162, 171, 248–53.

<sup>23</sup> A. Sorbelli, *Biblioteca capitolare della cattedrale di Bologna* (Bologna, 1904), p. 21.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, Appen., pp. 166–69.

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can see that in six years 35 manuscripts had been added to the collection, making a total of 329. It has been suggested that a sudden interest in collecting manuscripts resulted from the teaching of Tommaso Parentucelli, who was canon in the cathedral. If this is true, we have here another library inspired by the future pope Nicholas V.

The Humanistic influence of the library at Verona in the inception of the renaissance was later paralleled by the old monastic library at Bobbio, whose history from the close of the eleventh century to the middle of the fifteenth is a blank. An outstanding fifteenth-century discovery was the hoard of 25 precious manuscripts probably found by Giorgio Galbatio at Bobbio in 1493, though Giorgio Merula claimed the sole credit. Whichever deserves the honor for the original discovery, it was Galbatio who, after Merula's death in 1494, brought out editions of 6 of the more important grammatical works found here; and in 1496 another Humanist, Tommaso Inghirami, edited 6 of the agronomical works.<sup>25</sup> Still other codices from the same source passed to the hands of Aula Giano Parrasio, and through his heir, Antonio Seripando, to Cardinal Girolamo Seripando of Naples, who transferred them to the cloister of S. Giovanni di Carbonara, from which they were later taken to the Biblioteca nazionale at Naples. Others are now in the Ambrosian Library, Turin, Paris, Vienna, and Wolfenbüttel.

An extant inventory records the content of the library thirty-two years before its dispersal. In 1461 some monks from Padua were brought to Bobbio to revive the monastery, and they made an inventory of the library. Shelf numbers were given to the manuscripts for the first time, when an Arabic numeral was inserted between the words "sancti" and "columbani" in the label "Liber sancti columbani [de Bobio]," which was inscribed on all the manuscripts. On an early page in each codex the contents of the volume were listed. From these the shelf number and tables of contents were copied (usually in abbreviated form) in the catalogue itself.<sup>26</sup> The manu-

<sup>25</sup> O. von Gebhardt, "Ein Bücherfund in Bobbio," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, V (1888), 351.

<sup>26</sup> T. Gottlieb, "Ueber Handschriften aus Bobbio," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, IV (1887), 445.

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scripts were divided into these classes: Bibles, ecclesiastical works, philosophy and poetry, grammar, books in Italian, and, lastly, liturgical volumes kept in the choir. The last group was arranged alphabetically from "Antiphonaria" to "Psalteria." A comparison of this inventory with the only extant earlier one, dating probably from the tenth century,<sup>27</sup> shows that the Italian manuscripts were all new; but most of the classical and grammatical codices occur in both lists. Twelve extant manuscripts identified as from Bobbio are found in neither catalogue.

A historical survey of other monastic libraries in Italy during the epoch of the renaissance would be wasted effort, for in Italy, as elsewhere in Europe, the monasteries had sunk into profound decadence.<sup>28</sup> In library activity, as in all else, the renaissance was highly individualistic; and its institutional developments were preceded by two distinctly personal phases in book-collecting. These were: first, the collecting of working libraries by the scholars in whom the new intellectual movement originated; and, second, the formation of magnificent collections by princes of church, state, and commerce, who were more interested in the rarity and splendor of their books than in their content.

Of the scholarly working collections, that of Petrarch<sup>29</sup> is one of the

<sup>27</sup> G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, No. 32.

<sup>28</sup> The most valuable source for this information is Ambrosio Traversari's *Hodoeporicon*, which was printed at Florence, but not until 1680, by Nic. Bartholini Bargensi. It is a precious account given by the Florentine scholar and ecclesiastic of his visitation of many abbeys and convents in Italy in 1431-32. It is interesting also for the condition of discipline and of morals in these houses which he, as abbot-general of his order, was trying to reform. He discreetly gives the most flagrant discoveries which he made in Greek. He examined libraries keenly in the hope of making valuable discoveries. The small but important pamphlet is summarized by Sabbadini. Another work of Traversari is of even greater value, his *Epistolae latinae, aliorumque ad ipsum et ad alios*, edited by Laur. Mehus (2 vols.; Florence, 1759). The entire first volume of 436 pages is occupied by Mehus' masterly Introduction and life of Traversari and is the best and most complete survey we possess of the early Florentine Humanists. Traversari was one of the first translators from the Greek and was an intimate correspondent of Niccolò Niccoli, Coluccio Salutati, Poggio Bracciolini, and Cosimo dei Medici.

<sup>29</sup> The most complete publication on this subject is Pierre de Nolhac's *Pétrarque et l'humanisme* (2d ed.; Paris, 1907). Other important contributions have been made by W. Fiske, *A Catalogue of Petrarch's Books* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1882); R. Sabbadini, "Il Primo nucleo della biblioteca del Petrarca," *Rendiconti del R. Istituto Lombardo*, XXXIX (1906), 369-88; K. Schneider, "Die Bibliothek Petrarca's," *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, N.F., I (1909), 157 ff.; B. L. Ullman, "Petrarch's Favorite Books," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LIV (1923), 21-38.

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earliest and the most interesting. His biography is a record of his zeal in collecting and studying texts from his youth to the last day of his life. The well-known story of young Francesco's saving his beloved Vergil from the flames to which his severe parent had consigned it has given us an erroneous picture of the father. Despite his harsh methods of enforcing discipline, he was not opposed to the study of literature. Indeed, we are told that during a visit to Paris he bought a beautiful manuscript of Isidore, which he presented to his young son, who kept it as a valued possession all his life;<sup>30</sup> and it was he who first introduced Francesco to the writings of Cicero, thus awakening a lifelong enthusiasm.

After leaving the parental roof, the young Petrarch spent his first money for a manuscript of Augustine's *De civitate dei*, which may still be seen in the university library at Padua. During his early years at Avignon, the young scholar was able to establish relations with bibliophiles at the papal court. And when the opportunity came for him to travel in France, Belgium, and Italy, he never lost an opportunity to seek new manuscripts for his collection. The fervor with which he continued this quest is indicated by his correspondence. His letters to such friends as Pastrengo, Nelli, Bruni, and Boccaccio contain frequent requests for new books or thanks for those which have already been sent to him. His friends seemed to vie with one another in supplying him with additions to his library, or at least in calling to his attention treasures in which he would be interested. His field of activity was not restricted, for, besides his contacts in Italy and France, he was on friendly terms with Richard de Bury in England and also secured manuscripts from the Orient.

Although Petrarch liked manuscripts of attractive appearance, it was primarily good texts that he sought. He had no patience with scribes who were responsible for textual errors. He asked in indignation: "If Livy or Cicero should come back to the world, or some of the other ancient authors, and above all, Pliny, if they wished to reread some of their own works, would they recognize them?"<sup>31</sup> During his last years he kept a number of copyists at his home and took

<sup>30</sup> Now MS Lat. 7595 of the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris.

<sup>31</sup> De Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, I, 72.

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them along on his travels, as is seen from notes on certain of his manuscripts—for example: "Commenced at Padua, finished at Pavia, illuminated at Milan."

In view of Petrarch's enthusiasm and wide connections it is not strange that he built up an unusually fine collection. What indications have we as to the size and nature of its contents? There are three kinds of evidence for answering this question. In the first place, there is still extant in Petrarch's own handwriting a list of his favorite books, which he compiled sometime between 1333 and 1343.<sup>32</sup> The authors represented by one or more works in this select group are: Cicero, Seneca, Boethius, Valerius Maximus, Livy, Justinus, Florus, Sallust, Suetonius, Festus (Rufus), Eutropius, Macrobius, Gellius, Priscian, Papias, Vergil, Lucan, Statius, Horace, Ovid, and Juvenal, as well as some anonymous treatises on dialectics and astronomy. That this inventory is not meant to describe his whole library is clear both from its heading<sup>33</sup> and from the absence of any mention of some manuscripts which we know that he possessed before this time.

That Petrarch possessed other authors during his lifetime is clear from the references to them and from quotations in his own writings. Although we cannot assume that he had in his own library a copy of every work that he quotes, we may assert from Nollac's careful study that, in addition to the list given above, Petrarch also owned manuscripts of Pliny, Quintilian, Plautus, Catullus, Nonius Marcellus, Terence, Persius, Caesar, Propertius, Q. Curtius Rufus, Martianus Capella, Vitruvius, Ausonius, Aurelius Victor, Orosius, Dares and Dictys, and Vibius Sequester.

Another source of information concerning his library adds no new titles to the list, but it supplies us with details of a different sort. This is the survival of some of the manuscripts themselves. A careful sifting of all the evidence has shattered the tradition that the nucleus of the library of San Marco at Venice came from this distinguished Humanist, but Nollac establishes that 38 extant manu-

<sup>32</sup> Ullman, *op. cit.*, corrects the erroneous view that this inventory described Petrarch's first library at Vauchuse.

<sup>33</sup> "Libri mei peculiare. Ad reliquos non transfuga sed explorator transire soleo."

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scripts can be identified as his. Of these, 26 are now in the Bibliothèque nationale at Paris; 1 is at Troyes; 1 in the Ambrosian Library at Milan;<sup>34</sup> 1 in the university library at Padua; 1 in San Marco at Venice; 1 in the Laurentian Library at Florence; and 7 are in the Vatican Library in Rome. Among them, 6 contain Petrarch's works, 1, Dante's *Comedia*, and 16, classical authors (2 of which are Greek). This is a small part of the entire collection, which is estimated to have contained 200 volumes.

Boccaccio is associated with the history of two monastic libraries—Monte Cassino and San Spirito in Florence. It was in the former that he discovered the celebrated manuscript of parts of the *Annals* and *Histories* of Tacitus; and it was to San Spirito that he left his own books on his death, in 1387. During the lifetime of Fra Martino, the first custodian of this collection, the codices were properly cared for and were accessible to students, as their donor had intended them to be. Later they were so neglected that worms and mice began to destroy them; but finally, Niccolò Niccoli rescued them, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and had a beautiful bookcase made to hold and protect them.<sup>35</sup>

It was long believed that these manuscripts of Boccaccio's had perished in the fire which swept San Spirito in 1471. But sufficient evidence has now been collected to prove that the books were still there at the end of the fifteenth century. The content is recorded in an inventory of San Spirito, drawn up in 1451. The third part of this catalogue deals with the *parva libraria*, which was, in part, that of Boccaccio.<sup>36</sup> That all the items (107 in number) cannot refer to his manuscripts is evident from the inclusion in this section of items written after Boccaccio's lifetime: a work of Leonardo Bruni and an autograph of Pope Nicholas V. These were probably placed in the "small library" for greater safety. There are 90 manuscripts which probably belonged to Boccaccio himself. The first of these to be identified as still extant was the Terence in Boccaccio's own hand-

<sup>34</sup> The Ambrosian Vergil has been completely reproduced in facsimile (Milan, 1930).

<sup>35</sup> Oskar Hecker, *Boccaccio-Funde* (Braunschweig, 1902), p. 6.

<sup>36</sup> This discovery was published by A. Goldman, "Drei italienische Handschriftenkataloge a. XIII-XV," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, IV (1887), 137-55.



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writing, now in the Laurentian Library. Other classical authors in the same library which were once at San Spirito are Statius (2 copies), Juvenal, Lucan, Ovid (2 copies), and Apuleius. Identification is certain because the inventory gives not only the *incipits* but also the last words on the penultimate folio of each manuscript.

One of the earliest recorded princely libraries is that of the court of Ferrara. But while the term "library" cannot properly be applied to this collection earlier than the beginning of the fifteenth century,<sup>37</sup> there are indications that the D'Este princes, who were on intimate terms with Petrarch, had been interested in collecting manuscripts in the preceding century. It is also well known that to the courtiers of the thirteenth century the poetry of the troubadours had a great appeal. Doubtless, it was from the enthusiasm aroused by this type of literature and from the friendship of its rulers with the early Humanists that there developed the zeal for reading which pervaded the court at Ferrara throughout the early *quattrocento*.

The first D'Este prince who figures prominently in the history of this library is Niccolò III (1384-1436). He had been instructed in his youth by Donato degli Albanzani, a scholar and friend of the famous Florentine triad—Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Salutati.<sup>38</sup> During the long years of his rule he did much to attract men of scholarly interests to his court. Chief among these was Guarino da Verona, who arrived in Ferrara in 1429 to take up, at the age of sixty, the education of Leonello, Niccolò's illegitimate son and successor.<sup>39</sup> At about the same time came the equally aged and illustrious Giovanni Aurispa, who, along with Giovanni Lamola and Guglielmo Capello, added his learning to the court circle.<sup>40</sup>

There is extant from 1436 an inventory of the library which had

<sup>37</sup> Cf. A. Cappelli, "La Biblioteca Estense nella prima metà del secolo xv," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, XIV (1889), 2, for explanation of the erroneous statement of several historians who assert that the beginnings of this library go back to the twelfth century.

<sup>38</sup> F. Novati, "Donato degli Albanzani all corte estense," *Archivio storico italiano*, 5th ser., VI, 371.

<sup>39</sup> R. Sabbadini, *La Scuola e gli studi di Guarino Veronese* (Catania, 1896), p. 22.

<sup>40</sup> G. Bertoni, "I Maestri degli Estense nel quattrocento," *Archivum Romanicum*, II (1819), 58 ff.

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been amassed before the death of Niccolò III.<sup>41</sup> When this catalogue was made, the court library was in the tower of the castle and was arranged not by subjects but primarily by languages. First is given a long list of 165 manuscripts in Latin, most of them classical. These are followed by 20 works in Italian, then by 58 French codices, including a great number of romances, then by a few religious books in Latin, and, finally, by a small number of miscellaneous works which are out of order because they were recent accessions. Within each series there is no classification; for example, among the French codices we find Bibles, tales of chivalry, and Boethius, side by side. This earliest catalogue, as is often the case with fifteenth-century inventories, gives a detailed description of the appearance of the manuscripts, so that we may visualize the heavy parchment (only a few were written on paper), the elaborate binding (sometimes of velvet or brocade), and the ornamental clasps.

The remnants of these manuscripts now in the Biblioteca Estense at Modena establish certain facts concerning the history of the library. The title-pages, which are adorned with the emblems of successive members of the D'Este family, frequently show the device of Niccolò III and thus indicate the part which he played in the formation of the library.<sup>42</sup> His interest was chiefly in classic Latin writers. On the other hand, few of the French books, which rank next to the Latin in number, have his insignia, indicating that they were acquired before his time. An outstanding exception is a French Bible, which we know that Niccolò had made and magnificently illumined in 1434.

Worthy of notice is a codex of Julius Caesar,<sup>43</sup> less because we know that it was written by Jacopo di Cassola of Parma "in dominio Nicolai Marchionis Estensis" than for the reason that it was emended by two such well-known scholars as Guarino and Lamola in 1432, as we are told in a coeval notation. As all manuscripts of the old collection were rebound at the end of the seventeenth century, the de-

<sup>41</sup> Published by Cappelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-30, except for the French books, which are published by Pio Rajna in *Romania*, II (1873), 49-58.

<sup>42</sup> D. Fava, *La Biblioteca Estense nel suo sviluppo storico* (Modena, 1925), p. 6.

<sup>43</sup> Cod. lat. 421.

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scriptions given in the early inventory do not help in identifying the manuscripts now. Some, however, have been discovered in the Urbino collection in the Vatican, in the Bodleian, and in Paris.<sup>44</sup>

In passing from the rather restricted literary activity of Niccolò's court to the widespread contacts of his successor, we find a corresponding development in the library. Leonello (1436-50) was not only interested in having around him cultured men and in acquiring copies of their works, but, as a result of his early training under Guarino, he followed with greatest enthusiasm the discovery of each new manuscript of the classics and tried to secure a copy. The following incident is probably typical: A codex of the 16 comedies of Plautus had recently come into the hands of Cardinal Orsini and was much sought after by scholars who wished to copy it. All requests, however, were refused, including that of Guarino. But the latter had Leonello intercede for him, and the manuscript was forwarded to Ferrara.<sup>45</sup>

Among the celebrated Humanists who shared Leonello's bounty were Aurispa, Toscanello, Angelo Decembrio, and Gasparino Barzizza. With their help the *marchese* enlarged the collection established by his father. For the copying of manuscripts at his court expert scribes were employed, who not only used the finest of parchment and carefully reproduced the script of the Carolingian era but were also trained in Humanistic culture.<sup>46</sup> Chief among these copyists was a friend of Guarino's, Biagio Bosoni, who was active until 1445 and occasionally collaborated in copying a text even later. Some of the manuscripts written by him have been recently identified. We know, for example, that he was responsible for the additional folios of a codex of Festus' *De verborum significatu*,<sup>47</sup> which the original scribe had omitted through error and which had to be added at the end. But copying manuscripts was only a part of Biagio's work. Among his other duties were these: to order the codices desired by Leonello, to arrange for rebinding and mending the volumes,

<sup>44</sup> A. Thomas, "Sur le sort de quelques manuscrits de la famille d'Este," *Romania*, XVIII (1889), 296-98.

<sup>45</sup> Cappelli, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>46</sup> Fava, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

<sup>47</sup> Cod. lat. 26, presumably abridged by Paulus Diaconus.

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to number new accessions, to bring the inventory up to date, and to record the books borrowed. In the account books he is called "Ser Biagio de la Torre," indicating that his chief task was to guard the library which was housed in the tower.

While we have, unfortunately, no inventory of Leonello's time, we are able to assign to his period a number of the manuscripts which have survived, because so many works were presented to him in dedication copies. It is known that Guarino translated Plutarch's *Lives of Sulla and Lysander* and gave them to Leonello at the time of his first marriage, but this copy has not been identified. However, on another important occasion, when the citizenship of Ferrara was bestowed upon him, Guarino, in gratitude, translated the *Lives of Pelops and Marcellus*. Although the exemplar which has come down to us is written on paper, it may be the presentation copy.<sup>48</sup> Not only were translations from the Greek considered suitable for dedication to the ruling prince, but works of an astronomical and mathematical nature were written under his inspiration. Moreover, a play of Ariosto, *Iside*, which is significant in the history of the drama, was dedicated to Leonello. We possess a fifteenth-century copy of it,<sup>49</sup> which, though not the dedication copy, is important because it is the only manuscript of this play to survive.

Leonello's successor, Borso (1450-71), made a special contribution to the library. He was such a patron of artistic decoration of manuscripts that Ferrara became the mecca for talented illuminators, skilled binders, and clever goldsmiths rather than for men of literary interests. An example of elaborate workmanship of this period is the famous Bible associated with Borso's name. This consists of 2 volumes, comprising 1,200 pages, most splendidly adorned. In the seven years that were necessary to complete it, many artists, representing different schools, labored on it, so that the finished work, though lacking homogeneity of design, is an important historical specimen book. In 1923 these volumes were restored to Italy after an absence of sixty-four years, during which time they had passed from the hands of Franz Ferdinand of Austria to the emperor Franz Josef, thence by way of Karl I to a Paris bookseller. Here they were se-

<sup>48</sup> Cod. lat. 158.

<sup>49</sup> Cod. lat. 1096.

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cured by a patriotic Italian, Senatore Giovanni Trecanni, who presented them to the library at Modena, where they were now numbered 422-23, as they were of old, in Ferrara.<sup>50</sup>

In addition to stimulating this artistic movement, Borso is also noted for his enlightened attitude toward the functions of a great library. Where his predecessors had collected books chiefly for their own enjoyment, Borso put them at the service of the learned men of Ferrara and even of foreigners. A regular loan service was established, and the names of most of the courtiers of this time appear in the register, which still survives in the archives of the modern library at Modena. From this document we learn not only that in the year 1457 more than 20 manuscripts, most of them in French, were lent to courtiers,<sup>51</sup> and that Borso himself sought eagerly to trace a copy of Pliny which was lost in 1467 and not returned, but that Lorenzo the Magnificent requested the loan of a Greek copy of Dio Cassius and that Pico da Mirandola, the father of the famous Giovanni, in 1461 borrowed "uno libro de cento novelle."

The inventory of 1467, which survives from this period, is arranged, like that of 1436, by language rather than by subject. Unfortunately, the folios containing French manuscripts are lacking. The Latin codices number 123; those in Italian, 25. Some of these manuscripts can be identified in the present D'Este library at Modena by the signatures of the three custodians of the tower, who drew up this inventory.

Ercole I (1471-1505) appointed the first real librarian, Pellegrino Prisciano. He made the inventory of 1480, which is practically the same as that of 1467; but in the surviving copy, 65 French manuscripts are listed. Ercole formed a personal library which, according to a list drawn up before 1490, included almost 400 diversified manuscripts. Eleanor of Aragon, Ercole's wife, also had a private collection. In 1495 the private collection of Ercole plus the tower collection numbered about 700 volumes.<sup>52</sup> There were a great many Latin

<sup>50</sup> For other interesting details concerning these volumes see D. Fava, "La Bibbia di Borso," *Italia che scrive*, VII (1923), 119-20; G. Agnelli, *Bibliofilia*, XXV (1923), 49-54, 85-87.

<sup>51</sup> G. Bertoni, *La Biblioteca Estense di tempi del duca Ercole I* (Torino, 1903), pp. 55 ff.

<sup>52</sup> Fava, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

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classics, a few religious works, a good collection of Humanist works, but only 2 Greek manuscripts—the Psalms and Diodorus Siculus.<sup>53</sup>

The invasion of the printed book can be seen in a list, made at the end of the sixteenth century, of 400 incunabula which go back to the days when the court was at Ferrara.<sup>54</sup> It contains a number of Greek printed books, as well as Spanish incunabula brought by Lucretia Borgia.

In each of the various inventories which we have noted, manuscripts in French exceed those in Italian. This suggests very strongly that the literary culture in Ferrara was then more French than Italian. This is also indicated by the Ferrara registers of the fifteenth century, for, in the mention of manuscripts lent to courtiers and friends of the rulers, those in French are in the majority by far.<sup>55</sup> Unfortunately, very few of these French books remain in the D'Este library at Modena, whither the collection was removed in 1598.

While most of the princely libraries which were formed in Italy during the renaissance did not achieve any degree of fame until the fifteenth century, the collection of the Gonzaga family at Mantua was an exception. During the *trecento* it vied with the chapter library at Verona in the number and importance of its manuscripts. Not only have we evidence of Petrarch's friendship and literary connections with Guido Gonzaga (1360–69), but there are indications that the treasures of this library were lent to distant scholars under the rule of both Guido and his successor, Lodovico I (1370–82).<sup>56</sup> It has been said that "what Cosimo was to the Medici, Lodovico was to the

<sup>53</sup> In the inventory of 1436 there is only 1 Greek manuscript; in 1467, none. It was not until the reign of Alfonso II, in 1559, that the collection was increased. At the beginning of the seventeenth century there were preserved at Ferrara 54 Greek manuscripts which had belonged to Guarino, but these had apparently never been a part of the D'Este library in the period which we are discussing. There are no traces of them in the inventories, and none are included in the 253 Greek manuscripts in the library at Modena today. Cf. H. Omont, "Les Manuscrits grecs de Guarino de Verone et la bibliothèque de Ferrare," *Revue des bibliothèques*, II (1892), 79 ff.

<sup>54</sup> D. Fava, *Catalogo degli incunabuli della R. Biblioteca Estense di Modena* (Firenze, 1928), p. 2.

<sup>55</sup> G. Bertoni, "Lettori di romanzi francesi nel quattrocento alla corte estense," *Romania*, (1873), 120.

<sup>56</sup> F. Novati, "I Codici francesi de'Gonzaga secondo nuovi documenti," *Romania*, XIX (1890), 163.

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Gonzagas."<sup>57</sup> Under his leadership and that of his son, Francesco, there was amassed a library worthy of the foundations built by Petrarch's friend, Guido.

At the death of Francesco Gonzaga in 1407 the library at Mantua contained 400 manuscripts, of which about 300 were in Latin, 67 in French, and 32 in Italian.<sup>58</sup> That those in the French language were twice as many as those in Italian indicates that here, as in Ferrara, French culture prevailed. As might therefore be expected, a great number of the titles in the inventory of 1407 are French tales of chivalry. Unfortunately, none of these manuscripts still exist in Mantua, so that it is impossible to make complete identification. When the Gonzaga library was dispersed in 1708, some of the French codices were bought by Giovanni Baptisti Recanati and in 1734 were made part of the collection of S. Marco in Venice.<sup>59</sup> Of these manuscripts, 17 have been identified with those in the inventory of 1407.<sup>60</sup> Some entered the Bodleian library in the Canonici collection, and one of these can be traced back to this catalogue at the beginning of the fifteenth century.<sup>61</sup>

On this splendid foundation the Gonzaga library was to attain even greater heights in the *quattrocento*. At the death of Francesco (1407), his young son, Gianfrancesco, found himself under the guidance and protection of Carlo Malatesta, a man who was likewise interested in literary pursuits. As a result the young prince added to his father's library and became known as a patron of scholars. He later called to his court Vittorino Rambaldoni, more commonly known as "Vittorino da Feltre." The influence of this famous teacher spread far beyond the confines of Mantua; and it is not surprising that Lodovico, the son of Gianfrancesco, who sat at the feet of

<sup>57</sup> B. Selwyn, *The Gonzaga, Lords of Mantua* (London, 1927), p. 51.

<sup>58</sup> G. Paris, W. Braghirolli, and P. Meyer, "Inventaire des manuscrits en langue française possédés par Francesco Gonzaga I," *Romania*, IX (1880), 498; P. Girola, "La Biblioteca di Francesco Gonzaga secondo l'inventario del 1407," *Atti e memorie della R. Accademia Virgiliana di Mantova*, N.S., XIV-XVI (1921-23), 60-72.

<sup>59</sup> G. Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca manuscripta S. Marci Venetiorum*, I (1868), 74.

<sup>60</sup> D. Ciampoli, *I Codici francesi della Biblioteca nazionale di S. Marco in Venezia* (Venice, 1897), p. xvii.

<sup>61</sup> Paris *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 499.

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Vittorino, was imbued with a love of learning. Under his rule (1445-75) the library reached its period of highest development. A letter written to his wife in May, 1460, while he was taking the cure at Siena, shows that Lodovico was a reader, as well as a collector, of books. In this communication he begs to have sent to him copies of Lucan, Quintus Curtius Rufus, and the *De civitate* of Augustine.<sup>62</sup>

That this ruler was on friendly terms with scholars and literary men in other parts of Italy is clear from a number of extant documents. These show that in 1461 Lodovico ordered of Vespasiano da Bisticci a Greek Bible. When the book arrived, he was dissatisfied with it and complained that it was badly written. Also, Platina, later prefect of the Vatican Library, while he was still in Florence at the court of the Medici, acted as intermediary between his patrons there and the lord of Mantua, for whom he acquired important manuscripts.<sup>63</sup> Another friend in the Florentine circle, Baccio Ugoni, who was on close terms with Lorenzo il Magnifico and with Politian, wrote to Lodovico in 1459 that within a few months he would come to Mantua, laden with manuscripts—some in Latin, some in Italian, some transcribed by himself, others purchased. In view of the close relationship and frequent intercourse between the courts at Ferrara and Mantua, we are not surprised to find a note from Lodovico requesting from Borso d'Este a manuscript of Pliny to transcribe. And, on the other hand, we learn that on one occasion Francesco Sforza borrowed from Mantua a Greek text of Strabo in order to have it translated.

Another phase of Lodovico's literary activity is shown by a letter which he wrote to Platina in 1459, asking him to have a copy of the *Georgics* of Vergil made with great accuracy, as he wished to edit the text. Apparently, he did not confine his labors to this one work of Vergil's, for not long afterward he asked for a copy of the *Aeneid* in the same form.

Federigo, who reigned between 1478 and 1484, was interested

<sup>62</sup> A. Luzio and R. Renier, "Il Filelfo e l'umanismo alla corte dei Gonzaga," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, XVI (1890), 146.

<sup>63</sup> A. Luzio and R. Renier, "Il Platina e i Gonzaga," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, XIII (1889), 431.



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more in Romance literature than in the classics. In his inventory distinction is made between manuscripts and printed books.<sup>64</sup> We have a catalogue of the books which belonged to the wife of Francesco (1484-1519), Isabella d'Este.<sup>65</sup> Her taste was very catholic. The correspondence which the Duchess of Mantua carried on with some of the foremost men in Italy at that time shows plainly her literary, as well as her political, interests.<sup>66</sup>

Of all the princely libraries of the Italian renaissance, none surpassed in fame that of the duchy of Urbino. Its founder, according to a contemporary biographer, desired to establish a collection which would be unrivaled at that time, and to this end spared neither money nor labor. He enlisted the aid of an authority in such projects, Tommaso Parentucelli (later Pope Nicholas V), whose bibliographical canon, made at the request of Cosimo dei Medici, had been used in rearranging the collection of San Marco at Florence and also by the founders of the libraries in Fiesole and Pesaro.<sup>67</sup> It is quite fitting that this Urbino collection, which was organized by a future pope, should today form one of the important divisions of the Vatican manuscripts.

The Urbino library, thus begun under favorable auspices, was fortunate in its subsequent history. Its founder, Duke Federigo of Montefeltro, ruled for almost forty years (1444-82); and during this long period his literary interests never waned. As evidences of the nature of his collection we have a number of contemporary documents, including a copy of Parentucelli's canon.<sup>68</sup> As might be expected, the greater part of the books prescribed were sacred literature. These were followed by Aristotle and his interpreters; Plato; a few mathematical works; and about 30 profane Latin authors. The only classical poets included were Vergil, Horace, Ovid (*Metamor-*

<sup>64</sup> A. Luzio and R. Renier, "Coltura e relazione letterarie d'Isabella d'Este," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, XLII (1903), 81-87.

<sup>65</sup> Luzio and Renier, *ibid.*, pp. 75-81.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Luzio and Renier, *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, XXXVII (1901), 201-45; XXXVIII (1901), 41-70; XXXIX (1902), 193-251.

<sup>67</sup> Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, I, 200.

<sup>68</sup> Published by G. Sforza, *La Patria, la famiglia e la giovinezza di papa Niccolò V* (Lucca, 1884), pp. 359-81.

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*phoses* and *Fasti*), Statius, and Lucan. With this list we may compare first the description of the library at Urbino as given by Vespasiano da Bisticci in his biography of Federigo.<sup>69</sup> This states that the collection began with the Latin poets and their commentators, then the orators (only Cicero is named), historians, writers of philosophy both Roman and Greek, the latter in Latin translation. Next are listed many writers on sacred subjects, philosophy, astrology, medicine, mathematics, and astronomy, as well as about 25 "modern" writers, such as Petrarch, Coluccio, and Manetti, followed by a great array of Greek poets and prose-writers. If this description gives an accurate picture of the contents of the library, it is evident, at first glance, that Parentucelli's norm was not followed in its limitations, especially in the matter of Greek books.

But, while one might be inclined to accept without question the names of Sophocles, Homer, Plato, Aristotle, etc., the inclusion of Menander's "complete works" has caused modern scholars to question Vespasiano's veracity.<sup>70</sup> It seems unlikely that there was, at this time in Urbino, a complete manuscript of Menander, which vanished before it could be copied by any one. Moreover, Vespasiano's later sweeping statement to the effect that this library contained one perfect copy of every known work at that time, sacred or profane, in the original tongue or in translation taxes one's credulity.<sup>71</sup> We wonder, then, how much faith may be put in Vespasiano's other statements, for from him we learn that the library cost 30,000 ducats, that the duke employed in Urbino thirty or forty scribes, that there were manuscripts bound in scarlet and silver, and that the collection was not contaminated by the presence of even one printed book. Vespasiano states that he himself compared the collection with the catalogues of the principal libraries of Italy and even with that of Oxford, and found no other so complete as that of Urbino.

Fortunately, we are able to check Vespasiano's catalogue by two

<sup>69</sup> *Le Vite di uomini illustri del secolo xv* (Florence, 1859), pp. 5-99.

<sup>70</sup> J. Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, tr. S. G. C. Middlemore (London, 1929), p. 200, n. 1.

<sup>71</sup> The modern editor of the Urbino manuscripts in the Vatican felt that this statement of Vespasiano's must be absolutely discredited because of conflicting evidence in other fifteenth-century documents. Cf. C. Stornaiolo, *Codices Urbinales Graeci* (Rome, 1885), p. xxiii.

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fifteenth-century inventories of the library which have come down to us. Before introducing them, it may be well to touch briefly upon the later history of the library. At the death of Federigo, his son, Guidobaldo I, carried on his father's work and interests from 1482 to 1508. When Urbino was occupied in 1502 by Caesar Borgia, the duke was driven out and some of his books were plundered. Part of the library, however, was hidden in the citadel and brought out again when Guidobaldo returned from exile. The next duke, Francesco Maria I, deserves credit for having kept the library intact, for, when he was forced by Leo X, in 1517, to leave the castle, he took his library with him as his most cherished possession. His successor, Guidobaldo II, probably did not make many changes in the collection; but the next and last Duke of Urbino, Francesco Maria II (1549-1631), has rightly been called the "second founder of the library." He is thought to have collected about 700 manuscripts; and since he did not share Federigo's distaste for printed books, he formed a separate library especially for them. This he had transported to Castel Durante. At his death the manuscripts at Urbino were left to the city on condition that they should not be removed from it. But in 1658 Pope Alexander VII had them transferred to the Vatican, "thereby insuring their preservation and proper treatment."<sup>72</sup> Those at Castel Durante, also attracted the attention of the same pope and were removed in 1667, except for about 500, which were left to appease the indignant citizens.

Let us now consider the nature of the contents of the two inventories mentioned above. The first one, which was brought to light about the middle of the nineteenth century, bears the name of Federigo Veterano, who was librarian at Urbino for about forty years under Duke Federigo and his two immediate successors. Since the publication of this catalogue,<sup>73</sup> another one, known as the *Index vetus*, has been discovered,<sup>74</sup> and may well be compared with it.

<sup>72</sup> J. Dennistoun, *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, re-edited by Edward Hutton (New York and London, 1909), pp. 241-43. This work is heavily indebted to Bernardino Baldi, *Vita e fatti di Federigo duca di Urbino*, ed. F. Zuccardi (Rome, 1824). This *Vita* was written about a century after the death of Federigo and is the best source on this great collector.

<sup>73</sup> *Giornale storico degli archivi toscani*, VI (1862), 127-247; VII (1863), 46-55, 130-54.

<sup>74</sup> Published by Stornaiolo, *op. cit.*, pp. lv-chxxv.

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In the first place, we may observe that both follow the same classification. Following a long list of nearly 300 Bibles and works of a sacred and philosophical nature are mentioned, in succession, medical treatises, legal documents, and writings on geographical, historical, poetical, grammatical, and miscellaneous subjects. Then are listed the Greek codices, followed by those in Hebrew, an obvious departure from Parentucelli's canon. Here the inventory of Veterano ends; but the *Index vetus* contains additional lists of a miscellaneous nature, prefaced by headings such as "Books Which Were in the Other Library"<sup>75</sup> "Books Not Bound in Parchment," "Books in the Mother-Tongue," etc., making a total of 1,104 manuscripts, as against 772 of the inventory of Veterano.

However, an examination of the lists, item by item (for the authors are also arranged in the same order within the series), shows that there is not such a discrepancy as at first appears. In a number of instances the *Index vetus* makes two separate entries of different works of the same author which form one item in the inventory of Veterano. In one case at least, we feel certain that a work which in Veterano appears as a composite codex was really in two separate volumes, for the compiler of the *Index vetus*, following his custom of describing the external appearance of the codices, informs us that one of these books was bound in red, the other in purple. It should also be noted that very often a duplicate is recorded by Veterano by simply writing "bis" after the first one, but in the *Old Index* each copy is given a separate number. Thus it will be seen that the total number of manuscripts in the *Index vetus* is more likely to represent the actual number of books in the library.

There are, however, a number of items which do not appear in that of Veterano; but against many of them a later hand has noted in the *Index vetus* that the book was stolen by the soldiers of Caesar Borgia, the Duke of Valentinois. In some cases the manuscript is still missing, and there has been substituted the printed edition of the same work. In one instance we are informed that the books were later restored by some soldiers. In connection with one of Petrarch's

<sup>75</sup> Evidently, Federigo had more than one library, for in a number of his manuscripts appear the words "ex alia bibliotheca."

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works we learn that it had been missing since the time that the Duke of Valentinois plundered the city, and that the Duchess Elizabeth said that she had heard that it was in the hands of a nobleman in Venice. There is also a curious note concerning a Vergil which had been refurbished with a cover of "gold" by Duke Guidobaldo because it had been stripped of its green silk binding by soldiers; unlike the Petrarch, this book appears also in the inventory of Veterano. While many of the items of the *Index vetus* which are omitted in the inventory of Veterano are accounted for in some such way as this, it is likewise to be observed that, in every instance where a later hand has recorded that a particular manuscript was taken by the soldiers in 1502, that codex is missing in the list of Veterano.

But the greater length of the *Old Index* cannot be entirely explained in this fashion. In the small group of medical works, for example, we find one additional copy of Galen listed. Among the Greek codices we observe the presence of another copy of the *Nichomachian Ethics* of Aristotle, a manuscript of the *Historia de Plantis* of Theophrastus, 2 new exemplars of Ptolemy's *Geographia*, 1 of Philostratus, 2 of Demosthenes, 1 of Manuelis Cretensis, a second codex of Homer's *Odyssey*, and a fourth of the *Iliad*. Of classical Latin works, Lucan's *Pharsalia* and the works of Claudian are added; while among the religious and philosophical works, there are half a dozen which do not occur in Veterano's inventory. On the other hand, some items appear there which are not in the *Old Index*, but these are relatively few.

Do these facts give any information about the relative dates of the two inventories? Stornaiolo, the modern cataloguer of the Vatican Urbino manuscripts, is undecided but thinks it probable that Veterano's list was compiled first. He has no doubt that the librarian's name is rightly attached to this inventory, for in the *Old Index* there is a note, presumably in Veterano's hand, in which reference is made to "inventario meo," very likely the catalogue known by his name. Another entry by the hand which wrote the main body of the document makes it clear that the latter could not have been written before the accession of Guidobaldo. Hence, Stornaiolo concludes that this was the inventory made after the

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death of Federigo but that it was based on an earlier form and bears many additions belonging to a later period.

At first glance, then, it would seem as if we should agree that the inventory of Veterano antedated the so-called *Index vetus*. Surely the presence of a greater number of manuscripts in the latter would suggest that they had been acquired after the earlier had been drawn up. There are, however, a number of signs which point in the other direction. We have, for example, in the *Index vetus*, a manuscript wrongly ascribed to Quintus Romanus, with a correction in a later hand stating that the true author of the work is Euphorion. In Veterano's inventory the work is correctly ascribed. Then there is evidence that sometimes a change in the arrangement of the manuscripts caused a work to be entered twice. For instance, among the philosophical works in the *Old Index* we find a codex containing several works of Coluccio Salutati, bound in purple. A later hand adds the information that this volume is to be found among the writers on the Humanities, and here we find the same work listed again and described in the same way. In Veterano's catalogue there is no mention of the earlier position, thus suggesting that the change had been made before his time. Again, in the *Old Index* we find that a work of Aristotle is entered in a later hand than the rest of the items and bears the additional note that it was acquired after the inventory was made. Veterano, however, entered it in its regular order without comment. Three manuscripts have double notations in the *Index vetus*, the first stating they are missing, and the second that they had been found later. Apparently, Veterano's lists were drawn up after these volumes disappeared from the library but before they had been recovered. We must also recall, in this connection, what has been remarked before, namely, that every codex which is listed in the *Old Index* as having been lost since the raid of 1502 is omitted from the Veterano inventory.

In view of these facts it seems certain that the body of the *Index vetus* antedates the inventory of Veterano. Since the former was probably compiled at the time that Guidobaldo took over the reins of government, it is likely that the other list was made after the plundering of the city by Caesar Borgia's troops, perhaps upon the

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duke's return from exile, before the stolen manuscripts had had time to find their way back. If this is true, the only way to account for the additional manuscripts in the *Old Index* is to assume either that Veterano, in his haste to check on the losses, was inaccurate or that these particular books were out on loan at the time that the catalogue was made.

It seems likely, then, that the *Index vetus* gives us a picture of the library as it was in Federigo's day. How does this compare with Vespasiano's description of the same collection? We find, of course, among the 1,104 manuscripts in the *Old Index*, many which are not named by the enthusiastic biographer of Federigo, who did not intend to list all the authors in the library. But, on the other hand, we must note the absence of any reference in either the *Old Index* or Veterano's inventory to Menander, Pausanius, the *Batrachomyomachia*, or to Vegio, Pontano, Gasparino, and Tortello—all specifically mentioned by Vespasiano as having a place in Federigo's library.

While the inventory of Veterano has been forced to take a secondary place chronologically, it is nevertheless of especial interest to us because of the long connection of its compiler with the dukes of Urbino. Since this estimable gentleman held the position of librarian for nearly forty years, it is interesting to note the qualifications which he must have possessed. In a book of regulations for the court and household of Guidobaldo I, we find clearly stated the duties of a librarian.<sup>76</sup> He must be not only learned but of pleasing personality, accurate, and fluent in his speech; and, in addition to these qualities, he must be neat and business-like, keeping an inventory of the books and having them so arranged that they can be reached easily and at the same time can be kept clean and dry. He must also be a person of discrimination, for he is to bring out the treasures willingly to exhibit to people of authority and to those who are truly interested in learning. To them he should explain the less obvious points about the manuscripts, at the same time watching to see that they do not abstract any folios. If the person making the request to see the codices is merely curious and not of scholarly interests, a cursory glance at the manuscript should be enough to satisfy him. As regards the

<sup>76</sup> Dennistoun, *op. cit.*, I, 167.

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lending of books, he must not let any volume go out without permission from the duke; and if that has been assured, he must get a receipt. When a number of people are visiting the library at the same time, he must be especially vigilant, so that none of the treasures will be stolen. At the time that this document was drawn up, the man in whom all these virtues were embodied was an unknown librarian by the name of Agabito; but we may infer that the same rules were in order during the long period of Veterano's service.

So much for the evidence about the library from contemporary sources. What first-hand information can be gleaned from a survey of the manuscripts which have survived as a part of the Vatican collection? Of the 1,767 codices which today form the unit known as the "Urbino manuscripts," between 700 and 800 are among those collected by Federigo.<sup>77</sup> Of these, some were bought by the duke himself, and others were sent to him as gifts by his friends. The large number of dedicatory copies and panegyrics by contemporary Humanists found in the "miscellaneous" group of the *Old Index* is evidence of the devotion inspired by the duke in the writers of that time. The splendor of the bindings and richness of decorations are described by Vespasiano; and in this case, at least, we know that the bibliophile was not exaggerating. Many of them are adorned with colored miniatures and were decorated by artists either at Urbino or at Florence. We must admit, however, that Federigo was more interested in acquiring beautiful books than ancient ones. Federigo did not refuse altogether to buy old manuscripts unadorned with fine illuminations. The remains of his library show that, out of 500 earlier manuscripts, 16 belong to the period before the fourteenth century and 40 were written in that century. Those made especially for him may be identified by his coat-of-arms or family stemma. About 70 manuscripts are of this kind, but most of the others were evidently made in Florence or elsewhere outside of Urbino and are decorated with ornaments which would find a sale anywhere.

From a note on a codex containing a commentary on the *Triumphs* of Petrarch, we learn that Veterano distinguished himself not only as custodian of the collection but as a transcriber of many manuscripts

<sup>77</sup> Stornaio, *op. cit.*, p. ix.



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in it. Although he tells us himself that this particular work was the last of 60 volumes which he had written, the editor of the Vatican Library manuscripts has been able to find only about 11 which bear his autograph. But we must remember that some of the treasures were lost in the disturbances of 1502 and 1517, and that the collection as it survives today was increased by a large number of accessions under the rule of Francesco Maria II (1549-1613). Of these, few are ancient and most of them are on paper and written in a cursive hand, so that it is not difficult to distinguish them from the magnificent volumes which belonged to Duke Federigo. One of the most important features of the latter's collection was the large number of books in Hebrew—83 in the *Old Index*. And among the most conspicuous treasures of the Vatican is the Urbino Hebrew Bible, consisting of 979 leaves of heavy parchment. Another specimen of remarkable beauty is the Latin Bible in 2 folio volumes with illumination which has been attributed (though probably falsely) to Perugino or Pinturicchio.

As Cosimo dei Medici (1389-1464) is commonly known by the title *pater patriae*, he might also properly be called *pater bibliothecae*, for he it was who initiated the movement which resulted in the establishment of one of the finest of renaissance libraries. This earliest collection was named the *Bibliotheca privata Cosmi*, to distinguish it from the *Bibliotheca publica gentis Mediceae*, a distinction which lasted until the time of Lorenzo the Magnificent (1469-92), when the separate parts were spoken of simply as "Publica" and "Privata."<sup>78</sup>

After Piero, the son of Lorenzo, was banished from Florence in 1494, all the manuscripts were stored in the cloisters of San Marco. A year later, however, they were removed to the Medici palace in order to have an inventory made, and then were again taken back to San Marco. But in 1498, when the convent was pillaged in the furor over Savonarola, the books were returned to the palace of the Signoria to be checked.<sup>79</sup> Here they remained for seven months, after

<sup>78</sup> E. Piccolomini, *Intorno alle condizioni e alle vicende della libreria medicea privata dal 1492 al 1508* (Florence, 1875), p. 6.

<sup>79</sup> Only 1 volume is noted in the inventory as lost during the pillage.

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which they reposed for a time in the Badia; in 1500 they were again restored to the convent of San Marco. Eight years later the volumes were all transferred to Rome, where they were placed in the palace of Cardinal Giovanni dei Medici (later Pope Leo X), where they were accessible to all scholars. It is interesting to note that two years later the monks of San Marco sent to Rome 37 volumes which, through error, had remained in Florence when the rest of the books were forwarded. But in 1521, at the death of Leo X, all the books were once more removed back to Florence, where they were subsequently housed in the beautiful building adjoining San Lorenzo and where they still remain. This edifice was built by Michelangelo by order of Cardinal Giulio dei Medici, who later became Pope Clement VII.

The growth and development of the Medici private library may be traced by a series of inventories. The earliest, that of 1418,<sup>80</sup> preserves for us a picture of the nucleus of the *Biblioteca domestica*, which was amassed through the earliest efforts of Cosimo. Although there are only 66 entries in this catalogue, some of them refer to works in several volumes and others to a number of authors contained in one manuscript. Less than two years before this inventory was drawn up, Poggio had made his discoveries at Constance; and it is noteworthy that the commentary of Asconius Pedianus on Cicero, several new orations of Cicero, and Quintilian, found by him, are included in this short list. That Cosimo's manuscripts were not all written in Florence is clear from the inclusion of a copy of Justin, described as "di lettera longobarda." This has been identified with a manuscript, now in the Laurentian Library, which was written at Monte Cassino.<sup>81</sup> From this humble beginning was to spring the impressive collection which numbered more than 1,000 volumes at the close of the century.

In the years following the compilation of this inventory Cosimo devoted himself to establishing several other libraries,<sup>82</sup> the most famous of which was housed in the cloisters of San Marco in 1440 and

<sup>80</sup> Published by F. Pintor, *La Libreria di Cosimo di Medici nel 1418* (Florence, 1902), pp. 13-15.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>82</sup> There were five in all. Cf. A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum grecorum bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, I, x.

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had the distinction of being the first public library in Italy.<sup>83</sup> In order to provide the necessary materials for those who should wish to labor there, Cosimo used the bibliographical canon which Tomaso Parentucelli had drawn up as a standard of equipment for such a collection and which has already been discussed in connection with the Urbino library. At about the same time, Cosimo was forming at Fiesole another library, which was chiefly of an ecclesiastical nature. The efforts of Vespasiano da Bisticci were enlisted as an agent not merely to procure some of the desired manuscripts but also to supervise a corps of scribes who were kept busy copying older codices borrowed for the purpose. Other accessions came through the purchase of such collections as that of the monks of Lucca, which we know Cosimo obtained for the library of San Marco in 1446.<sup>84</sup> Also, a considerable number of volumes came as a result of legacies, the most impressive of which was that of Niccolò Niccoli. Today in the Laurentian Library one comes frequently upon a manuscript on whose flyleaf are written the words "ex hereditate Niccolai," indicating that it belonged to his bequest of 800 manuscripts in 1437. Poggio also contributed to the San Marco library, for in his will he left to it all his ecclesiastical books, except those in Greek. Likewise, some of the treasures of Coluccio Salutati found their way into the Medici public library.<sup>85</sup>

From the death of Cosimo (1464) until the time of the banishment of Piero, the son of Lorenzo, our records deal with the history of the private Medici library. Undoubtedly, this far surpassed that of San Marco in the number and the variety of its volumes; and, as we shall see, it also served, to a certain extent, as a public institution. In this connection a note on a Columella, by Politian, is of interest. He says: "I collated these books of Columella . . . with one very old manuscript from the private library of the Medici family, and with an-

<sup>83</sup> G. Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums* (Berlin, 1893), I, 401.

<sup>84</sup> Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, II, 199.

<sup>85</sup> A number of these manuscripts are to be found today in the Bibliotheca nazionale in Florence, where they were placed in the last century when the San Marco codices were divided between the Laurentian and the National libraries. However, some of the San Marco collection had already disappeared from Florence, and a number of them are now in the British Museum.

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other of Niccolò Niccoli's, from the private library of the same family."<sup>86</sup>

Both sons of Cosimo, Giovanni and Piero, shared their father's interest in collecting manuscript to such an extent that between 1450 and 1460 they had a contest to see who could have the better library. Unfortunately, Giovanni's inventory of 1457 is not extant, but we are able to reconstruct part of his collection from references in his correspondence and from manuscripts which bear his name. We know, for example, that he bought from Poggio copies of Valerius Maximus and Columella, which are today in the Laurentian Library.<sup>87</sup> Other manuscripts which were once in his possession and are now in the same library are Cicero's *Philippics*, Silius Italicus, Lactantius, Seneca's *Epistles*, Catullus and Tibullus, and Cicero's *Rhetoric*.<sup>88</sup> Between 1455 and 1460 there are indications of his literary interests. On one occasion he wrote to the Bishop of Arezzo, asking about certain manuscripts which he had heard were at Poppi. In 1456 Pigello Portinari sent to Giovanni from Milan a copy of Priscian and a list of other works available there. The following year Giovanni sent a manuscript of Theophrastus' *De plantis* to Novello Malatesta and asked him in return to send him a copy of Donatus' *Commentary on Terence*. In 1455, after Enoch of Ascoli returned from his explorations, Giovanni begged his half-brother Carlo, who was in Rome, to send him copies of the works which had just been brought from across the Alps. At Giovanni's death some of his books were given by Cosimo to the library at Fiesole; others were incorporated in his brother's collection. The latter must, however, have been only a small part of the whole number if, as seems likely, they are represented by an inventory of Giovanni's books, which is included in the catalogue of 1495.<sup>89</sup> This contains only 79 items, most of which are Humanistic compositions or translations. Classical authors are few, and 7 works are in the vernacular.

Of the extent of Piero's library, however, an inventory of 1456

<sup>86</sup> Piccolomini, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>87</sup> Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, I, 150.

<sup>88</sup> V. Rossi, "L'Indole e gli studi di Giovanni di Cosimo di Medici," *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* (Cl. di sc. mor. stor. e fil.), 5th ser., II, 54.

<sup>89</sup> Published by Piccolomini, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-93.

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gives us a clear picture.<sup>90</sup> The volumes are divided into the following groups: sacred, grammatical, poetical, historical, and philosophical works, with a miscellaneous group including 1 volume in each of the following fields: natural philosophy, agriculture, architecture, cosmography, military science, and natural history. A note of individuality is struck by having each of the major groups differentiated from the others by the color of its bindings. For example, the 13 books of a sacred nature were bound in blue, the 6 grammatical works in yellow, the 15 poetical volumes in purple, while the 18 historical books rejoiced in covers of red. In divisions which were represented by only a single author, there is no mention of the color of the binding. The inventory of 1464<sup>91</sup> follows the same order as that of 1456 and shows that the library suffered little change in the interval.<sup>92</sup> But the total number of volumes is 128, instead of the 160 of the former catalogue. A comparison of the inventories, item by item, shows that this discrepancy results from the following facts: (1) some entries are made twice in the earlier list; (2) some authors which the inventory of 1464 explicitly states are *in uno volumine* are given separately in that of 1456. Thus the later inventory is more accurate numerically for volumes but not for works. As for the contents of Piero's collection, outside of a miscellaneous group at the end, which bears no heading in the catalogue of 1464,<sup>93</sup> the largest group was that of the historians, which included 18 volumes. No printed books and no Greek texts are mentioned. More than 60 manuscripts now in the Laurentian Library are derived from Peiro's collection.

Though the roles played by Cosimo and his sons in the founding of the Medici library were important, the name of Lorenzo the Magnificent shines with special luster in its annals. The earlier twofold division of the library was still maintained, since the public library remained at San Marco and the private in the Medici palace. Thus,

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 115-22.

<sup>91</sup> Published by E. Müntz, *Les Collections des Medicis au quinzième siècle* (Paris, 1888), pp. 44-49.

<sup>92</sup> Two grammatical works are the only additional items.

<sup>93</sup> In that of 1456 it is headed "Libri frammentati e altri volumi piccholi."

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while the general plan of the library was not changed, this was not true of the contents. For one thing, Lorenzo made great efforts to promote Italian literature. In this crusade he was, no doubt, influenced by his teachers Landino and Marsilio Ficino. The latter first came into prominence at the time of Cosimo but did his chief work under Lorenzo.<sup>94</sup>

Another compelling aspect of Lorenzo's interests was his fervor in collecting Greek codices. As agent, he employed John Lascaris, a teacher of Greek in Florence, who went twice to Constantinople to secure manuscripts. Information about his first trip is scanty, but it is clear that the second lasted two years and resulted in the acquisition of 200 manuscripts, of which at least 80 were texts hitherto unavailable in Italy; and, according to Lascaris himself, some were by authors hitherto unknown even by name there.<sup>95</sup>

John's autograph notebook used on his second trip (if not earlier) is extant and contains valuable information. The parts which concern us here are, first, a list of books needed for the Medici library and, second, a list of those already in it. The appearance of certain titles in both lists is confusing; perhaps second copies were wanted, or perhaps John neglected to cancel the first entry when he made the second. The chronology of their acquisition is uncertain, but certainly all of the books in the second list were in the Medici library before April 8, 1492, when Lorenzo died. This surprisingly long list of 262 Greek manuscripts is classed by subject: grammar, poetry, rhetoric and oratory, philosophy, mathematics, agriculture, medicine, and theology. Each of these groups is further subdivided into two sections. No satisfactory explanation of the headings "inside" and "outside," used here, has yet been proposed; and some of the same titles occur in both. Evidently, since more than half of the whole collection are recorded as "outside," it is very improbable that the term means "out on loan." Nor is it likely that the public and private libraries are meant.

In view of Lascaris' activities, it is not surprising to discover that

<sup>94</sup> E. Armstrong, *Lorenzo dei Medici* (London, 1896), p. 337.

<sup>95</sup> K. K. Mueller, "Neue Mittheilungen über Janos Laskaris und die medicische Bibliothek," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, I (1884), 336-38.

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in the inventory of 1495,<sup>96</sup> which comprises more than 1,000 items, almost half are in the Greek language. Those in Latin include classical, medieval, and Humanistic writings; and we note in particular a number of translations from the Greek. This inventory contains, in addition to a description of Lorenzo's private library of 168 volumes (which were consigned to San Marco after the banishment of his son, Piero), inventories of the books in Piero's home (89 volumes), those in San Lorenzo (103 volumes), and those in the bookcase at San Marco (102 volumes), as well as the list of books which had belonged to Giovanni di Cosimo, of which mention has been made above.

This inventory gives us an idea not only of the variety of works contained in the library but of the method of cataloguing then in use. The books in Greek come first and bear the lowest numbers; then follow those in Latin. Within each of these language divisions there is classification according to subject: grammar, poetry, oratory and rhetoric, mathematics and astronomy, philosophy, medicine, and theology. This arrangement holds as far as No. 539. Apparently from this point to No. 742 new books were entered (for the most part, works in Latin) in the order of accession. After that comes a list of 366 manuscripts without serial numbers, of which about 125 are Greek and may have been a part of Lascaris' purchases. It is also interesting to note that, when the inventory was compiled, 152 Greek and 38 Latin manuscripts were missing. At the end of the catalogue, however, is added a list of books recovered by the monks of San Marco when the city announced that anyone retaining Medici codices would be fined. Among the books thus recovered during 1496-97 are mentioned 23, some of which were found in the possession of Lascaris himself. From an anonymous source came a book which had once belonged to Filelfo, with the explanation that it probably belonged to the Medici library, since Lorenzo had bought Filelfo's collection.

These losses had resulted, no doubt, from the generosity of the Medici in lending their books to scholars. The extent of the loan system is indicated in a series of extant documents listing the books

<sup>96</sup> Published by Piccolomini, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-108.

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taken out of the library between 1480 and 1494. The borrowers were some of the best-known Florentine scholars of this period; and they are charged with 155 works, including Aristotle, Homer, Ptolemy, Victorinus, Cicero, Aeschines, Cato and Columella, Euclid, Euripides, Pindar, Apuleius, Silius Italicus, Terence, Horace, Plutarch, and Isocrates. The popularity of Greek works is particularly noteworthy. Some of the entries throw light on the rules governing loans from this library. Presumably, there was no time limit. Vespasiano, the bookseller, evidently interested in Aristotle at the time, took out the Latin translation entitled *De generatione* on March 13, 1480. On September 6, 1480, he borrowed the same author's *De philosophia*, in Argiropolo's Latin translation. He returned both books on July 25, 1491. Another well-known name, that of Politian, occurs, bearing testimony that this Humanist was—temporarily, at least—interested in medicine, for on July 9, 1491, he borrowed Hippocrates "antiquus," while two months later, he took out the volume of the same author described as "novus." The return of neither is recorded. In fact, most of the books borrowed between 1491 and 1492 are not mentioned in the inventory of 1495; this shows that they had not been restored up to that time. Evidently, there was no limit to the number of books which might be taken out, for Politian was charged at one time with 6, and Lascaris with 9 and 10 on two different occasions. A name that figures prominently in these records is that of Giovanni Pico di Mirandola. At one point it is specifically mentioned that the books which he borrowed were for the express purpose of transcribing. Both Lascaris and Giovanni figure in the record of Medici books found by the monks of San Marco after 1495.

Up to 1491 the books borrowed were charged merely by titles; after that, both title and library number were given. Sometimes the collection to which a manuscript belonged is noted, as, for example, when Lorenzo, the son of Giovanni Tornabuoni, borrowed Filelfo's copies of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and Bernardo Rucellai is charged with Sallust from the collection of Lucrezia Tornabuoni, the wife of Piero. Sometimes the record is in the first person, as in the following: "I, Demetrius, the Greek, received from the library of Master Lorenzo the following books: Plato, Aristotle, and a translation of



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Aristotle's *Ethics* by Leonardo." These particular books were borrowed on January 13, 1489, and returned October 3, 1491.

Of the other libraries of Italy it is small wonder that a collection which numbered nearly 1,000 volumes early in the fifteenth century, and which included the most important of Petrarch's manuscripts, should have attracted, by its fame, such distinguished visitors as Lorenzo dei Medici and Mathias Corvino, king of Hungary. Such was the fortune of the library of the Visconti-Sforza family, which was lodged in one of the towers of the brick palace at Pavia. Before the *quattrocento* there are few references to it, but enough evidence survives to indicate that at least the germ of the collection existed before the time of Galeazzo (1354-78), who is traditionally considered its founder.<sup>97</sup> One extant manuscript<sup>98</sup> was written in 1339 for Azzo Visconti, Lord of Milan; several others contain the name of Archbishop Giovanni Visconti, Azzo's uncle and successor (1349-54). So, likewise, the tradition that Petrarch was partly responsible for its establishment is an assertion that rests upon uncertain authority.<sup>99</sup> Undoubtedly his presence at Milan and at Pavia and his friendship with the princes stimulated the literary interests of the court.

It was Galeazzo's son, Giangaleazzo (1378-1402), however, who was most responsible for collecting treasures for the library at Pavia. In 1388 Giovanni Manzini, in a letter to Rizzaldo di Villani, referred to "conspicua nostri principis bibliotheca."<sup>100</sup> To this end he did not hesitate to take from the cathedral at Vercelli a precious codex of Cicero's *Epistulae ad familiares* and from the chapter library at Verona several important manuscripts, including Cicero's *Epistulae ad Atticum*.<sup>101</sup> And it was also through his efforts that Petrarch's valuable manuscripts came to Pavia.

When Petrarch died, the greatest part of his library fell into the

<sup>97</sup> G. d'Adda, *Indagini storiche, artistiche e bibliografiche sulla libreria visconteo-sforzesca del castello di Pavia* (Milan, 1875), p. xxii.

<sup>98</sup> L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la bibliothèque impériale* (Paris, 1886), I, 129.

<sup>99</sup> For a discussion of this point see V. Rossi, "Il Petrarca a Pavia," *Bollettino della società pavese di storia patria*, IV (1904), 395-96.

<sup>100</sup> C. Magenta, *I Visconti e gli Sforza nel castello de Pavia* (Milan, 1883), III, 226.

<sup>101</sup> Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, II, 121.

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hands of Francesco da Carrara, a prince of Padua, with whom the Republic of Venice was soon to engage in war.<sup>102</sup> In 1388 Padua was defeated; and since Giangaleazzo Visconti had aided the winning side, he was given the confiscated library to take to Pavia. Besides the Petrarch manuscripts, many other volumes formerly in the Visconti library point to a Paduan origin. From Pavia many of the books were taken by Louis XII to Blois in 1499, where they were put in the castle of Blois. They were removed to Fontainebleau under Francis I, and under Henry IV to Paris, where they are now in the Bibliothèque nationale. In this library 23 manuscripts have been identified as having belonged to Petrarch and as having come from Pavia.<sup>103</sup> They contain the following authors: Claudian, Cassiodorus, Isidore, Plato, Homer, Suetonius, Fulgentius, Eustachius, Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory, Victorinus, Quintus Curtius, and Quintilian. These codices are all described in the Pavia inventory of 1426.<sup>104</sup>

But the most famous of Petrarch's books, one that was also once in the Visconti library, had a different history from that of the group just mentioned. This manuscript, now in the Ambrosian Library, is known as "Petrarch's Vergil," although it also contains the commentary of Servius, the *Achilleis* of Statius, Horace's *Odes*, and some of the commentary of Donatus. After Petrarch's death this codex, replete with autograph notes, passed to Giovanni dei Dondi; and at his death in 1388 to his brother, who disposed of it eight years later.<sup>105</sup> That it was in the Pavia library we know from the testimony of fifteenth-century scholars, who quoted from it the famous lines on Laura's death, written in Petrarch's own hand. But the date at which it entered the Visconti collection is uncertain. It is not included in either of the two inventories (1426 and 1459), and the earliest documentary record of it occurs in a letter of 1460. When the library was confiscated by the French, an inhabitant of Pavia suc-

<sup>102</sup> De Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, I, 100.

<sup>103</sup> De Nolhac, *ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>104</sup> Published by D'Adda, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-91.

<sup>105</sup> De Nolhac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*, p. 296.

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ceeded in rescuing this manuscript; and after a series of vicissitudes, it has finally come to rest in the Ambrosian Library at Milan.<sup>106</sup>

Petrarch's manuscripts formed a very small part of the Pavia collection, as is apparent from the inventory of 1426. To give a brief but adequate summary of this catalogue seems at first a hopeless task, for it contains 988 items covering 90 pages of text and includes works in Latin, Greek, French, and Italian, arranged in no apparent order. The introductory words describe the document as containing works in the following classes: grammar, poetry, history, philosophy, astrology, medicine, architecture, cosmography, law, politics, and religion. In general, the entries have been made in this order, without regard to language. The French manuscripts, including many romances of chivalry, number 87; those in Italian are about a third as many, only 2 manuscripts are certainly in Greek (Plato and Homer), while 2 others are labeled as "either Hebrew or Greek." All the other volumes are apparently in Latin. Of these, the codices containing medieval and Humanistic works outnumber those of classical authors; but the latter, nevertheless, present an imposing array. There were more than 40 manuscripts of Cicero's works, 11 of Priscian's, 16 of Seneca's, as well as copies of Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, Statius, Juvenal, Martianus Capella, Claudian, Macrobius, Propertius, Boethius, Terence, Persius, Lactantius, Florus, Servius, Suetonius, Vegetius, Frontinus, Apuleius, Vitruvius, Livy, Celsus, Solinus, Pliny, Eusebius, Sallust, Valerius Maximus, Eutropius, Varro, Palladius, Cato, Quintilian, Justin, and translations of Plato and Aristotle.

Not only are the titles of the works given, but the appearance of the manuscripts is minutely described. This must have been essential for finding the books, as they were apparently not arranged on the shelves according to any system. This detailed description has proved helpful for identifying some of these manuscripts in recent times. The order in which the manuscripts are listed in the inventory has nothing to do with the library numbers, which are given. For example, in the inventory, numbers 1-7 are works of Priscian, and

<sup>106</sup> Published in facsimile by Hoepli and Co. (Milan, 1930), with the co-operation of Pope Pius XI.

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these bear respectively numbers 134, 629, 361, 719, 183, 878, and 832. But the twelfth entry also is another volume of Priscian, numbered 337. Nor do the library numbers indicate the order of accession, for these are widely scattered (12-845) on the 23 manuscripts of Petrarch, which presumably entered the library together.<sup>107</sup> Nor do the books seem to have been grouped according to subject matter, for 2 works of Augustine on the Psalms are numbers 12 and 331, respectively. It appears, therefore, that this collection of nearly 1,000 volumes was arranged in haphazard fashion on the shelves.

That the 988 books here recorded were not always present in the library is evident from this inventory, on which the date at which certain works were borrowed and returned is recorded. For many of the books drawn out, no date of return was ever added. The earliest loan date recorded is 1426; and the latest, twenty years after. A name which recurs with some frequency is that of the celebrated Milanese Humanist, Pier Candido Decembrio. We note, for example, that on August 3, 1439, he took to Milan 3 copies of works of Homer (one of which was Petrarch's) and returned them on December 6, 1446. Though a Latin translation by Leonzio Pilato had appeared in the meantime, Decembrio started to make another, using the text of this famous manuscript. We observe too, that a Terence which was taken to Milan for the use of the duke on August 1, 1430, was not returned for nearly five years. Other classical authors borrowed between 1430 and 1438 were Macrobius, Ovid, Apuleius, Livy, Pliny, and Cicero. It was not always the best manuscripts that were borrowed, for a copy of Cicero's *De amicitia* is described as small, poor, and of little value. But the number of non-classical authors loaned was much larger. Among them we note a Psalter, several copies of lives of saints (in Latin and Italian), Petrarch, several breviaries, chronicles, works of Thomas Aquinas,

<sup>107</sup> The hypothesis advanced by O. E. Schmidt in "Die Visconti und ihre Bibliothek zu Pavia," *Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Politik*, V (1888), 444-74, that the date of entry into the library could be ascertained from the number, is untenable. According to this theory, 15 out of the 23 manuscripts of Petrarch now in the Bibliothèque nationale must have belonged to the Pavia library before 1378. Schmidt believes that they formed a group given or sold by Petrarch to the Archbishop Giovanni. In the light of more recent evidence it seems clear that the bulk of these remnants of Petrarch's library came from Carrara and were not acquired until 1388.

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Ambrose, and Gregory, Bibles and concordances, legal treatises, and French romances.

In 1447 Duke Filippo Maria, the last of the Visconti family, died; and his successor, Francesco Sforza I, stepped into his place. Documents now in the archives at Milan show that this first Sforza maintained the literary interests of his predecessors, the Visconti. Relations with other princes are indicated by the visit of Lodovico Gonzaga to the library at Pavia in April, 1456, and by the attempt of the Duke of Milan to borrow from the *marchese* of Mantua a manuscript of the *Cosmographia* of Strabo, in order to copy it.<sup>108</sup> In 1453 Francesco asked the chamberlain, Count Bolognino de Attendolis, for a report on the state of the library; and at intervals he wrote, with his own hand, orders for lending books to some of the Milanese circle. The books at Pavia were always at the disposal of his sons and their instructors, but the duke himself had to authorize each of their withdrawals. On one occasion he bids the librarian give to his eldest son, Galeazzo, the works of Priscian and Cicero's *De legibus*. And at another he sanctions the loan of Livy, Sallust, Cicero (*Orationes; Ep. ad Att.*), Caesar, Quintilian, and Priscian. In 1456 the duke expresses himself as eager to have the library restocked with works which were missing, and he ordered a new inventory to be made and checked with that of 1426.<sup>109</sup>

This catalogue, which does not follow the order of the earlier one, contains about 175 fewer entries, no doubt because a number of manuscripts were out at the time it was drawn up. The largest group of Latin manuscripts was that of the Bible, works of the Church Fathers, and ecclesiastical history, which numbered about 200. There were about 35 Italian manuscripts, 82 in French, including Bibles, lives of saints, tales of chivalry, chronicles, and translations from the Latin classics. Most of these seem to have come from France, but several were the work of Italian scribes, as is evident

<sup>108</sup> E. Motta, "Documenti per la libreria sforzesca di Pavia," *Bibliofilo*, VII (1886), 129.

<sup>109</sup> Published by G. Mazzatinti, "Inventario dei codici della biblioteca visconteo-sforzesca redatta da Ser Facino de Fabriana nel 1459 al 1469," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, I (1883), 40-56.

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from an examination of the 13 in the Bibliothèque nationale.<sup>122</sup> Of the Latin books 23 either bear the coats-of-arms of the Visconti-Sforza or the inscription "De Pavye" or "au roy Loys XII" or simply "Pavye."<sup>123</sup> The total number of manuscripts from Pavia now in the Bibliothèque nationale is about 100; but many of these do not appear in this inventory, perhaps because they were copied after that date.<sup>124</sup> They include a Bible, Gospels, St. Jerome, Suetonius, Valerius Maximus, Cicero, Seneca, Aristotle, Vegetius, Lucan, Statius, Petrarch, and a group of neo-Latinists, such as Piero Candido Decembrio and Poggio. Only 21 of these are classical, and a third of these are texts of Cicero.<sup>125</sup> Apparently, no new Greek manuscripts had been acquired since the inventory of 1426. To this inventory of 1459 is appended a list of the manuscripts added ten years later by Duke Galeazzo Maria. Most of these were Humanistic works in Latin and Italian; but a few classical authors were included, as, for example, Cicero, Justinus, Valerius Maximus, and Terence, with translations of Livy and Vergil in the vernacular.

After 1470 we have no list to show what Giangaleazzo Sforza and Lodovico il Moro added to the collection. But we judge that there was a substantial increase in the number of volumes, since it is known that, from 1469 on, a copy of all the books printed at Milan and Pavia had to be deposited here. These printers were patronized by the dukes, especially by Lodovico, so that by the end of the century 700 volumes had issued from their presses. Of later events connected with the library,<sup>126</sup> we know that on June 9, 1490, Lodovico wrote to Bartolomeo Calco, the librarian, directing him to reorganize the library. Undoubtedly at this time a new inventory was drawn up; but, unfortunately, it has not come down to us. In

<sup>122</sup> Delisle, *op. cit.*, I, 136; A. Thomas, "Les Manuscrits français et provençaux des ducs de Milan au château de Pavie," *Romania*, XL (1911), 571-609.

<sup>123</sup> G. Mazzatinti, *Inventario dei manoscritti delle biblioteche di Francia* (Rome, 1886), I, lxxxi.

<sup>124</sup> G. Mazzatinti, "Alcuni codici latini visconteo-sforzeschi della Biblioteca nazionale di Parigi," *Archivio storico lombardo*, XIII (1886), 17-58.

<sup>125</sup> About 40 other Latin manuscripts may also have come from Pavia, for they contain the words "fo de la Galiacza" or merely "Galiacza" or other marks characteristic of books taken from Naples by Charles VIII. Most of them are legal works. Cf. Delisle, *op. cit.*, I, 128-29.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. Motta, *op. cit.*, pp. 132 ff.

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the same month Lodovico also wrote to Calco, asking him to lend *De claris urbibus Italiae* to the Florentine ambassador, Ausonius. Another document lists 25 manuscripts, mostly paper, which passed into the hands of Lodovico and then almost certainly into the library at Pavia, at the death of the duke's natural brother, Secondo Sforza. Many of these works were astronomical; and the language is noted for only one, *De necromantia*, which is marked "in vulgare." That Lodovico himself was interested in the library is evident from his correspondence with Italian and foreign princes; for example, he tried to get a copy of Pompeius Festus from Giovanni Corvino of Hungary.<sup>115</sup> Four manuscripts made for Lodovico are known: Delisle found one in the Bibliothèque nationale, a Sallust, written at Milan in 1467; and Mazzatinti has identified two others in the same library, as well as one at Turin, written in Lodovico's own hand.

The fame of the library of Alessandro Sforza (1409-75), Lord of Pesaro, survives in two traditions. In the first place, Vespasiano da Bisticci has described it in terms of extravagant praise. According to him, Alessandro secured all the books available at Florence, regardless of expense, and had manuscripts purchased all over Italy. And to care for these treasures he appointed a man at a liberal salary. Vespasiano also says that, like the libraries at Urbino, Florence, and Fiesole, this collection followed the canon of Tommaso Parentucelli. Unfortunately, no early inventory of the library survives; and we cannot reconstruct it, either from Parentucelli's list, which describes only minimum requirements for any normal collection, or from Vespasiano's vague generalization that the library contained all the works of poetry, history, astrology, medicine, and cosmography. Our earliest catalogue is one of 1500, while the books were in the possession of Giovanni Sforza, the last of the legal lords of Pesaro.<sup>116</sup> This inventory contains two lists, the first of 266 items, the second of 261. There are few classical authors: 50 in the first group and 15 in the second. Only 4 entries are labeled as Greek, and the texts of these manuscripts are not stated. This omission, the

<sup>115</sup> D'Adda, *op. cit.*, p. lxii.

<sup>116</sup> A. Vernarecci, "La Libreria di Giovanni Sforza signore di Pesaro," *Archivio storico per le Marche e per l'Umbria*, III (1886), 501-23.

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many misspelled names, the brief descriptions—all point to an illiterate compiler. Nevertheless, even this much evidence that there existed at Pesaro a library of some distinction is interesting.

The part played by the *condottieri* in the spread of culture during the renaissance is well illustrated by the literary interests of the Malatesta family. To Carlo Malatesta (1386–1429) belongs the credit of sharing with Petrarch, Niccolò Niccoli, and Cosimo dei Medici the idea of establishing a public library; but unfortunately, he was unable to carry out this design. When he was bequeathed a collection of books by a certain canon of the cathedral and teacher of grammar named Sampierino, Carlo proposed that they be placed where they could be used by “the poor and other students.”<sup>117</sup> But his death soon followed; and it remained for his nephew, Sigismond (1417–68), the most famous of the Malatesta family, to found the first library in Rimini. Just when this collection was established in the convent of San Francesco is unknown, and the facts concerning its later history are very meager. We do know, however, that in 1478 Roberto Valturio, a friend of Sigismond’s and, like him, a collector of manuscripts, bequeathed his books to San Francesco, on condition that the library be open to laymen and that the codices be moved from the damp ground floor to more suitable quarters.<sup>118</sup> That this stipulation was carried out is clear from an inscription still *in situ*, recording the removal in 1490.

Sigismond, who was a scholar, was interested in both Greek and Latin classics and increased the library with his own rich collection; but, unfortunately, we have no inventory or any information concerning its fate. Probably some of the Rimini books were destroyed in 1527, during the revolt of the citizens; and a few were salvaged and taken to the Vatican by Clement VII, where they still remain.<sup>119</sup> It is also recorded that early in the seventeenth century there was in this city a library of 400 volumes, mostly manu-

<sup>117</sup> C. Tonini, *La Cultura letteraria e scientifica in Rimini dal secolo XIV ai primordi del XIX* (Rimini, 1884), II, 20.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 117.

<sup>119</sup> C. Yriarte, *Un condottiere au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1882), p. 62.



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That they have since completely disappeared the historian Villani ascribed to the ignorance and carelessness of their custodians.<sup>120</sup>

In sharp contrast to the unhappy fate of the Malatesta library at Rimini is the excellent state of preservation in which we find the library of the same family at Cesena. Nowhere else in Italy can one observe today a communal library which has preserved practically intact its fifteenth-century appearance. Founded in 1452 by Domenico Malatesta Novello, a brother of Sigismond, this collection also was left to the Franciscans. Novello's intimacy with Cosimo dei Medici probably accounts for the close resemblance of his library building to that of San Marco.<sup>121</sup>

There are extant two interesting documents which throw some light upon the history of the Cesena library. The first is a bull of Pope Nicholas V, dated May, 1450, approving the building which Novello was contemplating.<sup>122</sup> Malatesta's will, drawn fourteen years later, informs us that, besides founding the library and bequeathing it to the convent of San Francesco, the donor provided a fund for its maintenance.<sup>123</sup>

But, although the edifice itself still bears evidence of careful preservation, there is no doubt that the character of its contents has changed. Most of the books today are ecclesiastical, and many of the classical treasures have vanished. A conspicuous exception to this is the beautiful *Etymologies* of Isidore, which is said to date from the eighth century. Only 13 Greek codices survive; and, while there were probably more originally, we know that Novello's plans for a collection in this tongue miscarried, for the ship which was bringing him a rich store of Greek manuscripts from the Orient was lost at sea.<sup>124</sup> What the library at Cesena was like in its prime we can conjecture from the beauty of the room designed to house it and from its founder's being in constant communication with men like Guarino, Filelfo, Aurispa, and Cosimo.

<sup>120</sup> Tonini, *op. cit.*, II, 21.      <sup>121</sup> J. W. Clark, *The Care of Books* (Cambridge, 1901), p. 205.

<sup>122</sup> G. Muccioli, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Malatestianae Caesenatis bibliothecae* (Cesena, 1780), p. 13.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>124</sup> A. Martin, "Les Manuscrits grecs de la bibliothèque malatestiana à Cesena," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, II (1892), 227.

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The earlier history of the papal library has already been traced in this volume. Here we take up the story from the return of the papacy to Rome in 1410; but, as has been said, "until the fifteenth century, the library of the Vatican cannot be said to have been a substantial reality."<sup>125</sup>

Although we have no inventory of the library of Pope Martin V (1417-31), we know that he was not unsympathetic to scholarship. A copy of Martianus Capella from his private library is now in Dresden,<sup>126</sup> and account books of his time show that he provided for new bookcases for the library and had books repaired. Another entry indicates that he had received from Avignon certain religious and historical books: a *Catholicum*, *Liber ceremoniarum*, *Speculum historiale*, *Pontificale*, *Missale*; but these were doubtless only a few samples of the rich collection remaining on French soil.

In the formation of the collection which is today known as the *Bibliotheca Vaticana*, the first name to stand out prominently during the fifteenth century is that of Eugene IV (1431-47). His inventory of 1443 shows that he possessed 340 volumes.<sup>127</sup> Theology and scholastic philosophy held the chief place; but his Humanistic interest is shown by the presence of such authors as Ovid, Seneca, Cicero, Livy, and Latin versions of Aristotle, Xenophon, and Demosthenes, as well as the works of Maffeo Vegio, Leonardo Bruni, and Ambrosio Traversari.

But Eugene's share in establishing the papal collection was merely that of providing a nucleus for the more extensive work that was to be done by his successor, Nicholas V (1447-55), the Tommaso Parentucelli whose library canon has already been mentioned so often. Thus, it is not surprising that, when he had mounted the papal throne, he planned to create a great library which should make the Vatican a world-shrine for scholars. In the eight years of his reign he took the first steps toward carrying out this design and had manuscripts of many different kinds brought from such distant

<sup>125</sup> J. W. Clark, "On the Vatican Library of Sixtus IV," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, X (1899), 13.

<sup>126</sup> E. Müntz and P. Fabre, *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1887), p. 2.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 9-32.

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places as Germany, Denmark, and England. The extent of this library was estimated by his contemporaries as all the way from 600 to 9,000 manuscripts.<sup>128</sup> Fortunately, we are now able to establish the true figure from the inventories drawn up immediately after his death.<sup>129</sup> These lists indicate a total of 1,209 volumes (795 Latin and 414 Greek), nearly three times the holdings of eight years before. This increase resulted, in part, from the dispatch of agents to collect manuscripts, with authority to excommunicate those who refused to give them up; and, at the same time, some of the most distinguished scholars at home were set to making translations from the Greek. Nicholas paid his workers liberally and expected much of them; but, unfortunately, he died before his library program had gone very far.

Although one is tempted to pass directly from Nicholas V to Sixtus IV, the last and most important of the three great founders of the Vatican Library, some mention of the intervening pontiffs must be made. Calixtus III (1455-58) has often been accused by some Renaissance and modern writers of attempting to despoil the collection of his predecessors; but documentary evidence, recently discovered, indicates that this charge is unfounded.<sup>130</sup> The records of Calixtus' own personal library<sup>131</sup> shows that he had scholarly interests and that his private collection was one of the most important for that period in the field of law. Furthermore, the story that he gave away many books belonging to the papal library may have grown out of his generous loans. To Cardinal Bessarion he lent 11 Greek books, only 8 of which had been returned by 1458; and to the Cardinal of Ruthenia about 50 manuscripts, which the latter could keep as long as he lived. Thus, even though Calixtus was a reckless lender and did nothing to increase the collection, he was not guilty of a deliberate plan to disperse its treasures.

<sup>128</sup> For an excellent discussion of this point, cf. J. Hilgers, "Zur Bibliothek Nikolaus V.," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XIX (1902), 1-11.

<sup>129</sup> Müntz and Fabre, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-113, 316-43.

<sup>130</sup> For the arguments for and against this charge see, respectively, V. Rossi, *L'Indole e gli studi di Giovanni di Cosimo dei Medici* (Rome, 1893), pp. 143 ff., and Müntz and Fabre, *op. cit.*, pp. 116 ff.

<sup>131</sup> Published by F. Martorelli, *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle*, V (1924), 166-91.

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The increase of the library under the next two popes, Pius II and Paul II, may only be conjectured, since we lack inventories for the years 1458-71. The Humanistic interests of Pius II (Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini) are well known, but seemingly he built up his private collection rather than the pontifical library. Some of his books,<sup>132</sup> together with those of his nephew, Pius III (September 24-October 18, 1503), are now in the Vatican collection; but it is impossible to ascertain whether any of them were added during his lifetime. Since Paul II (1464-71) was primarily an art-collector, it is not surprising that the inventory of his treasures mentions no books and that his expense accounts show that he spent little money on the library.

Under Sixtus IV (1471-84) not only was the library materially increased, but its organization was perfected and the physical surroundings were so improved that we may truly assert that a new era began. Extant inventories show that in 1475 there were 2,527 volumes, including 770 Greek and 1,757 Latin codices. Nine years later the total had reached 3,650.<sup>133</sup> A closer inspection of the lists shows that in 1475 some attempt was made to arrange a catalogue by subject and author. Neither method was consistently carried out, however, since, for example, such a general heading as "Philosophi" failed to include Plato. Rather curiously, the library contained more volumes on medicine than on poetry (55 of the former and 53 of the latter), and the Greek fathers are subdivided "Auctores clariores ecclesiae" and "Obscuriores quidam auctores ecclesiae." The next largest group in Greek is composed of 70 manuscripts of the orators.

During the next nine years 1,100 new volumes had been added, and the inventory of 1484 records the contents in such a way that the physical arrangement of the library can be reconstructed.<sup>134</sup> By this

<sup>132</sup> Enea Piccolomini, "De codicibus Pii II et Pii III," *Bollettino senese di storia patria*, VI (1899), 483-96. Fifty-four Greek codices have been identified as his, of which 1 is dated as early as the ninth century and 2 belong to the tenth. Cf. L. Duchesne, "De codicibus manuscriptis Pii II in bibliotheca Alexandrina-Vaticana," *Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, XIII (1886), 1-34.

<sup>133</sup> This inventory has not been published but is summarized by Muntz and Fabre, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

<sup>134</sup> P. Fabre, "Le Vatican de Sixte IV," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, XV (1895), 455-75.

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time the collection was separated into a "public" Greek and Latin library, a private collection of rarer volumes, and the pontifical library, including the papal archives and registers.

But far more interesting than the inventories themselves are the expense books and registers of loans relating to the time of Sixtus IV.<sup>135</sup> For these detailed records we must thank Bartolomeo Platina, who was made prefect of the library in 1475. With his three assistants, who are frequently mentioned in the records, he lived in rooms adjoining the library. Among the library expenses are included their furniture, clothes, and medical services. The prefect's duties extended far beyond staff housekeeping, for Platina also had to buy manuscripts, give orders for their illumination and binding, and purchase parchment and colors. Curious details may be gathered from the record: candles and wood were ordered "ad usum bibliothecae," foxtails for dusting the books, brooms for the floors, juniper for fumigating, and on one day, when fuel was needed "pro usu bibliothecae propter frigiditatem loci," a portable stove was purchased.

Another of Platina's duties was looking after the loans of the library. The registers of borrowed books record about 400 entries for the ten years between 1475 and 1485. Although the books were chained to the stalls in the library, they could be taken away at Platina's discretion. Prospective borrowers were warned that they would incur the wrath of the pope unless the volumes were returned unharmed "per opportune." For loans a regular receipt formula was employed, usually in the first person; and when the book was returned, the word "restitutus" was written opposite it, either by Platina himself or by one of his assistants. The prefect's own name appears as a borrower among those of such well-known personages as Pomponio Leto, Demetrio of Lucca, Giovanni, and Isaac Argyropolis. Sometimes the entry is in Greek instead of Latin. It is noteworthy how many of the borrowers were ecclesiastics. Usually only one volume was taken out at a time, although sometimes several are charged to one individual. Unfortunately, the last 50 folios of the registers are lacking, for doubtless they contained much interesting

<sup>135</sup> Müntz and Fabre, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-59, 269-98.

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information concerning the loans during the first half of the sixteenth century.

The extant records of the Vatican Library under Sixtus IV are the most elaborate that have come down to us from the fifteenth century. Of his successors, Pope Innocent VIII (1484-92) was "one of those who showed the greatest indifference to the precious collections formed by Nicholas V and Sixtus IV."<sup>136</sup> The inventory of 1484 shows that the library then contained about 3,700 volumes. Although tradition says that Alexander VI (1492-1503) sent Pomponio Leto to Germany to hunt for new classical manuscripts, there is no record of any volumes thus added to the Vatican Library, nor is any inventory extant from this time.

Somewhat more satisfying is our information regarding the library under Julius II (1503-13). One of his first acts as pope was to build a magnificent addition to the private library, which contained the most precious volumes of the collection. Since the registers for this period are incomplete, we find mention of only two acquisitions—a missal for the pontifical chapel and a book on taxes.<sup>137</sup> But that Julius II was interested in collecting fine books, as well as beautiful objects of art, is clear from the remnants of his private library, which have been identified.<sup>138</sup> Two catalogues drawn up after his decease list about 200 volumes, mostly theology or law. But, he also had a number of Latin classics and some Humanistic writers, including Petrarch, Flavio Biondo, Naldo Naldi, Leonardo Bruni, Tortelli, and Manetti. Although he had no Greek texts, he had translations from that language by Valla, Traversari, and Niccolò Perotti.<sup>139</sup>

At first, loans were made as freely as under Sixtus IV, though with the new provision that a suitable pledge must be deposited as security. When, however, books were not always returned even under

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 307.

<sup>137</sup> E. Müntz, *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1886), p. 10.

<sup>138</sup> A number of these volumes have been found in the communal library at Torino. It has been suggested, however, that in some cases the Della Rovere arms may indicate that the manuscript belonged to Cardinal Domenico della Rovere, archbishop of Torino from 1482 to 1501.

<sup>139</sup> L. Dorez, "La Bibliothèque privée du Pape Jules II," *Revue des bibliothèques*, VI (1896), 97-121.

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these conditions, the pope found it necessary, in 1505, to issue an edict, ordering the return of all books within ten days, under penalty of excommunication. Furthermore, the intention of Sixtus IV that the library should be used by "all men of letters, both of our own age or of subsequent time," seems to have been fulfilled. One visitor, Claude Bellièvre, of Lyons, who visited Rome in 1513, mentions the regulations of the library: readers must not converse with each other, or, in changing places, climb over benches or scrape their feet; they must close the books and put them back in the right places. Anyone breaking these rules was to be ejected from the library in disgrace and forbidden to re-enter its portals.

We have already seen that Leo X (1513-21), while he was still Cardinal Giovanni dei Medici, had collected the books which belonged to his family and removed them to his palace at Rome, where they were at the disposal of scholars. As pope he not only increased the Vatican Library to 4,070 volumes<sup>140</sup> but also saw that it was well cared for, adding another subordinate.

Two phases in the development of the library are to be noted at this period. The first was the pope's systematic campaign to discover unknown manuscripts. For this he sent agents to examine thoroughly the libraries of Scandinavia and Germany, with instructions either to borrow new works for copying or, preferably, to acquire the codices themselves. That he was not overscrupulous is evident: he speaks openly of securing from Corvey the coveted manuscript of Tacitus' *Annals* in exchange for a finely bound printed edition and a plenary indulgence.<sup>141</sup> The second phase of development was the systematic acquisition of printed books. Leo was greatly interested in the new art, more particularly in the publication of Greek texts; and so, in 1513, he granted Aldo Manuzio a monopoly in Greek editions for fifteen years, under which Manuzio was required to sell his books at reasonable prices. The printed volumes included in Leo's inventory of 1518 are notable, as well as the pope's interest in building up a collection of oriental books.

<sup>140</sup> This inventory has not been published. Extracts from it are given by Müntz, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-62.

<sup>141</sup> L. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, ed. by R. F. Kerr (London, 1908), VIII, 268.

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Leo continued the custom of his predecessor in requiring the deposit of some valuable object by anyone who wished to take a book out; but later, under Clement VII (1523-34), no more loans were made except to distinguished scholars. Among the few borrowers recorded for this period were John Lascaris and Angelo Colocci.<sup>142</sup>

Two names have long been associated with the founding of the library of San Marco at Venice—those of Petrarch and Bessarion. It has been shown,<sup>143</sup> however, that the tradition connected with the former, like so many other stories involving the famous Humanists, is apocryphal. Thus, to Cardinal Bessarion is now attributed the glory of having established the Marciana. This Byzantine scholar, who came to Italy in 1438, assembled at Rome the most important collection of Greek manuscripts in the West. But neither Rome nor Florence, but Venice, was to inherit these treasures, for in 1468 Bessarion gave them to the Republic on condition that a public library should be established there. This project was approved by Pope Paul II in a bull dated September 16, 1467, and the library was formally accepted by the city.<sup>144</sup> However, nearly a century was to pass before the collection was housed in a building where it could serve the purpose for which it had been given.

In the meantime the books were left in their packing-boxes at the monastery of SS. John and Paul, under a provision that no volume was to be lent without the vote of three-fourths of the council. It was also provided that a government agent should inspect them regularly to see that none of them were lost.<sup>145</sup> The earlier papal bull had explicitly stated that none of these manuscripts could be sold or even lent without security, and then only within the state.<sup>146</sup> It is clear from documentary evidence that within two years after the death of the donor these conditions were transgressed. Since the re-

<sup>142</sup> Many of Colocci's manuscripts are now in the Vatican. Cf. De Nolhac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*, pp. 79-81.

<sup>143</sup> De Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme* (2d ed.; Paris, 1907), I, 98.

<sup>144</sup> H. Omont, "Inventaire des manuscrits grecs et latins donnés à Saint Marc de Venise par le Cardinal Bessarion," *Revue des bibliothèques*, IV (1894), 131.

<sup>145</sup> Valentinelli, *op. cit.*, I, 38.

<sup>146</sup> G. Caggiola, "Il Prestito di manoscritti della Marciana dal 1474 al 1527," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XXV (1908), 57.



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sponsibility for enforcing the rule was divided among the several procurators of San Marco, it was taken more lightly than it might have been otherwise; and since the manuscripts were not easily accessible to scholars, loans were necessary.<sup>147</sup> In 1478, 7 books were loaned to Marcello Rustici in Rome, only 1 of which had been returned in 1494. In 1491-93 Lorenzo dei Medici borrowed 7 Greek manuscripts for the purpose of transcribing them. Apparently this generosity was sometimes abused, for in 1506 a law was passed putting an end to all loans. Moreover, any books that were then out were to be returned within eight days. This decree was evidently not taken very seriously by some borrowers: a commentary on the *Logic* of Aristotle, which had been lent in 1501, was not returned until 1531.

In 1515 the first librarian was appointed, and it may be assumed that, from this time on, the books were more carefully guarded. In spite of this, in 1545, when Pietro Bembo, as librarian, checked the contents of Bessarion's library, he recorded 80 manuscripts as missing. This number was too large, for some of these codices were listed by Bembo as actually in the library at that time; he failed to identify them with the erroneous entries in the original catalogue. But that many of Bessarion's manuscripts strayed from Venice in the early sixteenth century is clear from the number of them which have been found in other libraries. Unmistakable identification marks have been found in codices now in Paris, Vienna, Munich, Turin, Grottaferrata, Nuremberg, Oxford, and Rome.<sup>148</sup>

Several copies exist of the inventory drawn up in 1468, when Bessarion gave his library to the Republic of Venice. The most important of these inventories<sup>149</sup> lists, in the first place, the Greek manuscripts, which consisted of 200 religious works, more than a

<sup>147</sup> C. Castellani, "Il Prestito dei codici della biblioteca di San Marco in Venezia ne' suoi primi tempi e le conseguenti perdite de' codici stessi," *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto di scienze lettere ed arti*, 7th ser., VIII (1896-97), 312.

<sup>148</sup> Omont, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 149-79; the inventory published from a Riccardi manuscript by Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, CLXII, cols. 701-12, is incomplete, for it lists only 30 boxes of manuscripts, whereas other documents give 48, and it contains a total of 289 Greek manuscripts instead of 482.

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dozen medical treatises, a few law books, about 40 works on mathematics and astronomy, and representative groups of rhetoric, history, geography, philosophy, poetry, and grammar. The 264 Latin manuscripts are arranged in more or less the same order. In the first group we observe the large number of the 139 volumes of *libri sententiarum*. Cicero is represented by more volumes than any other single Latin author. The scarcity of Humanistic literature is noteworthy, although we do find Leonardo Bruni's translation of Plato's *Dialogues*. Since Bessarion did not die until three years after he had given his library, he probably added later some manuscripts and printed books which do not appear on this inventory. Until the middle of the sixteenth century the library at Venice was the library of Bessarion. So far as we know, no other important accessions were made until it was housed in the beautiful building erected by Sansovino in 1553.<sup>150</sup>

For some of the libraries which became famous in the fifteenth century we have had to assume an origin two centuries earlier, although there is no documentary evidence to prove it. This is not the case with the library at Naples: the registers and records extant in the Royal Archives of the city contain frequent reference to the embryonic collection which existed in the time of Charles I of Anjou (1220-85).<sup>151</sup> Orders for illuminators, scribes, correctors, and translators occur; and works on physics, law, theology, and medicine are specifically mentioned. There are several indications of a special medical interest. For example, there is a significant entry for October 4, 1280, which states that King Charles ordered the keepers of his treasure in the Castello dell'Uovo to allow Master Farag, his Hebrew friend, to take home an Arabic volume on medicine, together with any other books that he might need to make a translation. Furthermore, a Latin medical manuscript in Paris has been

<sup>150</sup> Much interesting information regarding the library in the latter part of the sixteenth century has been published by Castellani, by Caggiolo, and by H. Omont ("Deux registres de prêts de manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Saint Marc à Venise," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, XLVIII [1887], 651-86).

<sup>151</sup> P. Durrieu, *Les Archives angevines de Naples; étude sur les registres du roi Charles I<sup>er</sup>* (Paris, 1886-87); C. Minieri-Riccio, "Il Regno di Carlo I d'Angio," *Archivio storico italiano*, 3d ser., XXII-XXVI; 4th ser., I-VII, *passim*.

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identified with another translation from the Arabic made by this same scholar for Charles in 1278.<sup>152</sup>

It was under the grandson of Charles that Humanism planted its roots firmly in Neapolitan soil. Robert of Anjou (1310-41) was the friend of Petrarch, who first visited Naples in 1341; and he was also highly regarded by Dante and Boccaccio.<sup>153</sup> The registers of his reign contain rich material on the history of the library and indicate that most of the works added to the collection during this period were religious, juristic, or medical. Several biblical texts, lives of saints, and copies of the *Digest* and *Codex* are specifically mentioned. There seem to have been few manuscripts of other kinds, although Livy<sup>154</sup> and Seneca are mentioned, as is also the *De regimine principum*.<sup>155</sup> The latter was copied by one Fra Antonio, who apparently had charge of the library. Robert also added some Greek volumes to his library, though his interest was that of a collector rather than of the scholar. Most of the acquisitions and the greatest expenditures for transcribing, illuminating, and binding came during the years 1332-35. The absence of any inventory for this period makes it impossible to judge exactly the size or contents of the collection; but probably, in comparison with those in churches and convents, its character was secular.

Before turning to the more copious accounts of the library in the following century, there is one other document which merits our attention. This is an inventory of the year 1348, now in the archives at Florence, which throws light upon conditions in Naples in the middle of the *trecento*.<sup>156</sup> At this time Queen Joanna, who had suc-

<sup>152</sup> G. Mazzatinti, *La Biblioteca dei re d'Aragone in Napoli* (Rocca S. Casciano, 1897), p. ii.

<sup>153</sup> N. A. Rillo, *Francesco Petrarca alla corte angioina* (Naples, 1904), pp. 17-21.

<sup>154</sup> An entry in the registers for December 23, 1332, records that Robert had paid a monk, named Pascalino, for a copy of 10 books of Livy dealing with the Macedonian War. Since this is one of the incomplete decades of Livy's history, the item is of particular interest. In 1924, the learned world was startled by the announcement that an Italian scholar had found the manuscript referred to in the Naples library. Subsequent investigation proved that another false alarm had been sounded in the endless quest for the missing books of Livy. Cf. S. Reinach, *Revue archéologique*, XX (1924), 226-28, 284-86; E. Chatelain, *Revue des études anciennes*, XXVI (1924), 314-16; E. Cocchia, *Nuova antologia*, CCXXXVIII (1924), 81-87.

<sup>155</sup> Presumably the treatise by Egidio (Colonna) Romano.

<sup>156</sup> Luigi Chiappelli, "Una notevole libreria napoletana del trecento," *Studi medievali*, nuova serie, I (1928), 456-70.

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ceeded Robert of Aragon, her grandfather, presented to Pope Clement VI four boxes of books in the hope of overcoming his opposition to her union with Louis of Tarentum. Some of these valuable volumes became a part of the early papal library at Avignon, and we can see from the inventory what works then seemed worthy of being presented to the pope. Among the 98 manuscripts listed, there are a large number containing medieval Latin literature, Bibles, lives of saints, a Psalter in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and many medical treatises. The classics were represented only by 1 work each of Aristotle, Vergil, Valerius Maximus, Boethius, and Solinus; 2 copies of Seneca; and 1 of the Pseudo-Ovidian *De vetula*, by Richard de Four-nival. Apparently, the zeal for Humanistic studies had not yet permeated very deeply into this court.

After the death of Robert, Humanism found no other royal exponent in Naples until the accession of Alfonso of Aragon (1442-58). Although the new king was of Spanish origin, he was already accustomed to Italian culture, which flourished in the courts of Castile and Aragon at the beginning of the fifteenth century. He is praised by Vespasiano da Bisticci as being, next to Pope Nicholas V, the most munificent promoter of learning of the period. Wherever he went—on his campaigns or on his travels—Alfonso had classical books with him and was constantly attended by scholars who read aloud and conversed with him. In no other court did the Humanists enjoy such privileges. Among the famous names connected with his circle are those of Panormita, who came from Pavia; Bartolomeo Fazio, of Genoa; Valla, the greatest of the Neapolitan scholars of the time; Manetti, who came from Rome at the death of Nicholas V; Giovano Pontano, who was the head of the flourishing Academy at Naples. Others, such as Aurispa, visited the city but did not become formally attached to the court; while still other Humanists, such as Poggio, dedicated their books to Alfonso and received rewards from him, even though they did not come to Naples in person. In this connection we read with interest the comment, made by Vespasiano, that if there had been another Pope Nicholas and another Alfonso, there would not have remained a single Greek book untranslated.

It is not surprising that with such a stimulating band of scholars

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around him, Alfonso should have built up a collection which could rival the best in northern Italy. The man whose efforts were particularly noteworthy in the formation of this library was Beccadelli. The archives contain entries referring to the scribes in Alfonso's service and show that their monthly stipend ranged from 10 to 20 ducats. Sgariglia, a binder of manuscripts, together with Tommaso da Venia, assistant in the library, received a monthly salary of 8 ducats,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pounds of sugar, and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  pounds of candles. Other interesting items in the records<sup>157</sup> show that Bartolomeo Fazio, court historiographer, received a salary of 300 ducats for the year 1446, and that in 1454 Alfonso bought from Panormita a copy of Ptolemy's *Cosmographia* for 170 ducats. Another entry tells us that in 1453 a shipment of books arrived from Genoa, consigned to the librarian.

The only extant inventory belonging to Alfonso's time is found in the archives of Barcelona and is dated Valencia, July, 1417.<sup>158</sup> This document, however, is not very satisfactory, for we cannot believe that the 61 volumes mentioned here represented the whole of Alfonso's library. Indeed, the list is headed "Inventory of Books of the Royal Chamber"; and the manuscripts listed are in French, Catalan, some Spanish dialects, and Latin. There are no classical texts, except Ovid's *Epistles* (in French) and Vegetius (in Latin). In the letters that supplement the inventory we find Alfonso asking for Pompeius Trogus (1418), for the letters of St. Jerome (1422), and for Augustine's *De civitate dei* (1424).

Additional information comes from other sources. Among the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque nationale, there are some that betray their former ownership by Alfonso's emblems. Such are a copy of Cicero's *Epistles* and Quintilian's *Institutes*. In particular, we note 3 volumes that had once belonged to Petrarch which came into Alfonso's possession through the Duke of Genoa, Tommaso di Campo Fregoso. These contain respectively Livy, Pliny's *Natural History*, and Josephus's *De antiquitate Judaeorum*. These codices are all men-

<sup>157</sup> C. Minieri-Riccio, "Alcuni fatti di Alfonso di Aragona," *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane*, VI (1881), 1-36, 231-58, 411-61.

<sup>158</sup> Ramon d'Alos, "Documenti per la storia della biblioteca d'Alfonso il Magnanimo," *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle*, V (1924), 390-422.

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tioned in the 1425 inventory of Tommaso, with whom Alfonso had friendly relations. It has been suggested that the Livy was presented to the King of Naples on the occasion of the baptism of Tommaso's grandson, to whom Alfonso was godfather.<sup>159</sup>

Of interest, too, is the passion of Alfonso's wife, Ippolita Sforza, for collecting manuscripts and books.<sup>160</sup> Wherever she stopped on her journey from Milan to Naples, she purchased some; and she carried with her from Milan her own little library, in which were a Bible, a book of offices, a breviary, the Gospels in Greek, a copy of Augustine's *De civitate dei*, one of Vergil with Servius' commentary (now in the university library at Valencia), a decade of Livy, a Catholicon, and a collection of lives of the saints (now in Paris).<sup>161</sup>

During the reign of Ferdinand I, who succeeded his father in 1458, many precious manuscripts were added to the library. Although, like his predecessor, Ferdinand undoubtedly acquired some volumes by purchase or gift, a greater number entered his collection through inheritance and confiscation. It was natural that, in a literary atmosphere such as Alfonso had created, many of the courtiers should have built up libraries of their own. When one of these collectors turned against the king and was defeated by him, his books were seized. One rich collection which was thus added to the royal library was that of his court secretary, Antonello Petrucci. Other unfortunates, whose goods were confiscated and whose books incorporated into the library of the king, were the Orsini brothers, who were kept prisoners at Nola. Thirteen manuscripts of Sanseverino and 22 of Caracciolo have found their way to their present abode in the Bibliothèque nationale through the same channel.

Some idea of the extent of Ferdinand's library may be gained from an inventory dated 1481, which bears evidence of having been drawn

<sup>159</sup> De Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme* (2d ed.; Paris, 1907), I, 105; II, 276.

<sup>160</sup> It has been conjectured that 50 volumes now in the Bibliothèque nationale, containing the note *Galeacza* or *La Galiacza*, may have come to Naples from Milan to Ippolita. The fact that so many of these codices are of a medical and legal nature makes this hypothesis doubtful. Cf. Mazzatinti, *op. cit.*, p. xl.

<sup>161</sup> Mazzatinti, *ibid.*, pp. xxxiii-xxxvi.

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up hastily, at a time when the King of Naples was in dire straits.<sup>162</sup> When the Turks were about to invade his realm, Ferdinand contracted for a loan from the Florentine banker, Baptiste Pandolfini, and offered as security his books and his jewels. This inventory was then drawn up in briefest form and in no particular order. It consists of 206 items, including manuscripts and incunabulā. All the manuscripts seem to be in Latin or Greek. About 70 are classical Latin works, 28 Humanistic, and 30 religious literature.

Ferdinand I was succeeded in 1494 by Alfonso II, who ruled less than a year. In the court documents there is no indication of expenditures for the library, although before he became ruler he had been a student and had possessed many manuscripts, some of which were procured or made for him by Vespasiano.<sup>163</sup> His own special library, distinct from that of Ferdinand and Alfonso, he maintained in the palace which he had built for himself and his duchess. Tradition says that he gave some manuscripts to the monks of Monte Oliveto, which, after the suppression of the monasteries, passed into the Biblioteca nazionale at Naples. Another son of Ferdinand, Cardinal Giovanni, who died in 1485, also possessed a private library. This, however, was incorporated into the royal collection and shared in its vicissitudes. Besides manuscripts he owned printed volumes adorned with miniatures and his family coat-of-arms. Twelve of these are now in the Bibliothèque nationale.

Since no detailed inventories of the Aragon library are available for study, it has been necessary to resort to other means in order to gain an idea of its contents. With this end in view, two distinguished scholars, Delisle and Mazzatinti, searched the shelves of the Bibliothèque nationale for manuscripts which bear an inscription or coat-of-arms indicating a Neapolitan provenance, for by a curious chain of circumstances a large part of this famous collection, started by a Spaniard on Italian soil, came to repose at length in the most celebrated French library.

In 1495, when Charles VIII of France captured Naples, he carried

<sup>162</sup> H. Omont, "Inventaire de la bibliothèque de Ferdinand I d'Aragon," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, LXX (1909), 456-70.

<sup>163</sup> Mazzatinti, *op. cit.*, pp. lxxi, cii ff.

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away to his château at Amboise over 1,100 printed books and manuscripts. This is attested by the inventory of the possessions of his wife, Anne of Brittany.<sup>164</sup> But a great part of the royal collection still remained in the hands of Ferdinand's heirs, the last of whom, his uncle, Frederick III, took them to France in 1504. Of these, Cardinal Georges of Amboise obtained about 140 volumes, which he placed in his château at Gaillon. Another group was bought by Louis XII from Frederick's widow, Isabella, and was seen at the Château de Blois in 1517, by the Cardinal of Aragon, the same traveler who made note of the Aragon manuscripts at Gaillon. This group was removed in 1554 to Fontainebleau and later to Paris, where it became an important unit in the Bibliothèque du Roi under Henry IV. Those which had belonged to the Cardinal of Amboise came much later, for, when the library at Gaillon was dispersed, the books were sold to private dealers, through whose hands a number of them ultimately came into the Bibliothèque nationale.<sup>165</sup>

Of the manuscripts bought by the Cardinal Amboise, we have an inventory of 1518<sup>166</sup> containing 138 entries. Most of these volumes are of a religious nature; but there are a few classical authors listed, including Livy (4 volumes), Quintilian, Pliny, Vergil, Ovid, Cicero, Aristotle, Strabo, Plato, Plutarch, and Justinus. There is no indication that any were in the Romance languages, nor are any printed editions mentioned. Unfortunately, we have no catalogues of the books which the widow of Frederick sold to Louis XII. But through the researches of Mazzatinti and Delisle, about 300 Aragonese manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale have been identified. Of these, 15 are in Greek and 234 in Latin, including the Church Fathers, geography, history, law, medieval commentaries, medicine, astronomy, and a few classical authors. Seven are written in Spanish, and 27 in Italian; but no French codices are included. This work of

<sup>164</sup> L. Delisle, "Notes sur les anciennes impressions des classiques latins et d'autres auteurs conservées au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle dans la librairie royale de Naples," *Mélanges Graux* (Paris, 1884), pp. 245-46.

<sup>165</sup> G. Mazzatinti, *Inventario dei manoscritti italiani delle biblioteche di Francia* (Rome, 1886), p. xxiv.

<sup>166</sup> L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la bibliothèque impériale*, I, 233-38; Mazzatinti, *op. cit.*, pp. cxx-cxxviii.



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identification has been aided not only by the inventory of 1518 but also by one of 1544, which was drawn up when the library at Blois was transported to Fontainebleau.

Other volumes in the Paris library have been traced to their origin in Naples by various means. For example, when the word "secretario" occurs in a manuscript, it indicates that the manuscript once belonged to Petrucci, Ferdinand's prime minister, who owned a noteworthy collection. Thirteen Greek manuscripts and 24 in Latin have been identified as his. Another group of manuscripts incorporated in the royal collection bear the words "lo conte de Ducente [or 'Docente']." These very volumes occur in the inventory of Angilberto del Balzo, Duke of Nardo and Count of Ugento.<sup>167</sup> This catalogue contains 97 items, of which 8 are printed editions. Seven are in the vernacular. The character of the works was more religious than classical.

Other remnants of the Aragon library have been found in Valencia, London, Naples, Vienna, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Modena, Turin, Syracuse, Florence, Messina, Berlin, the Escorial, and Nîmes.<sup>168</sup> Of these, by far the largest group is that now in the university library at Valencia. They were formerly in the possession of Ferdinand, son of Frederick III, who died in exile in Spain in 1550, leaving to the monastery of San Miguel de los Reyes, which he had founded, his library of 795 volumes. When the monastery was suppressed, these books were dispersed; but what was salvaged comprises the 233 manuscripts now in Valencia. Of the original gift,<sup>169</sup> about 250 were works of a religious or theological nature, 35 were books of law in Latin or the vernacular, 55 were volumes of poetry, and 130 were in the group headed "History and Oratory." Of the 79 in Italian, most were by recent authors, but some were translations from the classics.

In studying this inventory we are impressed by the large number

<sup>167</sup> H. Omont, "La Bibliothèque d'Angilberto del Balzo," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, LXII (1901), 241-50.

<sup>168</sup> Mazzatinti, *op. cit.*, pp. lxxxvi, clvi.

<sup>169</sup> *Inventario de los libros de Don Fernando de Aragon, duque de Calabria* (Madrid, 1875).

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of printed editions which it contains. While each item is not designated as either "en mano" or "en forma," these expressions are repeated often enough to give an idea of the way that the printed book was driving out the manuscript. For example, of the 12 Bibles which head the list, 7 are labeled as manuscripts, 2 as printed, and the others are undesignated. Of 7 copies of Vergil's works, 3 only are recorded as in the manuscript form. Of 28 works on the Bible, only 3 are specifically mentioned as done by hand, 10 were printed, and the nature of the others was not stated.<sup>170</sup> The number of duplicates in this inventory, especially of classical authors, is striking. Besides the 7 manuscripts of Vergil, there were 8 of Ovid, 6 of Seneca, 4 of Livy, 5 of Valerius Maximus, 15 of Cicero, and 3 of Caesar.

We have observed the zeal with which manuscripts were hunted not only in Italy itself but in foreign countries. While many of the treasures discovered on such expeditions found their way into the large collections that have just been described, others were jealously guarded by private individuals, who vied with each other in building up their own libraries. Unfortunately, little has been done in the way of reconstructing these collections. A noteworthy exception is the admirable accomplishment of P. de Nolhac in tracing Petrarch's literary possessions. But in the case of less conspicuous figures, there is seldom an inventory extant; and the only way to gain an accurate idea of the extent of their collections is to examine hundreds of manuscripts themselves in the hope of finding autograph notes or other signs of ownership. Such a method is now being used in connection with the library of Coluccio Salutati, and about 100 of his manuscripts have thus far been identified.<sup>171</sup>

A similar study might very well be made of the books of Poggio,<sup>172</sup> whose success as a manuscript-hunter has been discussed. We know, also, that he was active as a scribe, though few of his autographs

<sup>170</sup> We must remember, however, that this inventory was not drawn up until the middle of the sixteenth century and that some of the volumes recorded in it were doubtless acquired after their owner left Naples.

<sup>171</sup> By B. L. Ullman, who is preparing a book on Coluccio's library.

<sup>172</sup> E. Walser, *Poggius Florentinus, Leben und Werke* (Leipzig, 1914), does not go into this question very deeply.

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have been identified with certainty.<sup>173</sup> From the words "Liber Poggii" on the flyleaf of some extant manuscripts and from references in his letters to works in his possession, it seems clear that Poggio's library included many classic Latin writers. Of contemporary authors, Bruni's *Plutarch* is the only one mentioned.

Another outstanding figure of whose library we should like to know more is the Florentine bookseller, Niccolò Niccoli. We are told that at his death he had 800 manuscripts.<sup>174</sup> Some of these had formerly belonged to Coluccio Salutati and subsequently to Cosimo dei Medici. Others probably came from Chrysoloras and Aurispa. They included not only Latin and Greek classics but religious texts, and probably some oriental codices.

An interesting document which throws light upon Niccolò's method of acquiring manuscripts is the list which he gave to two cardinals in 1431 as they were starting on a journey through France and Germany.<sup>175</sup> It contains the titles of manuscripts which were known to be in certain libraries in those countries. That most of them were found in the designated places is shown by the notation "repertus," added in the margin opposite nearly every entry. Among the works thus listed as found are the following: Donatus (*Commentary on Vergil*), Frontinus, Tacitus (*Agric., Germ., Hist., Dial.*), Hyginus, Priscian, Phocas, Ammianus Marcellinus, Probus, Asper, Pliny, Nepos, Cato, Celsus, Tertullian, Suetonius, and many works of Cicero.

In April, 1441, Niccolò's executors, in accordance with his will, ceded the books to Cosimo on condition that he pay Niccolò's debts and keep the manuscripts chained. He was also to attach to the wall of the library an inscription naming the benefactor.<sup>176</sup> Tradition says that 400 of these codices were thus placed in the new library of San Marco. Though the inventory made then is lost, we know that the

<sup>173</sup> According to Walscr, only 6 manuscripts in Poggio's formal hand and 4 cursive documents have been identified with certainty.

<sup>174</sup> Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Vite di uomini illustri*, ed. by Frati, III, 91.

<sup>175</sup> R. P. Robinson, "The Inventory of Niccolò Niccoli," *Classical Philology*, XVI (1921), 251-55.

<sup>176</sup> G. Zippel, *Niccolò Niccoli* (Florence, 1890), p. 68.

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collection was one of the richest of that time, particularly in Greek codices.<sup>177</sup>

Another noteworthy collection of the fifteenth century was that of Sozomen (Zomino) of Pistoia (1387-1458). Although this bibliophile served for forty years as canon of the cathedral in his native city, he apparently collected most of his manuscripts while professor of rhetoric and poetry at Florence. In his will, dated 1423, Sozomen left his library to San Iacopo in Pistoia, with the stipulation that it should be available to all students; upon his death the local council placed it in the Palazzo degli Anziani. Two years later, since the manuscripts were still uncatalogued, the council ordered an inventory to be drawn up within eight days. Our knowledge of the library is limited to this document.<sup>178</sup> Although hastily compiled, the inventory lists the codices according to the conventional classification of the period; and opposite each entry is an Arabic numeral indicating Sozomen's library mark.<sup>179</sup> The 14 volumes of the first group (grammatical writings) contained works of Priscian, Varro, Nonius Marcellus, Pompeius Festus, Papias, Servius, Asconius Pedianus, and Macrobius. The 21 books in the next group were chiefly Ciceronian; but there were also Quintilian, Pliny (*Epistles*), Seneca (*Declamations*), and Leonardo Bruni's translation of Plato. Twenty manuscripts of Latin poetry came next, including works of the ancients and Dante. The historians followed with 21 codices divided among such old authors as Livy, Sallust, and the moderns Manetti, Leonardo Aretino, and Sozomen himself. Of the 16 manuscripts in the next section, missals, Bibles, and decretals prevail. And among the 24 in the last, a miscellaneous group, 8 Greek manuscripts are listed. In the total 116 codices, the Arabic numerals from 111 to 200 are omitted; and it has been suggested that the missing 89 volumes were

<sup>177</sup> E. Rostagno, "Indice dei codici greci laurenziani non compresi nel catalogo del Bandini," *Studi italiani di filologia classica* I (1893), 176-96. Of the manuscripts listed here, 27 have been identified as Niccolò's.

<sup>178</sup> F. A. Zacharias, *Bibliotheca Pistoriensis* (Turin, 1752), pp. 37-48.

<sup>179</sup> Quinto Santoli, "La Biblioteca Forteguerriana di Pistoia," *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia*, II (1929), 68.

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probably religious. Or, possibly,<sup>180</sup> since only one vernacular manuscript, Dante, is listed, and that has a high number, Sozomen may have taken out other Italian works before presenting those which he felt would be of more interest to scholars.

In the centuries since this inventory was made, most of the manuscripts have disappeared. In 1553 the collection was incorporated in the Pia Casa di Sapienza, established under a legacy left by Niccolò Forteguerra for educating the people of his native city. Today the remains of Sozomen's literary treasures are still in Pistoia in the Biblioteca Forteguerriana, but only 30 of the codices in the inventory of 1460 can be identified. The loss of the others may be due in part to loans being made even outside the state. For example, we know that one of Sozomen's autographs, the *Ethics* of Aristotle, was sent to Lorenzo dei Medici. Sozomen's collection came to the attention of the Medici when Piero and Giovanni went to Pistoia with Politian in 1478 to escape the pestilence in Florence.

Of the extant manuscripts of Sozomen, one of the most interesting is his autograph copy of the commentaries of Asconius Pedianus on Cicero. The subscription, dated July, 1417, says that he copied it from a codex which he found at St. Gall. Scholars are not agreed as to whether it was made directly from the well-known manuscript which Poggio had found a year earlier or whether Sozomen transcribed it from a copy by one of Poggio's companions. This latter theory seems more probable.<sup>181</sup> Of Sozomen's manuscripts outside of Pistoia, some have been identified: 9 in the Harleian collection at the British Museum; 9 in the Arsenal Library; and 1 each at the Bibliothèque nationale, at Romorantin, and at Leyden. Since many of Sozomen's books later found their way into the hands of the French collector, Pithou, a systematic search through the remnants of his library would doubtless lead to further identifications of Sozomen's codices.

Not a vestige remains of one of the largest of private libraries belonging to the end of the fifteenth century, that of Giovanni Pico

<sup>180</sup> R. Piattoli, "Ricerche intorno alla biblioteca di Sozomeno," *Bibliofilia*, XXXVI (1934), 273.

<sup>181</sup> R. Sabbadini, "La Biblioteca di Zomino da Pistoia," *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica*, XLV (1917), 199.

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della Mirandola. He died in 1494, leaving his books to San Marco in Florence. Instead, the collection came by a devious route to the monastery of San Antonio di Castello in Venice, where it was destroyed by fire in the seventeenth century. Fortunately, however, an inventory drawn up in 1498 records the contents of his library, which numbered over 1,000 volumes.<sup>182</sup> In view of their owner's interest in philosophy, astrology, and theology, it is not surprising to find that by far the greatest number of works are in these fields. The classical authors are comparatively few, and many of them are in printed editions; but there were over 150 Greek books and over 100 in Hebrew. Pico's Humanist contemporaries were present, as well as works on law and medicine. The large proportion of the inventory labeled "impressus" makes us regret less than we should otherwise the loss of this collection.

While we may marvel at the extensive private libraries owned by the great Humanists of the fifteenth century, we are even more amazed when we read of collections owned by obscure individuals who were not professional scholars. For men like Guarino of Verona or Leonardo Bruni, a working library was indispensable; but that men who practiced medicine or dealt in wool should have collected manuscripts of classical authors at a time when the acquisition of new books demanded no little effort reveals to us the depth to which the Humanistic movement had penetrated society. In this connection we read with interest of the small but select library of the wool-dealer Dietisalvi di Nerone.<sup>183</sup> As early as 1433 he had 37 manuscripts, mostly classical. Even Cicero's *Brutus*, discovered only in 1421, is included in this list. But his close relationship with the Humanists is made evident in an extant letter, where he speaks of being present at Niccolò Niccoli's library during a debate between Niccolò and Sozomen.

Another Florentine who also probably came into contact with

<sup>182</sup> F. Calori-Cesis, *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola* (Mirandola, 1897), pp. 32-76. An interesting recent analysis of the library is made by Pearl Kibre, *The Library of Pico della Mirandola* (New York, 1936), who used a hitherto unpublished sixteenth-century inventory (in a Vatican manuscript from the Orisini Collection), as well as the inventory of 1498.

<sup>183</sup> L. Chiappelli, "Inventario dei manoscritti raccolti dal lanaio florentino Dietisalvi di Nerone," *Bibliofilia*, XXV (1924), 247-52.

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some of the Humanists of his native city was a doctor of medicine, Antonio di Pagolo Benivieni.<sup>184</sup> His inventory, dated December 25, 1487, lists 175 items. Besides numerous medical works there are books in Latin, Greek, and Italian on philosophy, poetry, oratory, logic, and theology. All are manuscripts except 1 printed edition of Vergil.

More extensive was the library of another physician, Bartolo di Tura di Bandino, whose library, catalogued in 1483, contained 220 volumes, only 45 of which were written on paper.<sup>185</sup> Although first place was given to medical works, we also find mention of such authors as Juvenal, Caesar, and Seneca. Astronomy and meteorology were also included; but theology was represented by a single book, a Thomas Aquinas.

That there was considerable literary activity in Siena is clear from the frequent mention of the libraries of the *duomo* and of the monasteries, as well as of private collections.<sup>186</sup> Among the latter, the most conspicuous belonged to Niccolò di Messer Bartolomeo Borghesi.<sup>187</sup> In 1500 this collection contained 363 items, all of which were apparently manuscripts. The largest group, of 68 items, is devoted to grammar, rhetoric, logic, and dictionaries. The next largest is on philosophy, numbering 49 books. This is followed by 44 volumes of theology and ecclesiastical works. Among the 33 historians, we find 2 copies of Herodotus in Greek. Next comes a science group of 29, including such writers as Strabo, Celsus, Hyginus, and Pomponius Mela. A separate group is made up of excerpts and florilegia, of which there were 14. The smaller fields are those containing oratory, epistles, and drama.

That in more obscure places in northern Italy there were also individuals imbued with the spirit of the Humanistic movement is evident from such inventories as that of Guarnerio dei signorin di

<sup>184</sup> B. de Vecchi, "I Libri di un medico umanista fiorentino del secolo xv," *Bibliofilia*, XXXIV (1933), 293-301.

<sup>185</sup> C. Mazzi, "Lo Studio di un medico senese del secolo xv," *Rivista delle biblioteche*, V (1894), 27-48.

<sup>186</sup> Cf. L. Zdekauer, *Lo Studio di Siena nel rinascimento* (Siena, 1894).

<sup>187</sup> C. Mazzi, "La Biblioteca di Messer Niccolò di Messer Bartolomeo Borghesi ed altre in Siena nel rinascimento," *Rivista delle biblioteche*, VI (1895), 120-25, 150-59.

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Antegna, who lived in Udine. At his death, in 1466, he left his library to the convent of S. Michele Arcangelo in San Daniele.<sup>188</sup> Of the 169 manuscripts in this collection, almost half were in the group labeled "ecclesiastici"; but there was also a representative selection of classical authors and of neo-Latinists, such as Lorenzo Valla, Pier Paolo Vergerio, Francesco Barbaro, Guarino da Verona, and Leonardo Bruni. Of interest is the note explaining that the manuscripts of Plautus contain the 12 comedies *novissime inventi* (1425). Most of the codices were on parchment, and almost all of those that survive in the communal library of San Daniele preserve their original bindings. Of those no longer there, it is recorded that 5 disappeared in 1510, when the library was moved from its earlier situation to the present room, 10 were lost in the plundering by the French, 1 was loaned and not returned, and the fate of still another is unknown.

In our discussion of the rediscovery of the texts of the classics we have noted the part played by some of the Milanese Humanists. It is not surprising, therefore, to find in this city evidences of several notable private libraries. Outstanding among the earlier collections is that of Giovanni Corvini Aretino, who in 1412 possessed a number of important codices.<sup>189</sup> His manuscripts of Suetonius, Gellius, and Macrobius all contained quotations in Greek, a feature so highly prized by the scholars of that day that Guarino of Verona tried for seven years to get a copy of Giovanni Corvini's Macrobius. Other manuscripts, unusual at this time, were the agricultural works of Cato, Palladius, Columella, and Varro. His codex of Cicero's *Epistles to Atticus*, described as "liber veterrimus," represented a different recension from that in circulation at Florence. And we are baffled by a quotation from an ancient comedy in Corvini's possession, which is not derived from any of the extant works of Plautus or Terence. From these few items we can judge that his library was an ornament to the court of Filippo Maria Visconti, whose service he entered in 1409:

<sup>188</sup> G. Mazzatinti, *Inventario dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia* (Forlì, 1893), III, 101-7.

<sup>189</sup> R. Sabbadini, "Delle biblioteche di Giovanni Corvini e d'una ignota commedia latina," *Museo di antichità classica*, II (1888), 81-96; E. Motta, *Libri di casa Trivulzio nel secolo XV con notizie di altre librerie milanesi* (Como, 1890), p. 24.



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To the end of the fifteenth century belong three inventories describing literary possessions of the Trivulzi family, distinguished bibliophiles, whose descendants still maintain an important library in the ancestral palace in Milan.<sup>190</sup> The first catalogue of 60 entries records the books of Gaspare Trivulzi in 1480. Since he was a lawyer, almost half of his books are legal; but there are also a number of classical authors, such as Ovid, Cicero, Vergil, and Aristotle. Works of Lorenzo Valla and Leonardo Aretino are also mentioned. The inventory of Carlo Trivulzi, drawn up in 1497, contains 98 items, a number of which are theological. Most of them, however, were classical authors. We note a number described as in the vernacular and a few in Greek. Among the Latin works translated into Italian are Livy, Suetonius, Pliny, and Juvenal. A shorter list is that belonging to Renato Trivulzio, dating from 1498. The 54 volumes enumerated are, for the most part, of classical authors. In general the language is not given, but a Theocritus is identified as being in Greek.

For the private libraries which we have discussed, we have in almost every case based our observations upon extant inventories; and it is due more or less to chance that these catalogues have survived. There must have been other libraries worthy of note which either were never catalogued or whose catalogues have not yet been published. For example, the Paduan Humanist, Sicco Polenton (b. 1375 or 1376), whose monumental work, *Libri scriptorum illustrium linguae Latinae*,<sup>191</sup> has come down to us as the first history of Latin literature, had an unusually extensive working library.<sup>192</sup> Just how many of the works that he used were in his own possession is a question that could be settled only by the discovery of an inventory or by identification of the manuscripts themselves. Likewise, a contemporary of Polenton's, Domenico di Bandino, in a work of an encyclopedic nature, entitled *Fons memorabilium universi*, shows

<sup>190</sup> Motta, *Libri di casa Trivulzio*, pp. 8-16; G. Porro, *Catalogo dei codici manoscritti della trivulziana* (Torino, 1884).

<sup>191</sup> Published by B. L. Ullman, *Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome*, VI (1928).

<sup>192</sup> D. M. Robathan, "A Fifteenth-Century History of Latin Literature," *Speculum*, VII (1932), 239-48.

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himself familiar with a great number of classical authors, some of which had been known before only to Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Salutati. But merely from his citations it is impossible to tell which of these rare works were his own.

Among those who hunted manuscripts in foreign lands, we have mentioned Angelo Decembrio in Spain. On his way back to Italy in 1466 he was robbed of all his possessions. The inventory of his losses has survived.<sup>193</sup> In this he says that he cannot price each volume separately, as he can articles of clothing, but that the whole library was certainly worth more than 300 ducats. In the list of books which follows, his copy of Horace is labeled as purchased in Florence; his Lucan, Martial, Servius, and Josephus are all described as "antiquissimus." He also had a Gellius containing "excellent" Greek passages, and one of *Declamations* of the Pseudo-Quintilian, a work almost unknown at that time. Donatus and Demosthenes were both in Greek, and a codex containing Josephus and Hegesippus (in Latin) was said to have been written *in littera que dicitur longubarda*. Of contemporary works, there were translations of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Homer by Lorenzo Valla, as well as writings by Decembrio himself.

No inventory survives of the private library of Guarino of Verona, whose activity in collecting Greek manuscripts has already been mentioned; but by careful study of his correspondence, Sabbadini has shown that he had an extensive collection, including some rare authors.<sup>194</sup> For example, he acquired from the cathedral library at Verona the only copy of Zeno known at that time, and he also possessed the only manuscript of Celsus known up to 1427. His codes of Pliny's *Epistles* (now lost) was the original of many surviving copies. His Gellius contained the Greek, but his Macrobius did not; and for seven years he endeavored to obtain one from Giovanni Corvini which did. Evidently Guarino possessed a copy of Terence, for in 1424 Lodovico Gonzaga asked him for it. Other authors which his own letters or those of his correspondents indicate that he owned

<sup>193</sup> A. Cappelli, "Angelo Decembrio," *Archivio storico lombardo*, XIX (1892), 110-17.

<sup>194</sup> R. Sabbadini, "Codici latini posseduti, scoperti, illustrati da Guarino Veronese," *Museo di antichità classica*, II (1888), 376-455; also his *Scoperte*, I, 96-98.

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were: Lactantius, Firmianus, Horace, Justinus, Lucretius, Sallust, Seneca, Servius, Tacitus, Varro, Vergil, Suetonius, Asconius Pedianus, Augustine, and many works of Cicero.

Among the private libraries noted for their Greek manuscripts were those of Gianozzo Manetti and Palla Strozzi. Although both men were Florentine, they left their libraries elsewhere, since they had been estranged from their native land. Thus, 40 Greek manuscripts of Manetti, who spent his last years in Naples, finally came into the Palatine collection of the Vatican,<sup>195</sup> while the monastery of S. Giustina in Padua received the Greek treasures of Strozzi, who lived there in exile. In his will, drawn up in 1462, Strozzi left instructions that the manuscripts were to be carefully guarded and not loaned even to another monastery. By the end of the sixteenth century, however, not one of his manuscripts could be found in the monastery, but a century later some of them came to light and in 1810 were secretly sold by the monks. Thus, some of them are now in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, while others, which were taken to England, have been returned to Italy from the Ashburnham collection and are now in the Laurentian Library in Florence. Still others are probably to be found in the university library of Padua and in Venice.<sup>196</sup>

Another noteworthy library was that which belonged to one of the most ardent investigators of Greek manuscripts, Giorgio Valla, of Piacenza.<sup>197</sup> Both his Latin and Greek codices passed to Alberto Pio, of Carpi, and thence to Cardinal Ridoldo Pio, whose inventory dated 1564 is extant. It is difficult, however, to connect very many of the entries with Valla. Only 14 seem to be the same books which Lascaris saw in Valla's library in 1490. Sixty-five Greek manuscripts now in the Biblioteca Estense at Modena are said to have come from Valla's collection.

<sup>195</sup> Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, I, 55. A reconstruction of Manetti's library is an enterprise which might be undertaken with profit.

<sup>196</sup> L. Ferrai, "La Biblioteca di S. Giustina di Padova," in G. Mazzatinti, *Inventario dei manoscritti italiani nelle biblioteche di Francia* (Rome, 1887), II, 549-661.

<sup>197</sup> J. L. Heiberg, "Beiträge zur Geschichte Georg Vallas und seiner Bibliothek," *Beihfte zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XVI (1896).

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A distinguished bibliophile, of whose library we have only incomplete notice, was Francesco Filelfo. The 27 of his Greek manuscripts which have been identified include works on philosophy, geography and history, grammar and oratory, and poetry.<sup>198</sup> They are scattered in various libraries at Leyden, Rome, Paris, Florence, Escorial, and Wolfenbüttel and must represent only the skeleton of Filelfo's once flourishing library, for a letter which he wrote to Ambrogio Traversari in 1427 enumerates the Greek manuscripts which he was bringing back from Constantinople, where he had spent seven and a half years. This formidable list includes works by Plotinus, Aelianus, Aristides, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Strabo, Hermogenes, Aristotle, Herodotus, Dio Chrysostom, Thucydides, Plutarch, Philo Judaeus, Theophrastus, Homer, Philostratus, Libanius, Lucian, Pindar, Plato, Aratus, Euripides, Hesiod, Theocritus, Demosthenes, Aeschines, Xenophon, Lysias, Callimachus, Polybius, and others not named.<sup>199</sup>

None of these libraries, however, could compare in size with that of Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi, whose Greek manuscripts rivaled those of Pope Nicholas V. Though Ridolfi's activities belong to a later period than the one we have been discussing, it is, nevertheless, significant that in the first half of the sixteenth century there was in Rome a private library of 809 volumes, of which the largest part (618) were Greek while others were in Hebrew and Arabic.<sup>200</sup> This collection was important not only for its size but for the quality of its codices. When we learn that Ridolfi acquired about 130 of Lascaris' manuscripts, we are not surprised to find that he possessed a ninth-century Plato, a tenth-century Demosthenes and Aristotle, and an eleventh-century Euripides. To escape destruction in 1527 these books were sent to Orvieto. On the death of Niccolò, in 1549, his brother Lorenzo sold the library to Piero Strozzi, who carried it to

<sup>198</sup> H. Omont, "La Bibliothèque grecque de Francesco Filelfo," *Bibliofilia*, II, (1900-1901), 136-40.

<sup>199</sup> J. A. Symonds, *The Renaissance in Italy: The Revival of Learning* (New York, 1888), p. 270, n. 2.

<sup>200</sup> H. Omont, "Un premier catalogue des manuscrits grecs du Cardinal Ridolfi," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, XLIX (1888), 310; R. Ridolfi, "La Biblioteca dei cardinali Niccolò Ridolfi," *Bibliofilia*, XXXI (1929), 176 ff.

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France. Later the books were acquired by Catherine de Medici, through whom they came into the Bibliothèque nationale, where they form the most valuable collection of Greek codices in that library. A complete catalogue of them is yet to be published.<sup>201</sup>

<sup>201</sup> Documents recently published by Ridolphi, *op. cit.*, p. 186, bring to light these interesting facts about the transfer of the library to Piero Strozzi. Lorenzo Ridolfi delayed selling the collection for some time because of the interest expressed in it by Cosimo I. Apparently tired of waiting for Cosimo to make up his mind, Lorenzo announced, April 24, 1550, that he had sold his brother's library for 14,500 ducats to the Cardinal of Guise. The question thus arises whether Strozzi later bought it from the cardinal and the first transaction had remained unnoticed by historians, or whether, as has been plausibly suggested, since Strozzi was an enemy to the state at this time, Lorenzo did not want to admit to Cosimo that he was selling the manuscripts to a rebel, and so pretended that the Cardinal of Guise was the purchaser.

## PART IV

# The Making and Care of Books in the Middle Ages

Nomina nostrorum sunt hic signata librorum  
Ut memor illorum semper sit grex monachorum.

From a twelfth-century catalogue of the Benedictine monastery at Angers, quoted by T. GOTTLIEB, *Ueber mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, No. 243

Cupientes igitur secundum monita statutorum nostrorum hunc talem animarumstrarum cibum studiosius quo possumus custodire . . . decrevimus . . . observare que . . . sequuntur.

Library regulation of the Carthusian monastery at Trier (1436)

Scribite, scriptores, ut discant posteriores.

Inscription in the scriptorium of Notre-Dame de Lyre. Quoted by A. le Prevost in the Introduction to his edition of *Ordericus Vitalis*, p. xvi



## Introduction

**I**T is obvious that at all times every factor of the process of book production has its reflex action in the field of the library. Any history of the latter institution must therefore take due notice of these matters as determinants of both the quality and the quantity of the material of which its book stocks are formed. But, as it happens, independent disciplines for the study of certain of these factors have been developed, with an enormous special literature, in English and in other languages. Thus, classical scholarship has pre-empted paleography and textual criticism, while art historians have taken over the study of book decoration, calligraphy, illumination, illustration, and bindings. In the present history of libraries no attempt can be made even to summarize factually these aspects of book production, which are so adequately treated in an easily available literature. But, on the other hand, some attention must be paid here to the monastic scriptorium, the book market, and the wanderings of manuscripts, in their relation to medieval library administration.

It is difficult for a modern mind, accustomed to the freedom and complexity of family and secular society, to conceive realistically the conditions and spirit of life in a medieval monastic community. Perhaps the closest we can come to it is to imagine a rather low-grade, country boarding-school, attended, not by boys, but by grown men, who followed a long schedule of choral chapel services instead of classes and looked forward, not to a few years, but to a lifetime of residence. In the monastery, as in such a school, the individual had no privacy. Not only in dormitory, refectory, and chapel, but also in his leisure, he was herded with his fellows. Groups might be dispatched for service in kitchen, field, or workshop; but usually most of the monks were together in the cloister, where there were few pastimes to occupy them in their idleness. To maintain even a semblance of order was not always easy. In the crowd and confusion a serious-minded monk lacked both quiet and equipment to read or to



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work at a hobby. Indeed, if he attempted either, he probably was the butt of coarse ridicule or was teased by the curiosity and malice of his fellows. Unless an unusually sympathetic superior prized such cultural activities and provided ways and means for their development, the only talent a monk could exercise was that of conformity to routine and environment. Like all else that was done in the monastery, the copying of books had ordinarily only two motives in the system: to provide materials actually needed in the routines of the community, and to serve as busywork for hands and minds otherwise idle. In the first case, the aim was production; in the latter, merely treadmill activity.

Every abbey had need of certain books in its routines: liturgies for the chapel services, manuals for the school of the novices, texts to be read aloud during mealtime, and theological study material for the use of preachers and teachers. Naturally, different ideals were followed for these different classes of books. The impulse behind a volume to be used at the altar was to lavish upon it rich materials and painstaking craftsmanship, the finest vellum, the most careful writing, ornate decoration of gold and color, and sumptuous binding. For a school textbook, on the other hand, hasty writing and the cheapest of material was deemed sufficient.

Both quality and quantity of book production rose or fell with the prevailing standards of each period, order, and locality. When and where the ascetic ideal was cherished in its purity, magnificent liturgical and biblical manuscripts were prepared; and, likewise, a certain amount of neat but uninspired copies of safe, standard works were written as a disciplinary occupation. In other places and periods, as cultural interests rivaled the religious, emphasis fell upon textbooks and materials for study; the content of the work copied, rather than the process of doing so, became all important. At still other times, in ages of both religious and cultural degeneration, books were sometimes still transcribed—corrupt versions of useless texts in illegible scripts—through a mere momentum of habit and tradition. Similarly, there were instances where a single personality of bookish inclinations and talent was able, by his own vigor, enthusiasm, and authority, to develop a following and start a movement which lasted

## INTRODUCTION

for generations in the interests of culture and scholarship, sometimes even in secular subjects.

The monastic system was a gradual growth, as successive leaders improved and added features in the light of their experience or aspirations. Its central principle was always a communal life wholly devoted to the practice of religion. Its basic pattern was a single paternalistic despot, acting under a written constitution, or rule, with the counsel and advice but not the consent of all the members or the chapter. About this ruler (abbot or prior), especially in the larger institutions, a staff of assistants and subordinate officers developed, whose titles and duties were sometimes defined in a written customary, which was rather a codification of standing executive orders than a true setup of by-laws. Originally in practice, and always in theory, membership in the staff was regarded as a temporary order to perform certain functions until further notice, rather than as appointment to office. Later, of course, all administrative arrangements and procedures struck deep root in tradition, and the idea of vested official rights became dominant. But this was a later development for the library and scriptorium than in most other matters. At first when a monastery needed a certain book, a brother, qualified for the work, was ordered to manufacture it; and he was given the necessary materials and a place to work under direct supervision of the abbot or by his delegated authority. Similarly, when a group of brothers, otherwise idle, were directed to occupy themselves in writing, a suitable person took charge of them and directed their activities. Gradually all these assignments became routine functions. From the pattern of the first kind of order to produce a certain book developed the isolated desk, work cell, or carrell; from the second, for group occupation, the writing-room or the scriptorium. And in the main, the monastic library always remained, in part at least, a secondary adjunct to one or the other of these two kinds of writing, a cupboard or chamber for the storage of the volumes from which the scribes copied and of those which they had completed. Its functions as a reservoir of volumes to be read by, or to, the monks and as a reference collection for study were independent developments.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### The Scriptorium<sup>1</sup>

By FLORENCE EDLER DE ROOVER

THE system of a scriptorium and a library for the preservation of literature introduced by Cassiodorus at Vivarium became one of the highest distinctions of the Benedictine monasteries.<sup>2</sup> While the monasteries were poor and much labor was required to provide subsistence for the brethren, scribes were few in number and were usually those who were too feeble for harder labor. But, as the monasteries obtained wealth, the monks abandoned the hard physical labor in the fields for lighter tasks. Writing in the scriptorium, instead of being left to those unfit for other work, became the task of the ablest and most intelligent monks.<sup>3</sup> Such monasteries as Tours, Fleury, Corbie, Prüm, Corvey, and St. Gall on the Continent, and St. Albans and St. Augustine of Canterbury in England, became famous for their schools of copyists.

The term "scriptorium," or "writing-room," suggests that the work of transcription was carried on in a large room specially adapted

<sup>1</sup> Part of this chapter appeared in *Thought*, VI, No. 2 (September, 1931). For the literature of the subject see the works cited in course and F. Friederici, "Schreib- und Bücherwesen des Mittelalters," *Die Bücherwelt*, XXI (1924), Nos. 3, 4; M. L. W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, 500-900*, chap. ix; G. G. Coulton, *Social Life in Britain*, pp. 106-11; G. G. Coulton, *Art and the Reformation*, pp. 49-50, 83, 521-22; A. T. Drane, *Christian Schools and Scholars*, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. chap. ii, above.

<sup>3</sup> In Irish monasteries scribes were held in great esteem earlier than elsewhere after Cassiodorus. In the seventh and eighth centuries in Ireland the penalty for killing a scribe was as great as that for killing a bishop or abbot. Cf. F. Madan, *Books in Manuscript* (New York, 1927), p. 42. At the end of the eighth century at Tours, Alcuin took the monks away from field labor, telling them that study and writing were far nobler pursuits. Cf. E. A. Savage, *Old English Libraries* (Chicago, 1912), pp. 76 f.

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to that purpose; but, while this was frequently the case, it was far from being the general rule. Such special apartments for writing were found at St. Martin of Tours, St. Gall, Fulda, St. Albans, and elsewhere. Often the scriptorium and library were in the same room. The books were in closed presses or cupboards, arranged vertically to the walls, so as to get light. Long tables or separate desks were placed in the center of the room, and sometimes there were desks between the bookcases. Accommodations were provided for three to twenty scribes, though twelve was the popular number.<sup>4</sup>

The location of the common writing-room varied. When the same chamber was used as library and scriptorium, it was frequently, especially in Irish monasteries, located next to the kitchen or the calefactory (the heated apartment in which monks were permitted to warm themselves). At St. Gall the writing chamber was between the church and the calefactory, with the library above it. A drawing still preserved at St. Gall shows the ninth-century plan for the two-story building. In the scriptorium there were a large center table and seven writing desks against the walls.<sup>5</sup> When the scriptorium was entirely separate from the library, less consideration was shown for the comfort of the scribes; and there are frequent complaints of chilled bodies, numb and stiff fingers, and even frozen ink. At St. Albans, Cockersand Abbey, and Birkenhead Priory the scriptorium was over the chapter-house.

In general the large writing-room seems to have been characteristic of Benedictine monasteries, whereas the Cistercian and Carthusian orders favored small cells or individual scriptoria.<sup>6</sup> These cells were sometimes built around the calefactory; for example, Jacob, abbot of the Cistercian abbey of Villers in Brabant in the last quarter of

<sup>4</sup> T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, III, xii. In the monastery of Hirschau in the eleventh century there were many scribes, but Abbot William committed to the twelve best scribes the office of transcribing the Holy Scriptures and the treatises of the Fathers. Other books were left to the remaining scribes. Cf. S. R. Maitland, *The Dark Ages* (6th ed.; London, 1890), p. 364.

<sup>5</sup> Savage, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

<sup>6</sup> E. G. Vogel, "Einiges über Amt und Stellung des Armarius in den abendländischen Klöstern des Mittelalters," *Serapeum*, IV (1843), 24. The Carthusians lived in separate cells, each brother having a room for study, a bedroom, and garden plot. Cf. J. W. Clark, *The Care of Books* (Cambridge, 1901), p. 69.

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the twelfth century, built them in this way; and his successor added two adjoining the house of the sacrist.<sup>7</sup> A charming and graphic account of a small writing-room, or "scriptoriolum," is given by Nicholas, secretary to St. Bernard of Clairvaux. The door of his little writing chamber opened into the apartment of the novices; on the right was the cloister of the monks; on the left extended the infirmary and the place of exercise for the sick. Nicholas wrote:

But it must not be supposed that my little tenement is to be despised; for it is a place to be desired and is pleasant to look upon and comfortable for retirement. It is filled with most choice and divine books, at the delightful view of which I feel contempt for the vanity of this world. This place is assigned to me for reading, writing, and composing, for meditating and praying, and adoring the Lord of Might.<sup>8</sup>

In a number of the English monasteries, where most of the scribes worked together, such individual cells were provided for the more learned members of the community, who composed books as well as transcribed them. It was in such private studies that William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, Giraldus Cambrensis, Roger of Wendover, Matthew Paris, and others compiled their works.

Two forms of scriptoria have been mentioned—the common writing-room and individual cells for writing and study. A third form was that of the cloister scriptorium. Sometimes the task of the copyist was carried on in the open cloister walk, with only such shelter from the elements as the rear wall and the vaulting furnished. Such was the case at the Cluniac monastery of St. Martin of Tournay. Herimann, the third abbot, in describing the scholarly first abbot, Odo, writes that

as he was addicted to reading, he greatly encouraged the writing of books, and used to rejoice that the Lord had provided him so many scribes. If you had gone into the cloister you might in general have seen a dozen young monks sitting on chairs in perfect silence, writing at tables, carefully and skillfully constructed. . . .<sup>9</sup>

The *Customary* of the canons regular of St. Victor of Paris states that writing was done in the cloister, apart from the community.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Maitland, *op. cit.*, p. 443; Savage, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

<sup>8</sup> Translation quoted from Hardy, *op. cit.*, pp. xxi f.

<sup>9</sup> Translated by Hardy, *ibid.*, p. xxii, from the *Narratio Herimanni*, printed in L. d'Achery's *Spicilegium*, II, 913.

<sup>10</sup> C. D. du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* (Niort, 1883-87), s.v. "scriptores"; F. A. Gasquet, *The Old English Bible and Other Essays* (London, 1897), p. 45.

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Ordericus Vitalis (1075-1143), who spent his life in the monastery of St. Evroult in Normandy, probably worked in an open cloister, because he closes the fourth book of his *Ecclesiastical History* with a lament that he must lay aside his work for the winter.<sup>12</sup> And a monk of Ramsey Abbey in Huntingdonshire has recorded his discomforts in a Latin couplet, which implies that in an open cloister all seasons were equally destructive of serious work:

In vento minime pluvia nive sole sedere  
Possumus in claustro nec scribere neque studere.<sup>13</sup>

"The book which you now see was written in the outer seats," recorded a scribe at Wessobrunn. "While I wrote I froze, and what I could not write by the beams of the sun I finished by candlelight."<sup>14</sup>

In order to facilitate reading and writing in the cloister throughout the year, many of the English monasteries, which seldom had special rooms for libraries and scriptoria before the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries, screened off one of the four cloister walks, filled in the window spaces facing the cloister garden with oiled paper, rush mats, or glass, and built several partitions, usually of wood, in front of each window, to protect the scribes from the elements. These small partitioned studies, containing a desk and a seat beneath a cloister window, were called "carrells."<sup>14</sup> In them some attempt toward comfort was made: the seats were sometimes provided with a wooden back and sides to exclude the wind, and the floor was boarded beneath and strewn with hay or straw for warmth. This description sounds very much like that of an old-fashioned high-backed pew, and, indeed, they are so termed in the passage from the *Rites of Durham*, already quoted in chapter viii. There are eleven windows along the north wall at Durham; and

<sup>12</sup> Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 80 (2d ed., p. 71).

<sup>13</sup> Written on the flyleaf of a manuscript now at Cambridge. Translated by Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 80 (2d ed., p. 71).

"As we sit here in tempest, in rain, snow and sun,  
Nor writing nor reading in cloister is done."

<sup>14</sup> W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen in Mittelalter*, p. 284.

<sup>15</sup> "Carrell" is a term corrupted from *quadril* through the Norman *carole*, signifying inclosure. Cf. H. F. Feasey, *Monasticism: What Is It?* (London, 1898), p. 188, and the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

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with three carrells for each window, thirty-three monks could have been accommodated, presuming that all the windows were thus fitted. The carrells could not have been more than 2 feet 9 inches wide, and the occupant would have found but little room to spare.<sup>15</sup> The low door of open carved work would not prevent the precentor or librarian in charge of the readers or scribes from overseeing their work.

There is documentary and archeological evidence that similar carrells were found in the monasteries of Westminster in the thirteenth century; at Bury St. Edmunds, Evesham, Abingdon, and St. Augustine's, Canterbury, in the fourteenth century; and at Christ Church, Canterbury, in the fifteenth century. Not all carrells were constructed of wood. In the south cloister of Gloucester Cathedral, which was formerly the Benedictine abbey of St. Peter, there are twenty beautiful stone carrells built between 1370 and 1412, of which there is an illustration in Clark's *The Care of Books*.<sup>16</sup> They project below the ten main windows, two in each, and are arched with battlemented tops or cornices. Each carrell is 4 feet wide, 19 inches deep, and 6 feet 9 inches high. Except for the small window of two lights in each one, they look like recesses for statuary. These were evidently never closed off from the cloister walk by doors, as were those at Durham.

There were several classes of scribes within every large monastery. The mature monks, well trained in calligraphy, who were employed in the making of liturgical and other fine books, were known as "antiquarii."<sup>17</sup> The boys in the school, the novices, and the other monks, who wrote with dispatch but not with great accuracy, were employed upon the common copying work of the house and were called "librarii," or simply "scriptores."<sup>18</sup> Those who excelled in

<sup>15</sup> Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 96 (2d ed., p. 89).

<sup>16</sup> Fig. 31.

<sup>17</sup> Feasey, *op. cit.*, p. 183; G. D. Hudleston, "Scriptorium," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, XIII, 635.

<sup>18</sup> Exceptional students were permitted to copy books. From the monastery of Freising there are three extant manuscripts with inscriptions which show they were written by Master Antrich with the aid of his pupils. Cf. W. Wattenbach, *op. cit.* (2d ed.; Leipzig, 1875), pp. 371 f. Fromund of the monastery of Tegernsee wrote under a codex: "I began this book, but the students whom I taught, finished transcribing it with my help" (translation by G. H. Putnam, *Books and Their Makers during the Middle Ages* [New York, 1896], I, 68).

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painting miniatures or in designing initial letters usually confined themselves to the rubrication and illumination of manuscripts and were known as "rubricators," "miniators," and, later, "illuminators." The most intelligent scribes were used as correctors or proof-readers; and many an abbot found time, in the midst of heavy labors imposed by the management of a large establishment, to copy or correct manuscripts.

Besides the monks themselves, hired scribes were found in the monastic scriptorium. Frequently there were not enough trained writers in the monastery to take care of all the clerical work, which was enormous in a large monastic establishment possessed of much property. For such work lay notaries and scribes were often employed.<sup>19</sup> Sometimes they worked at home and at other times in the monastery, where food would be furnished them so that their work would not be delayed. Sometimes lay rubricators were employed to execute the initial letters, for which space had been left by the monastic scribe. Lay illuminators designed and completed pictures, portraits, vignettes, heraldic devices, caricatures, and other marginal ornamentations.

Less frequently, and only in Anglo-Saxon England, we find monasteries in which all the transcription of sacred books was done by lay scribes. This was due to the decline of the English monasteries during the Danish raids preceding the Norman Conquest. With the introduction of Norman abbots into the English monasteries after the Conquest, the zeal for letters and religion was gradually revived; but at first there were few, if any, calligraphers among the English monks. The Norman abbot of St. Albans (1077-98), Paul of Caen, who built a scriptorium which was to become the most famous in England, hired Norman scribes to copy the manuscripts which his kinsman, Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, lent him.<sup>20</sup> As late

<sup>19</sup> Feasey, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-84. Some orders, such as the Gilbertine, in England, forbade the employment of hired scribes.

<sup>20</sup> In the *Gesta abbatum monasterii Sancti Albani* it is stated that "the abbot Paul caused many splendid volumes to be written for the Church by chosen scribes brought from a distance" (translation by Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. xxiv). The conclusion that they were Normans appears reasonable.



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as the first half of the twelfth century under Abbot Geoffrey (1119-46), St. Albans was still using only hired scribes in her scriptorium.<sup>21</sup> At Abingdon, Abbot Faritus (1100-1117) opened a scriptorium in which hired scribes produced books for the library.<sup>22</sup>

The abbot had the sole right of selecting the scribes, although such appointments sometimes had to be announced in the chapter meeting, as was the case in the monastery of Augustinian canons regular of St. Victor of Paris.<sup>23</sup> The scriptorium was in charge of an official who received his orders directly from the abbot, usually the precentor or choirmaster, who directed both library and scriptorium. In his function as librarian he was known as "armarius" (from "armarium," the press in which books were kept). In Cistercian monasteries the precentor and librarian were two separate officers; and the latter was in charge of the scriptorium, or, more accurately, of the work done in individual writing-rooms.<sup>24</sup> The precentor portioned out the work in accord with the abbot's instructions. He could not direct any transcript to be made without his superior's permission. No scribe could write without permission, nor could he exchange the task assigned to him for another.<sup>25</sup> On the other hand, no monk who had been appointed to write could refuse. The Carthusians punished un-

<sup>21</sup> Abbot Geoffrey exchanged two parts of the tithes of privileged churches pertaining to St. Albans for the daily allowances from the almoner, lest the *antiquarii* be hindered by the buying of food. This has been interpreted as meaning that there were only three scribes—all hired—working in the scriptorium, although the abbot was an able scribe. Cf. C. Jenkins, *The Monastic Chronicle and the Early School of St. Albans* (London, 1922), p. 25.

<sup>22</sup> *Chronicon monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson, II, 289; R. Graham, "The Intellectual Influence of English Monasticism between the Tenth and Twelfth Centuries," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, N.S., XVII, 46.

<sup>23</sup> "Whenever the work of the scribe is enjoined to anyone in the cloister, it should be imposed in the common chapter. And there the abbot will settle for them the times they are to spend in writing, and when he wishes them to return to the community life, and they must observe afterwards what is so settled for them" (translation by F. A. Gasquet, *op. cit.*, p. 47).

<sup>24</sup> This was also the case in some non-Cistercian monasteries—for example, the Benedictine monastery of Bobbio, where as early as 835 there was a precentor (cantor) and a librarian who had charge of the scriptorium. Cf. L. A. Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae medii aevi* (Milan, 1741), V, col. 379.

<sup>25</sup> Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. xiii. A direction of the Benedictine general chapter of Canterbury of 1388 states that "no one shall write or illuminate a book, either great or small, without the permission of his prelate, and except it may be turned to the use of his monastery." Cf. A. Morgan, "Monastic Bookmaking," *Library Association Record*, XI (1909), 304.

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willing scribes by depriving them of wine.<sup>26</sup> A monk of Lorsch who shirked his task was more severely dealt with. At the end of a ninth-century Lorsch manuscript is found the signature of a scribe: "Jacob wrote this"; after these words, written in another hand: "A certain portion of this book is not of his own free will but under compulsion, bound by fetters, just as a runaway and fugitive has to be bound."<sup>27</sup>

The precentor or the librarian provided all the requisites needed by the scribes—desks, parchment, ink, pens, penknives, pumice stone for smoothing the parchment, awls and rulers for making guide lines, reading frames for the original to be copied, etc.<sup>28</sup> These he received from the cellarer or the chamberlain. Most of the material was made or prepared on the premises.

Let us now turn to a consideration of the actual process of transcription, in the description of the work of a typical monastic copyist. The scribe is seated on a stool before a table or desk, with the writing desk placed at a sharp angle, so that the scribe writes almost in a vertical plane. The stool furnishes no support for his back.<sup>29</sup> In his right hand he holds his reed or quill pen,<sup>30</sup> in his left, a knife, which he uses to sharpen his pen, to smooth rough places on the parchment, to make erasures, and to hold down the parchment. His ink-pot, filled with black ink, is close at hand.<sup>31</sup> Before him on the desk he has parchment or vellum, each sheet folded once, so as to make 2 leaves, or 4 pages. The parchment has been rubbed with pumice stone to smooth it, softened with crayon or chalk and evened with a metal instrument called the "plana," cut to the right size, and ruled

<sup>26</sup> "Qui scribere scit et potest et noluerit, a vino abstineat arbitrio prioris" (Carthusian Statute of 1279, cited by Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, p. 373).

<sup>27</sup> Translation from Putnam, *op. cit.*, I, 67.

<sup>28</sup> Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, chap. iii, gives this matter extended treatment.

<sup>29</sup> Old St. Martin of Leon (Spain) had his body and arms supported by cords fastened to the ceiling in order to write a long and scholarly work. Cf. A. Lecoy de la Marche, "L'Art d'écrire et les calligraphes," *Revue des questions historiques*, XXXVI (1884), 197.

<sup>30</sup> Quills began to replace reed pens in the sixth century, according to Madan, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>31</sup> Made by the mixture of soot or bone black with gum and water, from iron filings and oak bark, or gall nuts boiled in vinegar. Gold and silver ink were used for de luxe manuscripts; red, blue, green, and yellow for rubrics. For full information see *ibid.*, pp. 17 ff.; Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-43; E. K. Rand, *The Script of Tours*, *passim*.

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by the scribe himself or by another.<sup>32</sup> For the ruling, holes were pricked in the parchment at proper intervals, either with an awl or a metal wheel bearing spikes on its circumference. Then horizontal lines were drawn across the sheet, with a dry, metal stylus,<sup>33</sup> and perpendicular lines to mark off the margins. The sheet of parchment on the scribe's desk is weighted down, and the book from which he is to copy is held open on a reading-frame. If great speed in the reproduction of a particular book was necessary, the manuscript was separated into quires or sections and distributed among several scribes.<sup>34</sup> But the difference in the size of handwriting resulted in blank or crowded pages, so this was not the usual practice in the reproduction of books.<sup>35</sup>

The scribe was expected to copy exactly what he saw before him, even when it was clearly wrong, unless he first obtained the sanction of the abbot, for his work was to be later revised.<sup>36</sup> As the separation of words was not in vogue until after 800, the earlier copyist copied the contents of the manuscript quite literally, often without understanding the contents, and felt no temptation to make interpolations or arbitrary changes. The classical texts were kept fairly free from change until the ninth century. Changes were more frequent with

<sup>32</sup> Monks who were not scribes were sometimes employed to prepare parchment and to bind and mend books. Waldrum of St. Gall, a poet of the ninth century, in one of his poems describes in detail the process of smoothing parchment with pumice, trimming the edges, and ruling the lines. Cf. A. Ebert, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur im Mittelalter*, III, 154.

<sup>33</sup> Lead began to be used for ruling in the eleventh century, and in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it was commonly used. In the fifteenth century red lines are frequent (M. Prou, *Manuel de paléographie latine et française* [4th ed.; Paris, 1924]), p. 13. In Cambridge there is a manuscript, discovered by C. H. Haskins and published in his *Studies in Mediaeval Science*, p. 361, a portion of which deals with the instruments used in a scriptorium. The author may have been Alexander Neckham, the thirteenth-century encyclopedist.

<sup>34</sup> Rand, *op. cit.*, I, 22.

<sup>35</sup> Sometimes the several scribes who worked on one manuscript are named: for example, three monks at Marchiennes, who transcribed Gregory's *Moralia* about 1100, signed themselves thus: "Nos monachi tres hunc librum descripsimus Iob: Primum Theobaldus, medius Fulbertus, Amandus." Cf. Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, p. 438. As many as twenty scribes' hands appear in the 74 leaves of the manuscript of Alcuin's *Miscellanea*, now at Cologne. Some leaves are in the Anglo-Saxon script, but most are in Tours minuscule. This is probably the manuscript hurriedly prepared at Tours by Alcuin in 802 for Bishop Arno of Salzburg. Cf. W. M. Lindsay, *Palaeographia Latina*, II (1923), 28. Lindsay cites here other examples of "parcelling out."

<sup>36</sup> Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. xviii; E. J. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, I, 624; J. Destrez, *Les Copistes du moyen âge*.

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the separation of words and a growing acquaintance with the language. The greater the knowledge of Latin, the more apt there were to be changes in the text.

The average medieval scribe lacked the modern compositor's ideal of fidelity to copy. If careless or stupid, he inserted misreadings or omitted words or phrases. If, on the other hand, he was a careful or critical copyist, he might change the sense if he thought it could be improved. He was the antecedent of those seventeenth- and eighteenth-century scholars such as Bentley, who disliked paleography "because it spoiled conjectural emendations."<sup>37</sup> When an edition of a book is printed, each copy is identical with every other copy. They are like coins of the same value and the same stamp. But every manuscript copy of the same work differs more or less from every other copy of it, and most manuscripts suffered in successive transcriptions. In antiquity, multiple production by dictation to a number of scribes was not uncommon. In the Middle Ages, dictation was not often practiced; and hence scribal errors, owing to imperfect hearing on the part of the copyist, are not common in medieval books. Nevertheless, the copy which a scribe might be transcribing might be derived from archetypes which almost certainly were written from dictation, so that original errors of this period would be perpetuated. The nature of the errors to which copyists are prone is related more to textual criticism than to the present description of the routines in a medieval scriptorium. A convenient classification of these errors is given by F. W. Hall.<sup>38</sup>

When the copyist had completed his transcript, it passed into the hands of a "corrector," the antecedent of the modern proofreader, who collated it with the original.<sup>39</sup> As we have seen before, it was the Carolingian renaissance which made the earliest endeavor in the Middle Ages to establish purity of texts and instituted critical practices. In Caroline codices one finds constant evidence of the care

<sup>37</sup> For a both charming and scholarly treatment of the vagaries of the medieval copyist, see W. M. Lindsay, "Scribes and Their Ways," *Palaographia Latina*, II (1923), 21 ff.

<sup>38</sup> In his *A Companion to Classical Texts* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 153 ff.

<sup>39</sup> On collation of manuscripts see Rand, *op. cit.*, I, 23-24.

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with which transcription, collation, and correction were done; and a special sign is often found in them to signify "collated and corrected." Proofreading was an important function of every monastic scriptorium. The most learned monks were used for this work, and not infrequently abbots devoted their leisure moments to the emending of texts, for even with conscientious scribes the chances for errors of sight and memory were enormous. The corrector also inserted necessary punctuation points. The development of punctuation is also tangential to this survey of medieval writing habits. It should be noted, however, that although punctuation was used even in classical times, the development of varying symbols is largely medieval.<sup>40</sup> Cassiodorus and Isidore of Seville both recognized its necessity; Alcuin's official instructions regarding punctuation are preserved, as well as Carolingian capitularies on the preparation of correct texts.<sup>41</sup> By the ninth century practically all the important punctuation marks were in use.<sup>42</sup>

The rules of the Carthusians and the Cistercians provide for the careful collation of texts, but of religious ones only.<sup>43</sup> The correctors were supposed to compare the copy, word for word, with the exemplar; and if the exemplar appeared to be incorrect, to compare it with other manuscripts, if there were other copies in the library, or to borrow one from another monastery.<sup>44</sup> Sometimes a transcript was compared with more than one other text. The corrector might indicate all errors in the margin with a lead stylus, and then the corrections indicated would be entered on erasures in the text throughout the volume;<sup>45</sup> or he might cross out extra letters in the text itself by a stroke (/), such as we use today. He might write insertions in the margin, designating the place of insertion by an asterisk or three

<sup>40</sup> B. L. Ullman, *Ancient Writing and Its Influence* (New York, 1932), pp. 212 ff.

<sup>41</sup> Lecoy de la Marche, *op. cit.*, pp. 202 ff.; Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

<sup>42</sup> For details see Wattenbach's and Prou's manuals of paleography; for a discussion of the rhetorical basis of medieval punctuation see E. A. Lowe, *The Beneventan Script*, pp. 231-32.

<sup>43</sup> Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 36, n. 4.

<sup>44</sup> This reason for book-borrowing is amply documented in the case of Lupus of Ferrières.

<sup>45</sup> This was done in the case of a Gospels in the Royal Collection, translated by F.A. Gasquet, *Monastic Life*, p. 106.

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dots (·). When an omission was too long, he would insert it on another leaf and explain where it was to be found.<sup>46</sup>

The days and hours of work in a scriptorium varied with the different monastic orders. As a rule, those of the monks who possessed skill as copyists made writing their chief, if not their sole, active work. An anonymous writer of the ninth or tenth century speaks of six hours a day as the usual task of a scribe,<sup>47</sup> which would absorb almost all the daytime free from religious duties. Monks were permitted to write on lesser church festivals, but not on Sundays or high festivals. The Cluniacs and the Augustinian canons regular permitted scribes to absent themselves from offices with the abbot's permission, but the Cistercians forbade any writing during services. They did, however, absolve their scribes from work in the field and gardens except at harvest time, and permitted them to visit the kitchen to polish their writing tablets, melt their wax, and dry their parchment.<sup>48</sup> Ordinarily, work by artificial light was not permitted because of the greater possibility for errors or poor writing and the danger of casualties to the costly books from grease and fire. Yet some writing was done by night. In a ninth-century manuscript of Laon, an Irish monk complains of poor lamplight.<sup>49</sup> Nicholas, the secretary of Bernard of Clairvaux, wrote his *Vita Magni* at night and blamed the poor script on that fact.<sup>50</sup> Louis, a monk of Wessobrunn, in Bavaria, finished copying Jerome's *Commentary on Daniel* at night while he was stiff with cold.<sup>51</sup> Emo, the first abbot of the Praemonstratensian monastery of Wittewierum (1204-37), devoted his nights to the writing, notation, and illuminating of the choir books.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>46</sup> This is the method used by Reginbert, who was librarian and head of the scriptorium at Reichenau in the first half of the ninth century. Other Reichenau correctors used his marks. Cf. K. Preisendanz, "Aus Bücherei und Schreibstube der Reichenau," *Die Kultur der Abtei Reichenau*, ed. K. Beyerle, II, 661.

<sup>47</sup> "Arduous above all arts is that of the scribe: the work is difficult and it is also hard to bend necks and make furrow on parchments for six hours" (translated in Madan, *op. cit.*, p. 45, n. 1).

<sup>48</sup> Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, p. 372.

<sup>49</sup> Lindsay, "Scribes and Their Ways," *Palaeographia Latina*, II (1923), 24.

<sup>50</sup> Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

<sup>51</sup> Maitland, *op. cit.*, p. 444.

<sup>52</sup> Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

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Ekkehard IV of St. Gall tells us that the scribes found the hours between the nocturnal office and daybreak the most propitious for collating manuscripts.<sup>53</sup>

The rule of silence was strictly enforced wherever monks read or wrote, whether in a room used as the library or scriptorium, in private cells, or in the cloister.<sup>54</sup> To prevent disturbances and noise, no scribe was permitted to leave the scriptorium during the hours of work without the permission of the abbot. Only the abbot, prior, subprior, and librarian could enter the scriptorium. If a message had to be delivered to a scribe while he was working, the precentor or librarian could bring him into the conversation room (*parloir*) and give him the message. Such was likewise the custom when it was necessary to have an oral examination of what had been copied. To further insure silence in the library and in the scriptorium, an elaborate system of signs was worked out.

In spite of rules, the conversationally inclined scribe found means of communication. In the middle of the last century a rector of Dublin University visited the library of St. Gall, in Switzerland; one of the oldest Irish monastic foundations in Europe, which possesses a valuable collection of old Irish manuscripts. He was given Moengal's copy of Priscian to examine, and soon burst into laughter. The Irish glosses to the Latin text read: "Thank God, it will soon be dark"; "St. Patrick of Armagh, deliver me from writing"; "O that a glass of good old wine were by my side."<sup>55</sup> Numerous examples of such conversational jottings have been found written in Irish in the top margins of Latin manuscripts just as clearly and carefully as the Latin text itself. In a ninth-century copy of Cassiodorus from the monas-

<sup>53</sup> Cited by Du Cange, *op. cit.*, s.v. "scriptorium."

<sup>54</sup> Dom L. Gougaud, "Anciennes coutumes claustrales," *Moines et monastères*, VIII (1930); Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. xviii; Gasquet, *Old English Bible*, p. 45; Sandys, *op. cit.*, I, 622; Madan, *op. cit.*, p. 40. It has been observed earlier in this chapter that writing from dictation was not often practiced in the Middle Ages (although textbooks in the later period were produced in this manner). A belief in the currency of the practice in the earlier period is founded on what is probably a misinterpretation of Alcuin's verses to the scribes of Tours. For the dictation theory see A. F. Wert, *Alcuin and the Rise of the Christian Schools* (New York, 1912), p. 72; for criticism see Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 368 ff.

<sup>55</sup> See C. Plummer, "On the Colophons and Marginalia of Irish Scribes," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XII (1926), 11 ff.

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tery of Laon, where there was an Irish colony, these marginal jottings are found:

It is cold today. Naturally, Winter.  
The lamp gives a bad light.  
It is time for us to begin to do some work.  
Well, this vellum is hairy.  
Well, I call this vellum thin.  
I feel quite dull today.  
I do not know what is wrong with me.<sup>56</sup>

It is impossible to get an accurate idea of the average speed of a good scribe because, in almost all instances where the length of time devoted to transcription is mentioned in a subscription, it is given because the scribe is proud of the rapid rate at which he has worked. Wattenbach has found a few examples of slow, or perhaps average, writing.<sup>57</sup> An eighth- or ninth-century collection of canons originally of 146 leaves has an explicit which tells that it was written in one hundred and sixty-six days, so that more than one day was spent on a folio, or 2 pages. A beautiful New Testament, now in Vienna, of 278 large folios was written in six months in 1333, an average of 3 to 4 pages a day. As an example of rapid work may be cited the neat and carefully written ninth-century codex from Regensburg containing Augustine on the Epistle of John, which has 109 leaves of 10 × 8 inches with 20 lines to the page. The subscription states that it was written in seven days by two scribes and corrected the eighth day. That means about 15 pages a day for each scribe.<sup>58</sup>

Writing on parchment is, indeed, physical labor; it takes strength and effort to make a lasting impression on this material with a pen. The scribe soon learns the meaning of the familiar expression: "Three fingers hold the pen, but the whole body toils."<sup>59</sup> He may feel more strongly still and express himself, as did more than one scribe, in words similar to these: "Writing is excessive drudgery. It

<sup>56</sup> Lindsay, *Palaeographia Latina*, II, 24.

<sup>57</sup> Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 240 f.

<sup>58</sup> Lindsay, *Palaeographia Latina*, II, 22 f.

<sup>59</sup> Frequently found in the explicit or concluding note at the end of manuscripts. I am citing from the explicit of a Corbie book, printed in L. Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris, 1874), II, 121.



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crooks your back, it dims your sight, it twists your stomach, and your sides."<sup>60</sup> His fingers are frequently cramped and numb with cold; his thumb is sore. Long before he reaches the last line, he longs for it as the sailor does for his port or the sick man for health.<sup>61</sup> With what relief he writes "Explicit" or "Finis." And now that the long, fatiguing task is completed, even though the morrow, or even the next hour, might bring the beginning of a similar task, he often adds a final note in which he expresses his most inward thought at the moment of completion—weariness, malignity, religious feeling, expectancy, or humor.<sup>62</sup>

A scribe sometimes affixed his name to the manuscript he had copied because of pride, sometimes as an evidence of authenticity. In order to reinforce the authenticity of doctrinal works, anathema and imprecation against anyone who altered or mutilated the texts were attached. In books which were not of a doctrinal nature, the anathemas were more usually uttered against thieves and mutilators of manuscripts. A common formula was: "May whoever steals or alienates this book, or mutilates it, be anathema."<sup>63</sup> A stronger one reads: "Whoever steals this book let him die the death; let him be frizzled in a pan; may the falling sickness rage within him; may he be broken on the wheel and be hanged."<sup>64</sup>

The base for the making of a book was the quaternion, the gathering of 4 folded sheets or 8 leaves. Before the fifteenth century the pages of a book were not numbered, nor were the folios numbered until the thirteenth century. Only the quaternions bore a device to indicate their sequence. This distinguishing mark, the signature, was usually in the right-hand lower corner of the last page of the gather-

<sup>60</sup> From a manuscript of St. Aignan of Orléans. Translation from Savage, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

<sup>61</sup> "Whereas to a writer the last line is as sweet as port is to a sailor." Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-36, gives numerous other examples of the comparison of the last line to a port: "As the sick man desireth health even so doth the scribe desire the end of the volume" (from a St. Gall manuscript), *ibid.*, p. 236.

<sup>62</sup> Examples of medieval colophons—amusing, informative, and pious—are to be found in much of the literature cited in this chapter, especially in Madan, Lecoy de la Marche, and Wattenbach.

<sup>63</sup> Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

<sup>64</sup> W. B. Rye, *Archæologica Cantiana*, III, 51.

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ing. Commonly, the signature was the letter "q" followed by a numeral, as "q i," "q ii," "q iii." The letters of the alphabet were rarely employed for this purpose, as they are in printed books. Another exceptional practice was the use of catchwords (*reclamantes*) to connect the quires, i.e., the first word of the next quire being written below the line on the last page of the quire before it.

Before the book was handed over to the binder, it usually passed through the hands of a specialist in rubrication. The finest manuscripts, especially biblical ones, were illuminated as well as rubricated. The commonest form of binding in the Middle Ages was wooden boards, covered with parchment, deerskin, or calfskin.

Thus far, no mention has been made of nuns as scribes; yet it would be a great injustice to omit them from a discussion of the medieval scriptorium, because many were neither less skilful nor less learned than the monks—and, indeed, some of the finest examples of calligraphy came from the hands of nuns. As early as the days of Eusebius it appears that young virgins were employed to copy the writings of the Church Fathers. St. Augustine wrote of St. Melania the Younger, who, early in the fifth century, founded a convent near Carthage, that she gained her living by transcribing manuscripts and that she wrote swiftly, beautifully, and correctly.<sup>65</sup> In the sixth century the nuns of the convent of Arles, incited by the example of their abbess, St. Cesarie, the sister of Archbishop Caesarius, acquired a brilliant reputation as calligraphers.<sup>66</sup> During the eighth and ninth centuries the nuns of Eck on the Meuse in Holland attained great celebrity not only for their calligraphic work but also for beauty of illumination. In the twelfth century Herrad (1167–95) composed a pictorial encyclopedia, the *Hortus deliciarum*, for the nuns of her monastery, Mont St. Otilien in Alsace. She wrote it and illuminated it herself.<sup>67</sup> In the late twelfth century in Mallersdorf there was a nun of Irish descent, named Leukardis, who knew Irish, Greek, Latin, and German. She wrote so much that the no less prolific monastic scribe, Laiupold, wrote an "anniversarium" in her memory.<sup>68</sup> A nun

<sup>65</sup> Putnam, *op. cit.*, I, 33.

<sup>66</sup> De la Marche, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>68</sup> Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, p. 445.

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of Wessobrunn, Bavaria, Diemudis (*ca.* 1060—*ca.* 1130), left a list of 45 volumes which she had copied.<sup>69</sup>

The upkeep of the library and scriptorium, even in monasteries where lay scribes were not hired, was considerable. It became customary in France and in England to endow the library and scriptorium, usually by designating that a certain portion of the monastic revenue was to be set aside for their upkeep. In France, but not in England, the levying of a tax on subordinate priories or priests holding benefices belonging to a monastery was the more usual method. Of the first type of endowment the following examples can be given. St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, got 3 marks from the rentals of Milton Church for making books (1144).<sup>70</sup> The scriptorium of Bury St. Edmunds was endowed with 2 mills.<sup>71</sup> To the Benedictine monastery of Ely, Bishop Nigel granted, in 1160, the tithes of the churches of Wythelsey and Impington and two parts of the tithes of Pampis Ford and a messuage in Ely for the purpose of making and correcting books. The precentor of Abingdon obtained tithes worth 30 shillings for buying parchment.<sup>72</sup> In the Evesham cartulary it is stated that to the prior belong the tithes of Beningworth to pay for parchment and for the maintenance of scribes, while to the precentor belongs the manor of Hampton, from which he is to receive 5 shillings annually and 10 shillings 8 pence from the tithes of Stokes and Alcester for buying ink, colors for illuminating, and whatever is necessary for binding books and for the organ.<sup>73</sup>

For the second type of maintenance of a scriptorium we must turn to France. All the priests holding benefices belonging to the abbey of Saint-Père de Chartres had to pay a tax for the support of the library and scriptorium.<sup>74</sup> At Fleury and Corbie the officials of the monastery and of the dependent priories were assessed for the same purpose. In addition a certain number of bushels of grain from the

<sup>69</sup> Maitland, *op. cit.*, pp. 456-59.

<sup>70</sup> Savage, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

<sup>71</sup> Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. xxiv.

<sup>72</sup> *Chronicon monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson ("Rolls Series," No. 2), II, 153, 328.

<sup>73</sup> *Chronicon abbatis de Evesham*, ed. Macray ("Rolls Series," No. 29), pp. 208-10.

<sup>74</sup> L. Maltre, *Les Ecoles épiscopales et monastiques en occident avant les universités* (Paris, 1924), p. 181.

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monks of Clairfai and the revenues of the estate of Branlières were set aside for the library of Corbie. For the scriptorium of the monastery of St. Trinité in Vendôme the dependent priors had to make an annual payment, partly in cash and partly in grain, to the librarian.

Occasionally lay lords furnished a monastery with parchment and skins for binding. In 783 Charlemagne sent the abbey of St. Bertin a quantity of skins for binding manuscripts. In 790 he granted hunting privileges to the servants of the same monastery for making gloves, girdles, and book covers from the skins of the deer they killed.<sup>75</sup> The successive counts of Nevers and Auxerre supplied the Grande Chartreuse with parchment for writing and cowhides for bindings.<sup>76</sup>

The chief work of the scriptorium was the reproduction of biblical, liturgical, and ecclesiastical writings; but in many of the Benedictine monasteries and in those of some of the smaller orders, such as the Augustinian canons, great pains were taken in preserving the classics, textbooks for the schools, and all books of scholastic learning.<sup>77</sup> Most of the work done in a monastic scriptorium was copying, but not all. Every monastery of any standing had a chronicle, in which were recorded not only local events but world-affairs. In many instances, monastic chronicles and annals are our chief, and sometimes our sole, source of information for national and international affairs. Matthew Paris, a monk of St. Albans and the monastery's historiographer during the first half of the thirteenth century, wrote a *Chronicon majora*, a *History of the English*, and an *Additamenta*, or collection of documents, in which we find that materials of the utmost importance—even secret state papers relating to England—were known at St. Albans.<sup>78</sup> Other original work done in the scriptorium was in the form of commentaries on Holy Scripture and patristic writings, collections of excerpts, and compendiums of learning.

<sup>75</sup> Maitland, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

<sup>76</sup> Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

<sup>77</sup> The Cistercians, Carthusians, and in most instances the Cluniacs devoted themselves entirely to religious literature, as did the friars, who began to collect libraries when they forsook the rule of absolute poverty and acquired landed property. Cf. Savage, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-58; Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, p. 377.

<sup>78</sup> Jenkins, *op. cit.*

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The end of the thirteenth century saw the beginning of the decline of the monastic scriptorium. In 1291 Murbach did not have a monk who could write; and in 1297 at St. Gall there were few monks who could write, not even the prior.<sup>79</sup> From this period on, the monks of Corbie no longer wrote themselves but employed lay scribes.<sup>80</sup> The English scriptoria did not decline so early as the Continental ones, although, in his *Philobiblon*, completed in 1345, Richard de Bury, bishop of Durham, complains of such a decline. With the development of the powerful University of Paris and the need of textbooks, lay scribes begin to come into their own in France in the thirteenth century. To that century belong the first corporations or guilds of writers.

<sup>79</sup> Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, p. 377.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 373.

## CHAPTER XIX

### Library Administration and the Care of Books<sup>1</sup>

THE separation of library from scriptorium and the evolution of a specially equipped bookroom were both gradual processes; and, indeed, the final phase was never reached in many monasteries. Similarly, the medieval catalogue was of gradual development. Many collections were so small that lists of any sort were quite unnecessary—or, at most, only a rough inventory. This, even for a mere handful of volumes, served a purpose: books were valuable property and so had to be enumerated among the treasures of a house. This emphasis on the property values continued in many library records until the sixteenth century. In other cases books were listed, not to catalogue them, but to commemorate donations made to a monastery. At still other times a record might be compiled merely as a check list against loss or theft. Still, again, there were “catalogues” written in metrical form, which suggests that the young monks were required to commit the list to memory.<sup>2</sup> Only in the larger monasteries do we find real catalogues, i.e., guides to the content and location of the books available for use. Thus, the earliest medieval catalogues were primarily shelf lists. True author and subject records were a later development.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See, in addition to the literature cited in course, E. G. Vogel, “Einiges über Amt und Stellung des Armarius in den abendländischen Klöstern des Mittelalters,” *Serapeum*, IV (1843), 17-29, 33-43, 49-55; G. Meier, “Nachträge zu Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*,” *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, II (1885), 239-41; G. Meier, “Nachträge zu Gottlieb, *Ueber mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*,” *ibid.*, XX (1903), 16-32; T. W. Williams, “On Early and Medieval Libraries and the Evolution of the Book-Room and the Bookcase,” *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, XXIX (1907), 205 ff.; E. A. Savage, “The Care of Books in Early Irish Monasteries,” *Library*, X (1909), 362 ff.

<sup>2</sup> P. Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, I, 279.

<sup>3</sup> G. Leyh, “Aus der älteren Bibliothekspraxis,” *Beiträge zum Bibliotheks- und Buchwesen, Paul Schwenke zum 20. März 1913 gewidmet*, pp. 159-74.

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Moreover, in early times the catalogue was not a list of works but a list of volumes, for several different writings were usually bound together, and often only the first item in the codex was listed.<sup>4</sup> This practice never became entirely obsolete but continued into the age of printing; Ulrich Zel, of Cologne, is famous among incunabulists for his publication of many such composite volumes.

A chronological analysis of surviving medieval catalogues is a valuable index of the library movement culminating in the twelfth century. Those published by Gottlieb in 1890, in *Ueber mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, are dated: 24 from the ninth century, 17 from the tenth, 30 from the eleventh, 62 from the twelfth, after which there is a steady decline. Becker, in 1885, in *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, listed 136 of the twelfth century—a much greater number than for any preceding or succeeding century. Beddie,<sup>5</sup> who lists some 69 library catalogues of the period 1050–1250, printed since 1890, has 15 from the eleventh century, 36 from the twelfth, and 18 from the thirteenth. All this casts new light on the so-called “renaissance of the twelfth century”; evidently, the growth and expansion of libraries was a part of it.

Naturally, in this period we find library techniques more developed than previously. The office of librarian evolved by differentiation of his function from other duties. Before the ninth century all manuscripts, especially the beautiful service books, were regarded as part of the treasure of the monastery and so inventoried, and this practice never became wholly obsolete.<sup>6</sup> The earliest catalogue of books, as distinguished from treasures, is that of Fulda late in the eighth century.<sup>7</sup> But even here no sharp distinction was made between books

<sup>4</sup> A clear example of this practice is the catalogue of St. Riquier, where at the end we read: “Omnes igitur codices in commune faciunt numerum CCLVI, ita videlicet ut non numerentur libri singillatim, sed codices; quia in uno codice diversi libri multoties, ut supra notatum est, habentur. Quos si numeraremus, quingentorum copiam superarent” (Hariulf, *Chronique de St. Riquier*, ed. F. Lot, p. 94).

<sup>5</sup> J. S. Beddie, “Ancient Classics in the Mediaeval Libraries,” *Speculum*, V (1930), 17–20.

<sup>6</sup> The catalogue of 1311, which lists the books of Pope Boniface VIII in 1295, is merely part of the general inventory of the papal treasury; cf. F. Ehrle, *Historia bibliothecae Romanorum pontificum* (Rome, 1890), p. 7. So also the library of Gregory XII; cf. F. Mercati, *Miscellanea Franz Ehrle*, V (1924), 133.

<sup>7</sup> E. A. Lowe, “An Eighth Century List of Books in a Bodleian MS. from Würzburg and Its Probable Relation to the Laudian Acts,” *Speculum*, III (1928), 3–15.

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and archives. The oldest list to do this is that of Bobbio, probably compiled under Abbot Wala (833-35).<sup>8</sup>

Since the Bible, service books, and works of a theological nature formed the nucleus of every monastic library, the choirmaster (cantor) in early times was also the librarian. Only in later times do we find the librarian distinguished from the cantor and the library from the scriptorium, and then only in the greater monasteries. The impulse given by the Carolingian renaissance toward wider learning gave monastic libraries new dignity and importance, and accordingly the armarius began to appear as a separate official and the library techniques were gradually developed.

Apparently, Emperor Louis the Pious (814-40) deserves the credit of first requiring monasteries and cathedrals to make catalogues of the books which they possessed.<sup>9</sup> Lothar I, who was zealous for the promotion of education in Italy, probably enforced the practice there also. In almost the last document in which the missi dominici are mentioned (881), they are enjoined to report the books found in cathedral and monastic libraries within their circuits.<sup>10</sup>

It is important to observe that the armarius of every cathedral library, as well as of every large monastery or house of collegiate canons, really had three different collections of books to supervise—the main collection, the service books, and the school library. The school books formed a separate collection and were often catalogued separately as the "little library" (*minus armarium* or *armariolum*).<sup>11</sup> In this were frequently included the classical authors, which were

<sup>8</sup> "Bibliothecarius omnium librorum curam habeat lectionum atque scriptorum. Custos cartarum omnia provideat monasterii monimenta" (C. Cipolla, *Codice diplomatico del monasterio di S. Columbano di Bobbio* [Rome, 1918], p. 140).

<sup>9</sup> The oldest (822) catalogue of Reichenau (Becker No. 6), opens with the statement: "Brevis librorum . . . facta anno VIII Hludovici Imperatoris." The 831 catalogue of St. Riquier (Becker No. 11) similarly begins: "Hludovicus Imperator promulgata praeceptione super possessionibus monasterii vocavit ad se monachos rogans ut omnia quaecumque haberi poterant, tam in thesauro ecclesiae quam in bonis forensibus scriberentur sibi que monstrarentur. Anno igitur incarnationis domini DCCCXXI indictione IX facta est descriptio de abbacia sancti Richarii rogante serenissimo augusto anno imperii sui XVIII."

<sup>10</sup> "Missi regii per civitates et singula monasteria . . . thesaurum ac vestimenta seu libros diligenter imbrevent et breves regi reportent" (*MGH, Leges*, II, 372).

<sup>11</sup> This distinction was an old one. Cf. Becker, Nos. 19, 20, 45, 62, 63, 103, 114.



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used for instruction. This distinction must always be kept in mind in examining medieval catalogues, for an apparent lack or excess of classical literature may sometimes be explained by the fact that the catalogue of the school library has not been preserved, or vice versa.<sup>12</sup>

The crudest form of catalogue was a mere list without any apparent order of sequence. An alphabetical order of any sort is rare;<sup>13</sup> Augustine will frequently be found as the first entry; but this is because of the number and importance of his works, not because of the alphabetical primacy of his name. A large majority of catalogues give first the Bible, then patristic writings, general theological works, homilies, lives of saints, etc., and lastly secular literature. In a few cases secular works are listed before ecclesiastical, but in such instances it may be that the regular library catalogue and that of the school library have become reversed.<sup>14</sup> Generally, the sequence follows—at least roughly—the physical arrangement of the books in the collection.<sup>15</sup> Very large and very small codices seem sometimes to have been separately catalogued.<sup>16</sup> Occasionally manuscripts written in an unusual script were excluded from the main catalogue and listed apart, as, for instance, “libri scottice scripti.”<sup>17</sup>

The old Carolingian monastery of Lorsch displayed, in the tenth century, a remarkable development: first were entered liturgical works; then, in order, Old and New Testaments, historical and geographical books, theological and patristic writings, and finally lives of saints and poetry, including some classical authors.<sup>18</sup>

It was impossible then, as now, to divorce cataloguing from classi-

<sup>12</sup> For instances see Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, pp. 375-5.

<sup>13</sup> For examples see Becker, No. 77 (St. Bertin) and No. 79 (Corbie), both of the twelfth century.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Becker, No. 29 (Fleury), No. 80 (Michelsberg), and No. 125 (Arras).

<sup>15</sup> At St. Emmeram in 1347 the books were distributed on 32 desks and were catalogued in the order of these desks. Cf. Schmeller, *Serapeum*, II (1841), 262. In the catalogue of Toledo one reads: “. . . factum prout (libri) in eadem libraria predicta continentur seriatim a prima bancha prope stallam incipiendo. . . .” Cf. Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 751. The date is 1455.

<sup>16</sup> See remarks of Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, p. 309; L. Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, II, 521.

<sup>17</sup> Becker, Nos. 22, 117.

<sup>18</sup> A. Wilmanns, *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F., XXIII (1868), 385-87.

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fication, and occasionally one detects examples of independent thought. The monk who made the catalogue of Prüfening in 1158 was a born librarian. Unfortunately, the first 5 folios of his list have been lost, but the 185 entries remaining are grouped, after the biblical books, in a chronological sequence: the "old fathers," followed by Bede, Alcuin, and Rabanus Maurus; then the great German ecclesiastics of the ninth and tenth century; and after them, as theology forsook Germany for France, Anselm, Abélard, Peter Lombard, and Gratian. Moreover, this unknown librarian had the wisdom to leave vacant spaces for the interpolation of later acquisitions.<sup>19</sup> Another imaginative classification is found in the catalogue of St. Maximin in Trier,<sup>20</sup> in which, after the Bible and its parts, we find "Augustiniani libri," "Ieronimiani libri," "Ambrosiani libri," "Gregoriani libri," and "Bedani libri," lesser writers of the epoch of each of these authors being included under these heads.

As the libraries grew, the arrangement became more standardized, often including these seven classes: (1) archives, (2) scriptural texts and commentaries, (3) constitutions, (4) council and synodal proceedings, (5) homilies and epistles of the fathers, (6) lectionaries, and (7) legends of martyrdom. In monasteries to which secular literature was admitted, a basis for subclassification was afforded by the seven recognized liberal arts: grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. The *Constitutions* of Freising exhibit remarkable intelligence in the regulation governing cataloguing and classification. It reads: "De Librario. Habeat et registrum omnium librorum ordinatum secundum facultates et auctores, reponatque eos separatim et ordinate cum signaturis per scripturam applicatis."<sup>21</sup>

As the numerous catalogues reprinted by Becker and Gottlieb reveal from their dates, a catalogue might be compiled at any time, according to the intelligence and activity of the custodian. The rules of Cluny, however, required an annual audit of books.<sup>22</sup> The *Instructio officialium* promulgated by Humbert de Romanis, the fifth general

<sup>19</sup> Becker, No. 95.

<sup>20</sup> Becker, No. 76.

<sup>21</sup> V. E. Gardthausen, *Handbuch der wissenschaftlichen Bibliothekskunde*, II, 71.

<sup>22</sup> J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, I, 621.

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of the Dominican order (1254-63), contains a whole section which deals with library administration and care of books.<sup>23</sup> The English Franciscan John of Boston (*f.* 1410) conceived the idea of a union catalogue of all the libraries of the Franciscan priories in England, but this was a unique example of foresight.

On the whole, the Carthusians possessed the most developed and advanced library methods of the later Middle Ages. They copied, collected, and registered their books with great care; and the fullest catalogues are those of their libraries.<sup>24</sup> Not only had they excellent collections, but a love of books was a Carthusian characteristic. St. Bruno, the founder of the order in 1094, was himself a scholarly man. Peter the Venerable, the last great abbot of Cluny, in 1124 wrote of them: "Silentio, lectioni, orationi atque opere manum, maxime in scribendis libris insistunt."<sup>25</sup> Guigo, fifth prior of the Grande Chartreuse (d. 1137), who compiled the first edition of the Carthusian *Consuetudines*,<sup>26</sup> specifically enumerated writing materials among the indispensable articles which a monk must have in his cell.<sup>27</sup> This is followed by regulations to govern the loan of books.<sup>28</sup> In regard to improvement of texts and binding, the rules continue: "cum aliqui ex monachis emendandis vel ligandis libris vel alicui tali operi

<sup>23</sup> L. Holstenius, *Codex regularum monasticarum et canonicarum*, IV, 173.

<sup>24</sup> P. Lehmann, "Bücherliebe und Bücherpflege bei dem Karthausern," *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle*, V, 364-89. As an example he cites the Aggsbach catalogue published by Gottlieb in his first volume of *Bibliothekskataloge Oesterreichs*, and adds that this will be thrown into the shade when the catalogues of the Carthusian houses in Basel, Erfurt, and Mainz are published.

<sup>25</sup> Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CLXXXIX, col. 945.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, CLIII, cols. 963 ff.

<sup>27</sup> "Ad scribendum vero scriptorium, pennas, cretam, pumices duos, cornua duo, scalpellum unum, ad radenda pergamenta novaculas sive rasoria duo, punctorium unum, subulam unam, plumbum, regulam, postem ad regulandum, tabulas, graphium. Quid si frater alterius artis fuerit—quod apud nos raro valde contingit, omnes enim pene quos suscepimus, si fieri potest scribere docemus—habeat artis sue instrumenta convenientia."

<sup>28</sup> "Adhuc etiam libros ad legendum de armario accipit duos, quibus omnem diligentiam curamque prebere jubetur, ne fumo, ne pulvere vel alia qualibet sorde maculentur. Libros quippe tanquam sempiternum animarum nostrarum cibum cautissime custodiri et studiosissime volumus fieri, ut quia ore non possumus, Dei verbum manibus predicemus. Quot enim libros scribimus, tot nobis veritatis precones facere videmus."

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mancipantur, ipsi quidem loquuntur ad invicem, cum supervenientibus vero nequaquam, nisi priore presente aut iubente." The *Statuta antiqua* (1259) and the *Statuta nova* (1368) repeat these injunctions. In the former, one reads: "Reading at table during mealtime deserves greater attention than it has received." In Cistercian monasteries the rule forbade works on canon and civil law to be on open shelves or tables, while the "conversi," or lay brothers, were not allowed either to be taught to read or to have books.<sup>29</sup>

Books, except those of habitual and constant use, were inclosed in chests, cupboards, or presses, or perhaps in the angle of a corner. Since the armarium, or cupboard, had a legend affixed to it, stating what sort of works were within, a press frequently was called "distinctio," a word which originally signified a classification. The word for shelf was "gradus," and the shelves were numbered or lettered from the bottom shelf upward. This practice, which at first blush may seem eccentric, was really practical, for, if it became necessary to add new shelves, all the books in the press did not have to be rearranged.

It is obvious that the arrangement of books according to press and shelf necessitated some system of signs or shelf marks. The oldest example is a Merovingian pressmark found in a Tours manuscript of the seventh century.<sup>30</sup> A common practice was to use letters to designate the presses and large Roman numerals to designate the shelves; finally, the place of each volume was indicated by a smaller Roman numeral. Sometimes, however, this practice was reversed, and the presses were numbered and the shelves lettered.

The development of the catalogue from the crude shelf list to a true subject-and-author catalogue did not take place generally until after the invention of printing, though in a few instances there were earlier anticipations of the new method. John Whytefield, who catalogued the library of St. Martin's at Dover in 1389, deserves praise for adding an author catalogue to his shelf list, "ut de singulorum

<sup>29</sup> Thomas Burton, *Chronica monasterii de Melsa*, ed. E. A. Bond ("Rolls Series," No. 43), I, xliii.

<sup>30</sup> E. K. Rand, *The Script of Tours*, I, 4.

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tractatum repercione festina scholaribus itinere manifestet.”<sup>31</sup> Five years afterward, the librarian of Leicester Abbey made a double catalogue, by author and subject, for his library.<sup>32</sup>

In the later Middle Ages the intrusion of secular literature and works written in vernacular language complicated the labors of a librarian. Heretofore, books written in Greek or in unusual scripts were all that required special treatment, and these were kept apart. Thus, the distinction between an ecclesiastical and a lay library was established. The Mainz Carthusian catalogue, for example, lists German manuscripts as “vulgariter” or “in theutonico.” At Durham the “libri anglici” were kept in a separate place.<sup>33</sup>

It requires an effort of thought to realize with what difficulty men worked when they had only MSS. No two MSS could be identical, page for page, without great trouble taken; and that such trouble was not taken is shown by the method invented in the thirteenth century for identifying MSS in the catalogues of libraries. A modern catalogue distinguishes books by the date and place of their printing: the medieval librarian, having no such obvious means, marked the books by the first words of the second leaf. The first words of the first leaf were the opening words of the treatise, i.e. the title page, whatever it was, and therefore were always the same; his use of those of the second leaf implies that no attempt was made by scribes to follow the pages of their originals. It was not to the tenth or the twentieth leaf that he need turn for some sure divergence to be reached: by the second leaf already the scribe had certainly begun to diverge—the size of his page probably constituting a fundamental difference—and the method of distinction was therefore sure. . . .<sup>34</sup>

These *incipits* and *explicit*s are very valuable indicia for the identification of manuscripts, and long lists of them have been compiled by scholars. In general, the second and penultimate pages were chosen for purposes of identification, because the first and the last pages were most exposed to wear and tear and were liable to be lost.

<sup>31</sup> This is a model catalogue. In its first part the single columns note: *ordo locacionis* (signature), *nomina voluminum* (title), *loca probacionum* (page of the keyword), *dicciones probatorie* (key words), *summa foliorum* (number of pages), and *numerus contentorum* (contents). The second part lists the works again according to signature and title; the third, under *notacio inchoancium latera foliorum*; and the fourth, by *principia tractatum*. Cf. M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, p. 407; E. A. Savage, *Old English Libraries*, pp. 105-6.

<sup>32</sup> M. V. Clarke, “Henry Knighton and the Library Catalogue of Leicester Abbey,” *English Historical Review*, XLV (1930), 107 ff.

<sup>33</sup> H. Schreiber, “Quellen und Beobachtungen zur mittelalterlichen Katalogisierungspraxis,” *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XLV (1927), 105.

<sup>34</sup> P. S. Allen, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XI (1924-25), 352.

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This means of identification was also precaution against fraud and theft. Thus, in the library rules of the Collège de Sorbonne in 1321 the following regulation with regard to withdrawal of books is found:

Item, non sufficit scribere: talis habet talem librum VI librorum vel hujus, nisi scribat etiam sic in registro: incipit secundo folio sic vel sic, ne fiat fraus in commutando librum majoris precii in librum eiusdem speciei, minoris tamen precii, vel si perderetur unus non restitueretur pejor.<sup>35</sup>

From the thirteenth century forward, an increasing tendency toward uniformity in the care of books is discernible. Different colors were employed in labeling. Thus, the books at Altenzelle, which were distributed on thirty-six desks, used red for theology, green for medicine, and black for law.<sup>36</sup> The Franciscans now also excelled in the particular care which they gave to books and library administration. In the catalogue made of the library of the mother house of the Franciscans at Assisi in 1381, the librarian describes his method in detail as to classification, case and shelf marks, and *incipits* and *explicits*. The first page of every quaternion was numbered in red ink. This thorough and conscientious librarian even added data on a foreleaf regarding the provenance of the manuscript.<sup>37</sup> All numbers were in Roman numerals until long after the invention of printing. Folios or quaternions only were numbered, not the pages. The earliest entry in a catalogue of the pages of a work occurs in 1465.<sup>38</sup> The most complete instance of classification which I have found is in the case of the Carthusian monastery of St. Margaret in Basel at the end of the fifteenth century, where prior Jakob Ludwig von Lindow (1480-1501) selected the rarest volumes of the collection

<sup>35</sup> For an example of a "tabula" of withdrawals see James, *op. cit.*, pp. 502-3.

<sup>36</sup> G. F. Klemm, *Zur Geschichte der Sammlungen für Wissenschaft und Kunst* (Zerbst, 1837), p. 30. Richard de Fournival, chancellor of the church of Amiens (d. 1248) and a famous medieval bibliophile, in his *Biblionomia* devised so elaborate a system of classification that Delisle first believed that it existed only in his imagination. Delisle described it as "un des plus curieux monuments de l'art bibliographique du moyen-âge" (*Cabinet des manuscrits*, II, 518-21). The symbols were a combination of colors of different sorts with letters of different sizes. On this model library see also Delisle, *ibid.*, III, 387 ff., and A. Birkenmajer, *Biblioteka Byzarda di Fournival i jej Pozniejsze Losy* (Cracow, 1922), where many manuscripts now in the Bibliothèque nationale are identified as having belonged to Richard.

<sup>37</sup> See the long extract in Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, No. 525, and the late Cardinal Ehrle's detailed analysis in *Zeitschrift für Literatur und Kirchengeschichte*, I, 491 ff.

<sup>38</sup> Schreiber, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

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and provided a special place for keeping them. He excluded all works in German from the general collection and put them in care of the cellarer, since they were specially meant for use by the lay brothers. Similarly, works of edification, such as sermons and saints' lives, were relegated to a "little library." The chronicle relates how, because of the great increase of books, "old and new," Prior Lindow established the rule that the catalogue should be revised every two years and the books cleansed. Finally, and most interesting of all these provisions, the new regulations distinguished sharply between manuscript books, whose folios and shelf marks were numbered with the customary Roman numerals, and the new kind of books, which were printed and page-numbered with Arabic figures.<sup>39</sup> With the substitution of paper for parchment, and later the appearance of printed books, catalogues usually distinguish such books as "in pergamento," "in papiro," "impressi," or "in papiro impressi." The catalogue of Calixtus III lists 122 paper codices and 108 on parchment. But the earliest printed books so much resembled manuscripts that mistakes were made. In Lambeth Library, for instance, there is a copy on vellum of Fust and Schoeffer's 1466 edition of Cicero's *De officiis et paradoxa*, which was catalogued as "manuscript" by an early librarian.<sup>40</sup>

Occasionally one finds in the catalogues comments upon the condition of books which, although trivial in themselves, are not without interest. Thus, the catalogue of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, records of one book that it "shall have a polish" (*nitudinem habebit*) and that another is "to be washed" (*fieri balneum*).<sup>41</sup> The formats of manuscript books were not as fixed as now. In medieval catalogues, if formats are given, descriptive phrases were employed, as, for example, "in magno modulo," "in magno volumine et grosso," "mediocris staturae," "formae mediocris," "formae communis," "parvi," "parvissime forme," "liber minutus," etc. Some catalogues note the condition of the binding. Thus, the catalogue of Olmütz records that

<sup>39</sup> K. Loeffler, *Deutsche Klosterbibliotheken*, p. 272, n. 41.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. B. Botfield, *Notes on the Cathedral Library of England* (London, 1849), p. 244.

<sup>41</sup> James, *op. cit.*, pp. 308, 340.

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the binding of a certain *liber omeliarum* was worn out (*destructus*) and that another was unbound (*non ligata*).<sup>42</sup>

The first bookmarks were leathern thongs brought down from the headbands for markers. An early example is a fifteenth-century manuscript formerly in the Dunn Library, *In modorum usum liber*.<sup>43</sup>

Until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it was customary to lay books upon their sides upon the shelves. But the method obviously was wasteful of space, so that later, as books increased in number, it became the ordinary practice to stand them upright on the shelves; and the advent of printed books confirmed this system. This habit of laying books upon their sides made it more convenient to put the title upon the front cover than upon the backbone of the book, as now. It also explains why many fifteenth-century volumes are found which have the title on the lower edge of the book, i.e., the part which was exposed to the reader as he searched along the shelves for a volume.

The physical aspect of a medieval—and, for that matter, of a Renaissance library—was very different from what meets the eye today in a modern library. Beginning as a meager collection of Bibles and service books which the precentor kept—at first in the church itself, and later in an armarium, or cupboard (frequently a mere recess in the wall)—the medieval library grew until it filled several cases and gradually overflowed from one room into another, and until finally the need for an *armarium commune*, or special room or building for the books, became a necessity. Roughly speaking, this point of development was reached in the twelfth century, but conservatism long resisted the demand. The change came with a rush in the fifteenth century, from which period are dated the oldest library interiors still preserved. An interesting case is the library of Merton College, Oxford, built and first outfitted between 1373 and 1387.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> These examples are from Schreiber, *op. cit.*, pp. 97–105.

<sup>43</sup> Frank Hamel, the London bookseller, published an article entitled, "History and Development of the Bookmarker," in the *Booklover's Magazine*, 1907, which is the only study of the subject I know.

<sup>44</sup> Illustrated and discussed by the late Canon B. H. Streeter, *The Chained Library: A Survey of Four Centuries in the Evolution of the English Library* (London, 1931), pp. 127 ff., who says: "Merton is the most picturesque, it is also the most perplexing of English libraries. It



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The best examples of quasi-medieval library interiors are those of the convent of S. Francisco at Cesena, which was built in 1452; the Medicean or Laurentian Library in Florence, which was designed by Michael Angelo and erected in 1525; and that in St. Walpurgis Church at Zutphen in Holland, built in 1561-63. This last is the best-preserved example (from one of several medieval models) of the "lectern system," the first stage in the development of modern library rooms, according to J. W. Clark.<sup>45</sup> What Clark called the "stall system," the combination of a lectern with an almary, first appeared in the original fittings of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1480. The Hereford cathedral library (now restored), several Oxford college libraries, and parts of the Bodleian are types of this nature, with the books no longer laid on their sides but placed upright and usually chained, with their backs turned inward. The library of Wells Cathedral is another English example which nearly conforms to medieval conditions. It is a long, narrow room with equidistant windows, the bookcases standing at right angles to the walls in the spaces between each pair of windows, in front of which are placed seats for the readers. Streeter says of this, however:

The Cathedral Library at Wells exhibits certain striking features peculiar to itself. The meaning of these becomes apparent when, and only when, we realize that here, as at Merton College, Oxford, library fittings on the Stall-system have been set up in a chamber originally designed for the Lectern-system, and no doubt originally fitted up on that system.<sup>46</sup>

The development on a large scale of the "wall system," with book cases ranged against the wall, and tables in the middle of the room, was made at the Escorial, begun in 1563 and completed in 1584, used in the Bibliotheca Ambrosiana in 1609, in the Bibliothèque Mazarine

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is certainly mediaeval, and it is certainly Jacobean; the problem is to determine the degree of mixture between these two strains. Perhaps we may also solve it by discerning an Elizabethan stratum also."

<sup>45</sup> The classic work on library architecture and equipment is J. W. Clark's *The Care of Books: An Essay on the Development of Libraries and Their Fittings, from the Earliest Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, England, 1901; 2d ed., 1902). For the period about 1350-1750, it is admirably supplemented by the more recent work of Streeter, *op. cit.*, especially, p. 25. Both books are amply illustrated; although the second is limited to England, it makes references to the most important Continental developments.

<sup>46</sup> Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 273, with illustration on p. 277.

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in 1647, and introduced in England in the Arts End of the Bodleian, built by Sir Thomas Bodley between 1610 and 1612. In the first English libraries of this style books were chained, but this was not so in the seventeenth-century libraries erected by Sir Christopher Wren at Trinity College, Cambridge, and at St. Paul's Cathedral.

It is commonly assumed that all books were chained in medieval libraries. This is only in part true. There is no evidence of the practice before the thirteenth century, except in the case of the service books. The first general use of chains seems to have been at the library of the Sorbonne. In 1271 Gérard of Abbéville, a friend of Robert de Sorbon and a member of the faculty of theology, left almost 300 volumes and for their safekeeping provided in his will that they should be chained.<sup>47</sup> The precaution perhaps justifies the inference that poor students were more tempted than others to purloin books. In 1313 Raymund Lull left copies of his works to the Grande Chartreuse in Paris with the proviso that they should be chained "so that all who wished might use them without danger of theft."<sup>48</sup> It may seriously be doubted, however, whether the practice of chaining books was common in the Middle Ages—even in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. My own opinion is that it was more common for the first printed books than in the case of manuscripts.

Until the publication in 1931 of *The Chained Library*, by B. H. Streeter, it was believed that at the cathedral of Hereford existed a medieval chained library—"in the flesh," as it were. The process of research and inspiration by means of which he reconstructed the library, proving conclusively that it dates from Elizabethan days instead of from about 1394, cannot be entered into in detail here; it is a notable contribution to the history of the development of English libraries. For present purposes his discovery of the error by which the date 1394 was assigned to five of the old presses, now shown by him to have been set up in 1590,<sup>49</sup> is perhaps the most important fact relating to the Hereford library in medieval times.

<sup>47</sup> H. S. Denifle, *Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis*, I, 491, No. 436.

<sup>48</sup> L. Delisle, *Journal des savants*, 1896, p. 5.

<sup>49</sup> Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

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Unable to reconcile the existing old presses at Hereford with his knowledge of library architecture and furnishing, Canon Streeter set himself to solve the problem. The stall system, combining, as he says, the advantages of "an almery, a lectern, and a carrel,"<sup>50</sup> was in use at Hereford. There is no evidence to show that this system was invented before 1480; moreover, all the earliest examples are "two-decker" presses, while those at Hereford, being of the "three-decker" type, point to a still later date. Investigation of the records brought out the fact that Walter Rammesbury, precentor of the cathedral, and the supposed donor, in 1394, of £10 for new desks in the library, was also a Fellow of Merton; it was to his college, and not to the cathedral, that he gave money for desks in the library, and for choir stalls in the chapel as well. The word "ecclesiae," often used in the records of Merton College to refer to the chapel, which sometimes served as a parish church as well, was assumed by Browne Willis in 1727 to refer to the cathedral; and through some mischance he associated the desks, too, with Hereford.<sup>51</sup> His statement that Rammesbury had provided for the desks in the cathedral library was universally accepted until the appearance of *The Chained Library*. The chapter *Act Book* records the order for the removal of the library from "the cloister where it has been of old" to the Ladye Chapel.<sup>52</sup> The library was twice more transferred before its restoration, in 1930, by Canon Streeter.

Contemporary descriptions of medieval library interiors are almost unknown and hence must be improvised from fragmentary information and archeological remains. For an example see the description of Tychefield about 1400, given by F. Madan in his *Books in Manuscript* (pp. 91-92). Large views of early library rooms are also wanting in manuscripts. An exceptionally interesting view of an Italian library of about 1400, from a manuscript in the British Museum, is reproduced in G. R. Sitwell, *Tales of My Native Village* (Oxford, 1933, p. 37). The interior of a library from a miniature in a French translation of Boethius (reproduced as Fig. 64 in Clark, *op. cit.*) is of

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 314-15.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 83 ff.

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the fifteenth century; and practically all the illustrations in Clark's chapter on private collections are also late. Illustrations of individual scholars at work at their desks, surrounded by books, and of nooks and corners of medieval libraries are found both in manuscripts and early printed books.

Survivals of medieval practices persisted long after the invention of printing. One of the last illustrations in Clark's *The Care of Books*, for example, the engraved title-page from the works of Dr. John Boys (1622), shows books, although standing upright and not chained, so placed as to show not their backs but their fore edges. The practice, therefore, of inscribing titles upon fore edges long survived.

Medieval library lore is full of interesting information concerning the lending of books. In the absence of bookshops and bibliographical services in the Middle Ages, monasteries, as well as individual scholars, could obtain books or information about books in four different ways: they could borrow a volume and have it copied; they could send a copyist to another monastery to transcribe a manuscript; they could order the transcription of a book; or they could exchange books. The most common method was the first. Generally, loans were made on a pledge, for books were valuable property. "It is not our custom," the prior of Hildesheim informed Abbot Wibald of Corvey in 1150, "to lend books without good security."<sup>33</sup> But even against a pledge it was hazardous to send out books. Many monastic libraries, therefore, put their volumes under anathema, that is, threatened with excommunication anyone who should lend them. This severe practice, however, was formally condemned by the Council of Paris in 1212, which decreed:

We forbid them to swear that they will not loan books to the poor, for loaning is one of the principle works of mercy. We wish that after a serious examination the books should be divided into two categories: one should remain in the house for the use of the brothers; the other should be loaned to the poor, on the advice of the abbot, who should see to it that the interests of the house be not hurt. That henceforth no book should be put under anathema. We annul all anathemas imposed in the past.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Sandys, *op. cit.*, I, 619.

<sup>34</sup> P. Labbé, *Concilia*, XI, 69, 70.

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Many examples of interlibrary loan have been given in preceding chapters.<sup>55</sup> It should be pointed out here that even international borrowing of books existed in early times. St. Boniface in Germany had frequently borrowed from England. Alcuin once wrote Bishop Arno of Salzburg, whom he sent a copy of *Ecclesiastes*: "I pray that it may be copied quickly and soon returned."<sup>56</sup> Nicholas, the secretary to Bernard of Clairvaux, worked out an interlibrary loan system of his own; he loaned books only on condition that a copy of each volume be returned with the original. These duplicates he sold or exchanged for new manuscripts. "Make haste," he wrote to Peter of Celle, who had borrowed two volumes of St. Bernard's works, "and quickly copy these and send them to me; and according to my bargain, cause a copy to be made for me. And both those which I have sent to you, and the copies, as I have said, send to me, and take care that I do not lose a single title." He himself never made such terms when he borrowed.<sup>57</sup> How extensive the exchange or sale of duplicates was in the Middle Ages is a matter of conjecture. M. R. James remarked in this connection:

Among the gifts made to the library [of Peterhouse] in the fifteenth century there are one or two which raise curious questions. One book comes from Bury and has the Bury mark. Another belonged to the canons of Hereford; another to Worcester; another to Durham [it is still identifiable in the Durham catalogue of 1391], and there are other instances of the kind. Such phenomena make one very anxious to know how freely and under what conditions collegiate and monastic bodies were in the habit of parting with their books during the time before the Dissolution. Was there not very probably an extensive system of sale of duplicates? I prefer this notion to the idea that they got rid of their books indiscriminately, because a study of monastic catalogues shows quite plainly that the number of duplicates in any considerable library was very large. On the other hand it is clear that books often got out of the old libraries into the hands of quite unauthorized persons: so that there was probably both fair and foul play in this matter.<sup>58</sup>

Bishop Otto of Lonstorf (1254-65) lent many of his books to Austrian and southern German monasteries; some even went as far

<sup>55</sup> See also O. Lerche, "Das älteste Ausleihverzeichnis einer deutschen Bibliothek," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XXVII (1910), 441-50; P. Gambier, "Lending Books in a Medieval Nunnery," *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, V (1927), 188-90.

<sup>56</sup> *Ep. cxliv*; Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, C, col. 391

<sup>57</sup> Maitland, *op. cit.*, p. 477.

<sup>58</sup> *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, IX, 399.

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as Bohemia.<sup>59</sup> In 1259 the monks of Corbie twice appealed to the Archbishop of Rouen to use his authority to compel the abbey of St. Eloi to return volumes it had borrowed.<sup>60</sup> Deliberate theft of books was not common, but carelessly managed libraries suffered losses from negligence. Manuscripts also suffered from careless handling, and admonitions against this are common. Peter Damiani commanded that the books in Fonte Avallana library should not be handled with bare hands or ever exposed to smoke or heat.<sup>61</sup> Theft of illuminated codices, however, because of the gold and silver used in their decoration, was all too general. When Hildebrand seized the treasure of Farfa, he took away with him four beautifully embellished works.<sup>62</sup> The *Chronicon Scotorum* under the year 1005 relates that "the great gospel of Colum Cille was wickedly stolen in the night. It was recovered, however, before the end of the quarter, but only after its gold and silver had been stolen off it."<sup>63</sup>

<sup>59</sup> A. Czerny, *Die Bibliothek des Chorherrnstiftes St. Florian*, pp. 223-26.

<sup>60</sup> L. Delisle, *Recherches*, p. 499.

<sup>61</sup> Dresdner, *Kultur- und Sittengeschichte der italienischen Geistlichkeit im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert*, pp. 231-32.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> Ed. W. M. Hennessy ("Rolls Series," No. 46), p. 245.

## CHAPTER XX

### Paper, the Book Trade, and Book Prices

THE ancient book was made of papyrus; the medieval book, of parchment. Each of these writing materials in its time revolutionized the art of book-making. But the most revolutionary change in the history of the book before the invention of printing was the invention of paper. For paper, being far less expensive than parchment, was a godsend to students and scholars. This technological innovation had incalculable consequences. The use of paper in Europe was the largest single factor responsible for the Renaissance, as well as for the invention of printing. Printing and the critical spirit of the Renaissance became, in turn, the foundations of science, of capitalism, of the modern state, of modern civilization. A moment's reflection will show that without cheap paper there could be no universal literacy or science or credit system. One may say, in a paradox, that modern society is founded upon paper.

A whole series of questions arises in connection with the origin of paper.<sup>1</sup> Who invented it? Who first introduced it into Europe? Where was it manufactured? What elements went into its composition? These are not merely academic problems, for the subject of paper is intimately connected with the growth of two great cultures.

Modern paper is made either from rags or pulp. All paper has to have the qualities of cohesion and fibrousness. Now, what materials contribute these two elements? Obviously the best and longest fibers come from some kind of textile: linen, hemp, flax, or some combination of these fabrics. The problem of cotton also enters, but it was little used in the Middle Ages.

<sup>1</sup> The most thorough and scholarly brief account of the history of paper is by André Blum, now available in an English translation by H. M. Lydenberg, under the title *On the Origin of Paper* (New York, 1934).

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The Chinese who is said to have first made paper was Ts'ai Lun, from Hunan province, north of Canton, who was a contemporary of Christ. In the British Museum there are samples of the oldest known paper documents from China, Buddhist texts dating from the second and third centuries after Christ.<sup>2</sup> A microscopic analysis of other old papers, discovered by Aurel Stein, reveals that they are made of a mixture of bark and rags, mainly hemp.<sup>3</sup>

For centuries paper seems to have remained a Chinese article, but gradually it found its way into central Asia and Persia, following the caravan route which Marco Polo later made famous, through the Gobi Desert to Samarkand. The Moslem Arabs, who captured Samarkand, were quick to realize the value of paper.<sup>4</sup> Thus they had a monopoly of paper and papyrus, two of the three writing materials known at that time. While Europe was completely cut off from its writing supplies,<sup>5</sup> the Mohammedan world, with unlimited writing material at its disposal, was enabled to create a remarkable literary and scientific culture. As early as the time of Harun al-Rashid, in the eighth century, there were paper factories in Bagdad and Syria (Damascus, Tripoli, and Hamah), where fine white hemp was grown.

Contrary to what is widely thought, the use of papyrus was not confined to antiquity but continued until as late as the eleventh century. It was rarely used for codices but was much employed for diplomas and notarial records. The popes, in particular, were partial to papyrus, which was not superseded by parchment until the pontificate of Benedict VIII (1020-22).<sup>6</sup>

In the thirteenth century, paper definitely entered Europe, al-

<sup>2</sup> T. F. Carter, *The Invention of Printing* (New York, 1925), p. 5; A. Conrady, *Die chinesischen Handschriften und sonstigen Kleinfunde Soen Hedins in Lou-Lan* (Stockholm, 1920); E. Chabanne, *Les Documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein dans les sables du Turkestan oriental* (Oxford, 1913), p. iii.

<sup>3</sup> J. von Wiesner, *Ueber die ältesten bis jetzt aufgefundenen Fasernpapiere* (Vienna, 1911).

<sup>4</sup> J. Karabacek, *Das arabische Papier* (Vienna, 1887); P. Pelliot, "Des artisans chinois à la capitale abbasside en 751-762," *T'oung Pao*, XXVI (1929), 110-12.

<sup>5</sup> H. Pirenne, "Le Commerce du papyrus dans la Gaule mérovingienne," in *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, 1928, pp. 178, 299.

<sup>6</sup> W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, pp. 96-114; Pirenne, *op. cit.*, pp. 173 ff.



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though it had been previously used in southern Italy until its use was abolished by Emperor Frederick II on account of its fragility.<sup>7</sup> Two countries, Italy and Spain, have claimed the priority of first manufacturing linen paper. As for Italy, Palermo possesses a paper text written in 1109,<sup>8</sup> and Genoa a similar document from the middle of the twelfth century.<sup>9</sup> But there is nothing to show that these papers were of local manufacture. They were probably imported, for the first Italian paper mill, that of Fabriano, was not built until 1276.<sup>10</sup>

Both logic and fact, not to speak of geography, show that paper penetrated Europe through Spain, where the Arabs had been manufacturing it for centuries. Long before Europe knew paper, Spanish Christians were acquainted with it; they made an etymological distinction between parchment (*pergamino de cuero*) and paper (*pergamino de pano*).<sup>11</sup> Further proof is to be found in two old paper documents from the monastery of Silos near Burgos. One of these, dating from the eleventh century, is a catalogue of the abbey library, written on 157 pages of very white rag paper.<sup>12</sup> The other manuscript (now in the Bibliothèque nationale), is a Latin glossary in Visigothic characters, not later than the twelfth century, containing 123 mixed leaves of parchment and paper.<sup>13</sup>

Arabic Spain had paper mills long before the rest of Europe. But what was the paper made of? Scholars had been arguing the point for years. Early in the twelfth century, Peter the Venerable (1092–1156) visited Spain and there noticed copies of the Talmud written on strange stuff which was manufactured by Jews. The puzzled

<sup>7</sup> F. Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, V, Part II, 614.

<sup>8</sup> G. la Mantia, *Il primo documento in carta esistente in Sicilia* (Palermo, 1908).

<sup>9</sup> M. Amari, "Nuove ricordi arabici su la storia di Genova," *Atti della società liguri di storia*, V (1867), 633.

<sup>10</sup> C. M. Briquet, *Sur les papiers usités en Sicile, à l'occasion de deux manuscrits en papier dit de coton* (Palermo, 1892).

<sup>11</sup> See the ordinance of 1265 by Alphonso X, the Wise, of Castile, in *Recueil de lois d'Alphonse X le Sage de Castille*, ed. by Berni (Valencia, 1759), XVII, 111.

<sup>12</sup> "Breviarum et missale Mozarabicum," included in the thirteenth-century *Vingt livres des étymologies de Saint Isidore*; see M. Férotin, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Silos* (Paris, 1897), p. 275; W. M. Whitehill and J. Perez de Urbel, "Los Manuscritos del real monasterio de Sancto Domingo de Silos," *Boletín de la real academia de la historia*, XCV (1929), 521–601.

<sup>13</sup> L. Delisle, *Mélanges de paléographie et de bibliographie* (Paris, 1880), p. 108.

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abbot recorded his observation in a much disputed passage, "Ex rasuris pannorum, seu ex qualibet alia forte viliore materia."<sup>14</sup> The first two perplexing words led to much confusion. Maffei and Mabilon misconstrued the phrase "rasuris pannorum" to mean cotton. But why cotton?<sup>15</sup> The correct translation is merely "scraps of rags." We also know that the oldest and most important paper mill of Spain was at Xativa, near Valencia, a city famous for its linen manufactures.<sup>16</sup>

The paper industry in Xativa, or Jativa, was under the special protection of the khalifs. The Christians, after their conquest of Valencia, recognized its value and continued the protective tradition of the Arabs. A decree, of James I of Aragon in 1273, confirmed the Jews in their manufacturing privileges and regulated the taxation at 3 deniers per ream.<sup>17</sup> Jews apparently controlled this industry in Spain and may have been responsible for the introduction of paper into Christian Europe.<sup>18</sup>

The oldest European paper mill after Xativa was that in Fabriano in Italy, built in 1276.<sup>19</sup> Other Italian cities soon followed. A mill was established at Bologna in 1293 and at Padua in 1340; mills at Genoa and Treviso soon followed. Italy, thanks to a perfected technique, became the center of paper manufacture in Christendom. The industry became so important that in 1373 the Venetian senate forbade the exportation of rags, so as to preserve a monopoly on its product.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Tractatus adversus Judaeos*; Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CLXXXIX, col. 606.

<sup>15</sup> Microscopic examination of early paper specimens fails to discover the use of cotton at any time as a major ingredient.

<sup>16</sup> Edrisi, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, tr. and ed. by R. Dozy and M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1866), p. 233.

<sup>17</sup> *Derechos reales impuestos a los Judios que en Xativa fabricaban papel* (decree of James I, Feb. 8, 1273, in the Archives of Barcelona).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. P. Berger and M. Schwab, "Le plus ancien manuscrit hébreu," *Journal asiatique*, II (1913), 139-75.

<sup>19</sup> By an error in manuscript reading, there was once a belief that a paper factory was built in the town of Lodève, in the department of Hérault, France, as early as 1189; this has been exploded; see J. Berthélé, "Un prétendu moulin à papier sur l'Hérault en 1189," *Bibliographie moderne*, X (1905), 201-13.

<sup>20</sup> G. H. Putnam, *Books and Their Makers during the Middle Ages* (New York, 1896-97), I, 409.

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In France the first paper mills were those of Troyes, built in 1348.<sup>22</sup> Hitherto, France had used Spanish paper. Like the book-dealers, the early French paper manufacturers were exempt from taxation, although the tax farmers frequently disputed the exemption. The first paper mill in England was established in Herefordshire. It is mentioned in Henry VII's *Household Book* under the years 1498-99, but there is an earlier reference to it in the *prohemium* of Bartholomaeus, *De proprietatibus rerum*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde about 1490.<sup>23</sup>

In Germany the first paper mill was built at Nuremberg in 1390. For a long time some German scholars claimed that the honor of first producing linen paper belonged to Ravensburg, where the Holbein family was supposed to have built a mill early in the fourteenth century. In reality there is not the slightest proof of the existence of such a factory.<sup>24</sup> Germany still imported her best paper from Italy, particularly from Milan. Early German paper specimens show foreign, especially Italian, watermarks. Stromer, the owner of the Nuremberg mill, had difficulties with his Italian workers, who accused him of having stolen their secret. Other German paper mills were those of Lübeck (1420), Basel (1440), Bautzen (1445), Augsburg (1468), and Kempten (1477)—all built in a period when Germany began to produce excellent paper, thanks to the importation of Spanish workers from Galicia. Germany was thus in a position to become the center of printing in Europe.

The descent of paper can be thus traced from its source to its final diffusion in Europe. From China it was brought to Samarkand, from Samarkand to Syria, from Syria to Egypt, from Egypt to Sicily, southern Italy, and Spain. From Spain paper entered southern France. Italy supplied paper to Germany, while France performed the same service to the Low Countries and to England. The earliest

<sup>22</sup> L. le Clerc, *Le Papier, recherches et notes pour servir à l'histoire du papier, principalement à Troyes et aux environs depuis le XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1926).

<sup>23</sup> Quoted by B. Botfield, *Prefaces to the First Editions of the Greek and Roman Classics and of the Sacred Scriptures* (London, 1861), p. xlviii. See, further, R. Jenkins, "Early Attempts at Paper-making in England, 1495-1586," *Library Association Record*, II (1900), 479 ff.

<sup>24</sup> The whole problem is sharply treated by Sotzmann, "Ueber die ältere Papierfabrikation, insbesondere über die Frage: ob die von Ravensburg die älteste und erheblichste in Deutschland gewesen sei," *Serapeum*, VII (1846), 97-108, 123-28.

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paper specimen used by Englishmen is found in the account books of Gascony, the English possession in France in the fourteenth century. Most of this paper came from Bordeaux, whence it made its way to England.

We have seen that it took five centuries for paper to penetrate into Europe, despite the disappearance of papyrus. There were at least three reasons why Christendom was reluctant in its acceptance of paper. One was the fragility of paper as compared to parchment, which made chancelleries doubt the permanency of documents inscribed on it. Another reason was Christian fanaticism, which distrusted and hated everything that came from infidel sources, and paper was a Jewish-Arabic product. The third reason was the high price of paper which, being an imported article, was almost as expensive as parchment.

Gradually paper decreased in price, perhaps because of the new fashion of wearing linen, rather than woolen, shirts.<sup>24</sup> One thing, however, is certain: by the end of the fifteenth century the prejudice against paper disappeared, and this article—now produced in many cities in great quantities and at relatively low prices<sup>25</sup>—became, with the help of the printing-press, the foundation of modern civilization.

Library history always involves that of book production and distribution. We must therefore consider the medieval book trade and book prices, to complete our story. The Middle Ages had no publishers, no book clubs, no rental libraries, no high-pressure advertising, no review journals, and no literary publicity. No book stores existed to serve the diverse tastes of a large public. The medieval reading-public, if it can be called that, was confined to a small class of persons, mainly clerical, whose interests were chiefly theological. Ordinarily, any reader could acquire books only by copying them himself or by hiring a scribe to do this for him. It was not often that,

<sup>24</sup> S. Luce, *Histoire de Duguesclîn* (Paris, 1896), p. 60.

<sup>25</sup> The journal of expenses of the French King John the Good, an English prisoner in 1356-64, contains the following entries for 1359-60: "deux quaiers de papier valant dix-huit deniers" and "quatre quaiers de papier à deux shillings quatre deniers"; see L. C. Douët d'Arcq (ed.), *Comptes de l'hôtel des rois de France au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1851), pp. 208, 219, 227. In the account book of Charles VI there is a mention of "huit a douze sols parisis pour un papier neuf acheté a l'office de panneterie" (*ibid.*, pp. 64, 67).

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like Richard de Bury, he could purchase a volume from some wandering scholar or monk. Occasionally, declining monasteries would sell their few precious manuscripts, but in general book sales of any kind were quite rare. The case of Charlemagne, who ordered in his will that his books be sold after his death, was almost without parallel. Some religious foundations, when in need of funds, might pawn their books and be unable to redeem them. Yet, despite these difficulties, however, a few determined and wealthy persons indulged in the arduous sport of collecting books for their beauty and fine bindings. The race of bibliophiles is persistent. Indeed, even Isidore of Seville (d. 636) could speak, in his *Soliloquia*, of those who "wish to have many books with fine and attractive bindings, and keep them in closed book-cases, never reading them nor letting others benefit from them."

But, in spite of the demand for books by normal readers and collectors, there is little evidence of the commercial production of books for many centuries except in Italy, where the trade seemingly survived all the vicissitudes of fortune in the collapse of Roman civilization. Elsewhere it was not until the rise of the universities in the thirteenth century that books and booksellers were multiplied. Henceforth the book trade may be said to have become general in Europe. Aside from Rome, always a center of book production, Bologna and Paris were the first important places of the book trade. The great popularity and immense production of Abelard's writings is evidence that the book trade in Paris must have been on a business basis as early as 1140, and a letter of St. Bernard is luminous testimony as to the quantity production and wide circulation of Abelard's writing:

I would that his poisonous pages were still lying hid in bookcases, and not read at the cross-roads. His books fly abroad. . . . Over cities and castles darkness is cast instead of light. . . . His books have passed from nation to nation, and from one kingdom to another people. . . . It is his boast that his book has where to lay its head, even in the Roman curia.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup> *Epp.* cxxxviii-ix; Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CLXXXII, cols. 353B, 355A. Cf. G. Paré, A. Brunet, and P. Tremblay, *La Renaissance du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, pp. 87-91.

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Later in the same century a letter of Peter of Blois again throws light upon the book trade in Paris.<sup>27</sup>

In the thirteenth century the intellectual life of Europe in large degree shifted from the cathedral schools to the new universities. This shift wrought an important change in the history of the book.<sup>28</sup> As the very life of a university was dependent upon an abundance of textbooks, a method grew up which permitted rapid multiplication of copies. First, a standard exemplar of the textbook was made in loose fascicles of 4 folios, called "peciae." These were then distributed to scribes, each of whom produced copies of his single piece to the number ordered. As the copyist soon became familiar with the text, he could write it very quickly—indeed, almost mechanically. The employing stationer, as his various scribes turned in their work, could either assemble the pieces into complete volumes and bind them, or rent them, one by one, to the student for small fees.<sup>29</sup> Often the student seems to have kept his rented *pecia* only long enough to copy it for himself. Thus, the medieval universities secured a multiplication of their textbooks which, while not comparable to the quantity production later made possible by the printing-press, nevertheless represented a great advance upon any earlier method. This system was in full swing in the universities of Bologna, Padua, and Paris by the middle of the thirteenth century and rapidly spread to other universities. The most important treatises on canon and civil law, theology, medicine, and the liberal arts were thus put into wide circulation as textbooks.

Well-to-do students, of course, enjoyed the luxury of possessing a

<sup>27</sup> "Cum dominus rex Anglorum me nuper ad dominum regem Francorum nuntium destinasset, libri legum venales Parisius oblatis mihi ab illo B. publico mangone librorum; qui cum ad opus cujusdam mei nepotis idonei viderentur, conveni cum eo de pretio, et eos apud venditorem dimittens, ei pretium numeravi: superveniens vero C. Saxeburgensis praepositus, sicut audivi, plus obtulit, et licitatione vincens libros de domo venditoris per violentiam asportavit" (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CCVII, col. 219).

<sup>28</sup> H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1895), I, 415-17.

<sup>29</sup> R. Steele, "The Pecia," *Library*, 1930, pp. 230-34; J. Destrez, *La Pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires* (Paris, 1935), reviewed in *Isis*, XXV, 155-57. Later the *pecia* became a trade unit of quantity on which both copyists' wages and readers' rental charges were based. At Bologna, for example the standard was 8 two-column pages each containing 60 lines of 32 letters.

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considerable number of books. A contract signed between the priest of a local church in Bologna and two German students provided for board and lodging, the food to consist of good bread and wine in the morning and meat at evening. Fire was to be furnished when necessary, and a servant to carry their books, for the sum of 50 Bolognese lire a year. Volumes at this period were so huge and so heavy, being made of leather or parchment, that to transport them back and forth between lodgings and classroom was a laborious task. That the university beadle's fee was based upon the desk space occupied by a student's books is another indication of their cumbrousness at this time.<sup>30</sup>

The early booksellers were known as "stationarii," perhaps from the open stalls in which they conducted their business, for the word "statio" is a common term for a shop in the Middle Ages. The English word "stationery" is derived from it.<sup>31</sup> The first "publisher's code," to use a modern phrase, was promulgated by the University of Bologna, which in 1259 issued an epoch-making statute regulating the sales, loans, and production of books used by the university. This was aimed at the protection of the interests of students, most of whom were poor and hardly able to afford the price of even a single volume. Without the legal safeguard, students were at the mercy of the *stationarii*. The statute of 1259 and the supplementary one of 1289 minutely regulated both loans and sales.

The stationers were attached to the university, in whose vicinity they had their bookstalls. University authorities rigidly supervised and controlled them and periodically inspected their stock. The stationers were compelled to keep only correct copies and were forbidden to increase the rental rate arbitrarily or to dispose of manuscripts to other schools. Any violation of these rules was punishable

<sup>30</sup> *La Rassegna nazionale*, November 1, 1897.

<sup>31</sup> "They [the stationers] sold parchment and other materials of writing . . . and naturally exercised the kindred occupations of binding and decorating the books they dealt in. The *librarii* were properly those who transcribed new books, the *antiquarii* old ones. This distinction is as old as Cassiodorus, but doubtless it was not strictly observed in later times" (H. Hallam, *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, I, 243). Roger Bacon hotly criticized the *stationarii*: "Cum illiterati fuerint et uxorati, non curantes, nec scientes curare de veritate textus sacri proposuerunt exemplaria vitiosissima, et scriptores infiniti addiderunt ad corruptionem multas mutationes" (*Opus minus*, ed. Brewer, p. 333).

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by fine. In the fourteenth century the regulations dealing with the stationers were sharpened. The stationers were ordered to keep in stock 117 specified books, all divided into *peciae*. All books, new or old, had to be carefully revised and corrected by a university board of six members—three Italians and three foreigners. False or incorrect texts were to be corrected by members of the faculty at the expense of the stationer. Should the latter rent a faulty book, the student was to return it and the stationer to be punished by fine, a quarter of which went to the denouncer. These regulations were posted by the stationer in his stall, where they could be seen by every customer.<sup>32</sup>

These regulations applied mainly to the renting stationers. But the selling stationers, *venditores librorum*, were likewise strictly controlled. They could not buy books without revealing their trade status to the seller, a provision probably designed to prevent them from cornering the market. Nor could they sell a book above standard prices. Early in the Renaissance epoch, when the revival of the classics stimulated production, the stationers, now catering to a wider market, became public booksellers, untrammelled by university restrictions. Since some of them were also paper-makers, the profession came to be known as "cartolaji." They issued texts, acted as agents, and employed staffs of scribes for copying books. When printing was introduced, some of them became the first printers and publishers.

Sixteen years after the first Bologna statute, in 1275, the University of Paris issued a decree, concerning stationers, closely resembling that of the Italian city. It is usually considered the second important regulation of stationers, though possibly Spain should take precedence over France. Sometime between 1252 and 1285 Alphonso X of Castile, in his code *Siete partidas*, regulated the sales, loans, and production of books in precisely the same way as Bologna. The Span-

<sup>32</sup> A. Kirchhoff, *Die Handschriftenhändler des Mittelalters* (2d ed.: Leipzig, 1853), first published in *Serapeum*, XIII (1852); H. Rashdall, *op. cit.*, I, 191-92; H. Denifle, *Archiv für Literatur und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, III, 291-97. The rentals were 4 dinars per quarto or 2 dinars per *pecia*; those loaned outside of Bologna, usually no farther than 30 miles, involved an additional 2 dinars per quarto. Students deposited a pledge for each borrowed *pecia*, the loss of which cost the student 10 soldi.



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ish university authorities were to supervise the texts, control rentals, and appoint the stationers. "The rector and his council," Alphonso decreed, "should determine how much the stationer should receive for every quaternion which he rented to students."<sup>33</sup>

But to return to Paris, the fame of whose university attracted large numbers of poor students, who were at the mercy of the dealers: here all the men connected with the book trade—*libraires*, scribes, parchment-makers, illuminators, and binders—lived in the Latin quarter and were *mestiers frans*, that is, tax free.<sup>34</sup>

The detailed laws concerning stationers cannot be understood without some conception of the difficulties and expense that went into the making of books. As late as 1470, for example, a French parish priest paid the equivalent of 160 bushels of wheat for an antiphonary.<sup>35</sup> Four centuries before that date, about 1057, a monk, speaking of a certain homiliary, gave the Abbot of Vendôme what may be to us startling information.

Most dearly beloved father. We wish you to know that the codex of which we heard was commissioned by the countess from Martin, the present bishop, at a high price. On one occasion she gave him a hundred sheep for the book, on another, for same book, a bushel each of wheat and barley and millet. Again for the same purpose she gave a hundred sheep and at another time a quantity of marten pelts. And when he left the countess' service, he received from her four pounds with which to buy sheep. Furthermore, he asked for the money and began to complain about the task, whereupon she at once sent him what was due.<sup>36</sup>

Clearly, under such conditions the university authorities were bound to do something for the aid of poor scholars. The bookseller was ordered to display all his stock, to set an honest price, and to inscribe it, with his name, in each of the books. A poor student was entitled to rent a copy of Aquinas' *Summa* for 3 sous, or about 15

<sup>33</sup> *Las siete partidas del rey don Alfonso el Sabio* (Madrid, 1807), II, 345-46.

<sup>34</sup> P. Delalain, *Etude sur le libraire parisien du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1891); L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York, 1923), II, 405. The Paris tax roll of 1292 shows 12 copyists, 8 book-dealers, and 17 binders; in 1329 there were 29 dealers, 2 of whom were women; the list of 1368 shows 14 dealers, 11 copyists, and 6 binders.

<sup>35</sup> A. Lecoy de la Marche, "L'Art d'écrire et les calligraphes," *Revue des questions historiques*, XXXVI (1884), 206.

<sup>36</sup> Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CLI, cols. 697-98.

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shillings, and the second book of the *Decretals* for 4 sous.<sup>27</sup> The Introduction to the statute of 1275 reads:

It is known that the field which produces the most abundant fruit is the one to which the cultivator devotes his greatest attention. Thus we [University of Paris], who work in the field of the Lord in order to reap the precious fruit a hundred fold, with the grace of God, by our virtues and by knowledge—so as to avoid the evil and the obstacles which we have to fear, especially on the part of those who, around the colleges of the university, devote themselves, by the desire of gain, to dishonest acts in their commercial operations and in the exercise of their profession—decree that the stationers, vulgarly called *libraires*, should, once a year or at least every two years, personally take an oath to receive books which are intrusted to them for sale, to keep them in stock, to expose them for sale, to sell them, and to comport themselves in good faith and loyalty in all the activities of their profession around the colleges.<sup>28</sup>

The statute of 1275 was supplemented by others in 1292, 1323, and 1342. Each dealer was required to post conspicuously in his stalls a list of his whole stock, to keep the necessary textbooks, and not to refuse to rent them. Books were to be inspected by university authorities before they could be rented or sold. To prevent speculation and price-raising, the university finally granted licenses only to stationers known to be of good reputation and sufficient education. Each one had to deposit a pledge of 100 livres before he was given a license to open his booth near the university. He could sell books, on commission, only in the presence of two witnesses. The oath of the stationers read in part:

You swear always to act in good faith and loyally in the pursuit of the commerce in books . . . not to suppress or hide any book which you have for sale . . . to set a just price . . . to put in a corner of the book, in full view, the sale price and the name of the seller . . . not to sell the book . . . without informing the owner . . . that the copies which you have are as correct as possible . . . not to ask from scholars and masters more than the price set by the university.<sup>29</sup>

Having taken the oath, a stationer was given a license and invested in office by the rector of the university. The following typical investiture is from the year 1378.

<sup>27</sup> J. Destrez, "Études critiques sur les œuvres de St. Thomas d'Aquin," *Bibliothèque thomiste*, XVIII (1933), 8.

<sup>28</sup> Text in Delalain, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-6.

<sup>29</sup> Statute of 1302; text in *ibid.*, pp. 6-9.

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William Gorran, Rector of the University of Paris, to all those present, greetings in the name of Our Lord. Know ye that before us appeared in person one Etienne, called Angevin, writer, living in Paris, clerk in the diocese of Sens, who, wishing and desiring to live under the protection of our mother the university, and exercising in said place the office of writer and *libraire*, has humbly supplicated us to be admitted to the exercise of said office. After a preliminary examination, as is seeming, of his good reputation, his honest life, his education and his sufficient literary knowledge; after attesting a valid pledge, we have taken an oath from said Etienne relative to the exercise of the profession of writer and *libraire* in accordance with the usage of said university. And, at our request, he obligated himself toward us with all his goods, moveable and immoveable, under oath. He promised and guaranteed us not to act prejudicially against any masters and students who will bring him their books for sale. Wherefor we wish that he enjoy, by these present, the franchises, liberties, privileges, and immunities as are enjoyed by the other *libraires* and writers exercising the same office in the university.<sup>40</sup>

The word "libraire," roughly "bookman," covered the whole corporation of persons engaged in the making or selling of books. The guild, under the wing of the university, included also copyists, rubricators, illuminators, and binders.<sup>41</sup> Those who dealt directly with the public had their stalls near public buildings, such as churches and palaces, or frequented places such as bridges and squares.<sup>42</sup>

In the lands of the Holy Roman Empire, especially Germany and Austria proper, there were few great universities and hence less regulation of stationers. As early as 1230, Strassburg had one *Stacionierer*.<sup>43</sup> In the following century that city had a few men engaged in the book trade; one hears of "Buchschreiber" as well as illuminators, who were variously referred to as "scribae aurarii," "Goldschreiber," and "Guldinschreiber." These "gold-writers" prepared their own paints, gold or color, and adorned not only manuscripts but also playing cards. It was apparently a lucrative pro-

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

<sup>41</sup> M. Lalanne, *Curiosités bibliographiques* (Paris, 1845), p. 126. In Bruges, in the fourteenth century, there were disputes between the illuminators and booksellers over the question of inviting outside talent to illustrate books; cf. L. Gilliodts von Severen, *Inventaire des archives de la ville de Bruges* (Bruges, 1871), p. 134.

<sup>42</sup> In other French cities, such as Angers, Orléans, Rouen, and Montpellier, statutes resembling those of Paris and Bologna were also in force.

<sup>43</sup> C. Schmidt, "Livres et bibliothèques à Strasbourg au moyen âge," *Annales de l'est.* 1893, pp. 583 ff.

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fession, for one of them seems to have possessed his own house and garden outside the walls of Strassburg. Even before the invention of printing, Germany was a great book center.<sup>44</sup>

At Vienna, the second oldest German university (founded in 1365), there were *librarii* attached to the school. According to the university statutes of 1385, these stationers were required to give oath to the rector, promising to be honest in their dealings and not to sell their books to outsiders.<sup>45</sup> These stationers seem also to have been engaged in the craft of parchment-making, for the records refer to them interchangeably as "pergamentarii" and "stationarii." They had their stalls in the Brandstatt, near St. Stephen's Church.<sup>46</sup>

At the University of Prague in 1384 professional scribes copied books which were carefully supervised by the authorities. Heidelberg, whose university was founded in 1386, copied the statutes of Paris. As for the Low Countries, stationers' guilds were not organized until the fifteenth century.<sup>47</sup>

In England the university stationers ("stacyoneres") were not strictly regulated, although their business was the same as that of their Continental colleagues. As in Paris, so in Oxford, stationers customarily inscribed the price of the book on the first page and received a commission on each sale. The English book trade, however, developed not around the universities, as on the Continent, but in London, where the stationers formed a guild as early as 1403. The first guildhall of the bookmen was near St. Paul's cathedral, where the dealers had their stalls. They then moved to Paternoster Row, which ultimately became the heart of the English book trade and publishing enterprise.<sup>48</sup> What I believe to be the only known illustration of the interior of a medieval bookshop before the invention

<sup>44</sup> J. W. Thompson, *The Frankfort Book Fair* (Chicago, 1911).

<sup>45</sup> R. Kink (ed.), *Geschichte der kaiserlichen Universität zu Wien* (Vienna, 1854), II, 86, 155.

<sup>46</sup> In 1436 Vienna had 16 book-dealers; as in other European cities, the dealers in Vienna sold their books near churches; see *Sitzungsberichte der wiener Akademie*, LXXI, 495; A. Czerny, *Bibliothek des Chorherrnstiftes St. Florian* (Linz, 1874), pp. 65-75.

<sup>47</sup> A. Kirchhoff, *Scrapsium*, XIV (1852), 307-15; J. F. Willems, *Berigten wegens de boek printers van Antwerpen, ten jare 1442* (Ghent, 1844), p. 16.

<sup>48</sup> Kirchhoff, *op. cit.*, XIII, 315-20; M. Bateson, *Medieval England* (New York, 1904), p. 156.

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of printing is on folio 91, verso, of Tiberius A.VIII, Cottonian Collection, British Museum, of the fourteenth-century manuscript *The Pilgrim*. This poem, in Old English verse, consists of dialogues between a pilgrim and sundry virtues and vices. There are many other pictures in the manuscript, which is unpublished and deserves to be studied as art, as literature, and for its linguistic importance.

In Florence, even after printing was invented, Vespasiano da Bisticci kept the most important bookshop in Europe. His staff of copyists turned out numerous manuscripts in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. He received book orders from Germany, Hungary, France, Spain, and England and was the chief agent of three of the greatest collectors of the fifteenth century—Cosimo dei Medici, Pope Nicholas V, and Duke Frederick of Urbino. When Cosimo, who had already established three libraries, resolved to form a fourth, he returned to Vespasiano for assistance, and the latter promptly put forty-five copyists to work; within two years they turned out 200 manuscripts. In the same way he spent fourteen years in forming the library of the Duke of Urbino, who, although printing had already been introduced into Italy, would have nothing but manuscripts in his collection. In 1470 the highly cultivated Italian scholar and book-lover, Filelfo, confessed that it was with reluctance that he had purchased "some of those codices they are now making without any trouble, and without a pen, but with certain so-called types, and which seem to be the work of a skilled and exact scribe."<sup>49</sup>

The profits of both the transcriber and the corrector, when manuscripts began to be produced commercially, were enlarged by an appearance of neatness, to which fidelity of transcription became subservient. Interlinear insertions were carefully avoided in order not to detract from the beauty of the book. If even a syllable was omitted, the whole sentence was repeated, but without canceling the defective line, because to do so would deface the page; or else the correction was inserted at the end of the volume as a corrigendum.

Many detailed records of book prices in the Middle Ages may be cited. But unless the purchasing power of the money can be estimated, it is impossible to determine the actual cost. The accom-

<sup>49</sup> Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, II, 96.

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panying table is not exhaustive and is given only for purposes of comparison and illustration. Any attempt to estimate medieval prices in terms of contemporary values is bound to be meaningless. The most one can say on the subject, from the point of view of price relativity, is that a medieval copyist received approximately the same pay as a laborer; in fourteenth-century England a scribe was paid 2 pence a day and so was an agricultural laborer.<sup>50</sup>

Medieval books were obviously expensive, but it is difficult to make any generalization for lack of standards. The sources rarely tell whether or not a particular book was illuminated, well bound, or illustrated. Nor do we know the size, the number of pages, the number of lines, or the quality of the writing. It is self-evident that all these matters determined the price of a book. The Countess of Clare, for example, in 1324 engaged a scribe to copy for her a *Vitae patrum*. In sixteen weeks the scribe finished the book, which contained 317,000 words, averaging 3,300 words a day; he was paid 8 shillings for his labors, as well as room and board.<sup>51</sup> But this was only a fraction of the expense. Assuming that the book was written on parchment, the Countess had to buy no less than, say, 1,000 parchment skins (estimating, roughly, at the rate of 317 words per skin), which cost at that time, 1½ pence each. This makes a total of over £6—in modern money only about \$30. But in the Middle Ages such a sum represented a small fortune. If one keeps in mind that the price of wheat was 5 shillings 6 pence per quarter<sup>52</sup> and that

<sup>50</sup> Readers who wish to pursue the subject farther will find an enormous mass of data in J. E. T. Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England* (Oxford, 1866). The most complete list of book prices is given by H. Gerstinger, "Johannes Sambucus als Handschriften-sammler," *Festschrift der Nationalbibliothek in Wien* (Vienna, 1926), pp. 349-95. Reference should also be made to the following: Reuss, "Älte Bücherpreise," *Serapeum*, VI (1845), 286-87; L. Delisle, "Documents sur les livres et les bibliothèques au moyen âge," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 3d ser., I (1849), 219; "Preis der Bücher im Mittelalter," *Serapeum*, XX (1859), 121-22; A. Dredner, *Kultur und Sittengeschichte der italienischen Geistlichkeit, im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert* (Breslau, 1890), pp. 231-32; H. B. Wheatley, *Prices of Books* (London, 1898), chap. iii; F. A. Gasquet, "Books and Bookmaking in Early Chronicles and Accounts," *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, IX (1906-8), 15-30; G. G. Coulton, *Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation* (Cambridge, 1918), pp. 101-2; A. Kirchhoff, *Die Handschriftenhändler des Mittelalters* (2d ed.; Leipzig, 1843).

<sup>51</sup> Rogers, *op. cit.*, II, 612; Coulton, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-2.

<sup>52</sup> Gasquet, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

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a silver spoon cost 10 pence,<sup>53</sup> one begins to have some inkling of the enormous value represented by £6.

Assuming, furthermore, that the countess wanted her book to appear worthy of her position and wealth, she would next engage the labors of an illuminator, an illustrator, and a binder. Now, even if only a few of the capital letters were gold-filled, she would pay approximately the value of 3 deniers per gold letter.<sup>54</sup> The total illumination might cost her 40 shillings. Binding would amount to 10 shillings for the labor and 4 shillings for the material.<sup>55</sup> The total cost—counting the pens, ink, and maintenance of the scribe—would amount to no less than £10.

If a book was also adorned with gold and silver and precious stones, as many books were, its value would go up considerably. An elector of Bavaria is reputed to have offered a whole town for a beautiful book; but the monks, wisely realizing that the prince could easily take the town back, refused to part with their cherished manuscript.<sup>56</sup> Queen Margaret of Aragon in 1420 pawned a handsomely illustrated Bible for 100 florins.<sup>57</sup> The Countess of Anjou gave 200 sheep, 5 quarters of wheat, and 5 quarters of rye for a copy of the *Homilies* of Bishop Haimo of Halberstadt. Richard Courtenay deposited a bond of £300 for the use of 6 books, including an Augustine. As late as 1456 the monks of Stockhausen pawned to the monastery of Corvey a manuscript of the *Sachsenspiegel* for 8 Rhenish gulden; at the same time a tract of land near Corvey worth 120 thalers in the nineteenth century was sold for the same price. In terms of modern purchasing power, this would amount to about \$1,000.

<sup>53</sup> Rogers, *op. cit.*, II, 569.

<sup>54</sup> M. Faucon, *La Librairie des papes d'Avignon* (Paris, 1886), I, 41-42.

<sup>55</sup> Gasquet, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

<sup>56</sup> W. Forsyth, *History of Ancient Manuscripts* (London, 1872), pp. 47-48.

<sup>57</sup> J. F. de Heredia, *La Bible en Catalan* (Paris, 1886).

## CHAPTER XXI

### The Wanderings of Manuscripts<sup>1</sup>

**B**OOKS, like men, have their fates. Some meet solitary and tragic ends; some fall in holocausts; and some, after strange vicissitudes, narrow escapes, and long wandering, find peaceful asylums where, nursing their scars and mellowed by experience, they will relate something of their adventures to the curious. The odyssey of one of these vagrant books of the Middle Ages would be a fascinating story if it could all be told. Two volumes now in the library at Fulda will illustrate the romantic quality of this field of history. One is a codex of the Gospels, which, as its colophon tells us, was written under the direction of Victor, bishop of Capua, and completed in 547. How did it get there? Evidently only after long travels. It must have gone to England, for, while the text is written in the sixth-century Italian script, there are marginal notes in Anglo-Saxon. Perhaps it reached Britain with St. Augustine in 596 or with one of his successors. If so, its preservation is extraordinary, for almost every one of the other books which Theodore and Hadrian brought with them to England has disappeared. The other is also a Gospel book, which has been cut almost through by a sharp instrument. This is traditionally identified as the volume referred to by Bishop Ratbod, who tells us in his *Life of Boniface*, that when the

<sup>1</sup> No extended and sustained study of this subject has been made, although the evidence is voluminous. Large but scattered treatment may be found in the works of Manitius, Lehman, Traube, Lindsay, Rand, Beeson, Ullman, Sandys, etc. The history of the descent of classical manuscripts is more fully known than any other. For literature on the subject see L. Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, I, 121-27; M. R. James, *The Wanderings and Homes of Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1919); C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the Medieval Culture*, chap. iv; F. Madan, "The Localization of Manuscripts," *Essays in History Presented to Reginald Lane Poole* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 3 ff.; B. Williams, *Nineteenth Century*, CVI (1929), 37 ff.



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Saint "was smitten by the sword he covered his head with a copy of the Holy Gospels."<sup>2</sup>

Countless other codices tell similar stories. The best Bede manuscript was carried to France from England in the eighth century, perhaps by Alcuin. Another was in the abbey at St. Hubert's in the Ardennes in the same century.<sup>3</sup> The *Gospels of Prüm*, a beautiful and elaborately illuminated book, was presented by the Emperor Lothar I (d. 855) to the abbey of Prüm in Lorraine; thence it passed to St. Maximin of Trier, thence to Munich, and now reposes in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin.<sup>4</sup>

The catalogue of Cluny, A.D. 1158-61, mentions:

492. Libri epistolarum Ciceronis ad Atticum xvi.

496. Cicero pro Milone et pro Avita et pro Murena et pro quibusdam aliis.

498. Cicero in Catalinam et idem pro Q. Ligario et pro rege Deiotaro et de publicis litteris et de actione idemque in Verrem.

A very important copy of the *Letters* to Atticus, the Tornaesianus (Z), now lost, first came to light at Lyons, not far from Cluny; and, as manuscripts of these *Letters* were very rare, it may, without doubt, be identified with the first of these items.<sup>5</sup> The other is the old Cluny manuscript taken to Italy by Poggio in the fifteenth century and now lost, but from which all copies of the *Murena* and *Pro Sexto Roscio* are derived. From internal evidence it can be shown to have been written not later than the eighth century. The last was recently discovered by L. Dorez in the Holkham Library; it is in a ninth-century hand and still bears the library mark: "de conventu Clun."

In the Royal Library at Stockholm is a manuscript of the Four Gospels, an old Italic version apparently of Irish production and perhaps executed at Bobbio in the seventh century. In 1690 this manuscript was discovered by Sparvenfelt in Madrid and was pre-

<sup>2</sup> C. Scherer, "Die Codices Bonifatiani in der Landesbibliothek zu Fulda," *Festgabe zum Bonifatius-Jubiläum* (Fulda, 1905); W. M. Lindsay, *Early Irish Minuscule Script* (Oxford, 1910), pp. 4-12.

<sup>3</sup> T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, I, Part I, 434.

<sup>4</sup> E. K. Rand, *The Script of Tours*, I, 151; L. Delisle, *Journal des savants*, 1902, pp. 461 ff.

<sup>5</sup> A. C. Clark, *Recent Developments in Textual Criticism*, pp. 8-9, based on M. Manitius, *Philologisches aus alten Bibliothekskatalogen*, p. 15.

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sented by him to the library.<sup>6</sup> But this work had once upon a time belonged to Christ Church, Canterbury. The fact is substantiated by a deed of gift written in Anglo-Saxon at the top of page 11, which recites that Ealdorman Aelfred and Werburg, his wife, having bought this book for gold from a heathen war troop (Danes), do, for their souls' sake, present the same to the brotherhood of Christ Church. The date is constructively established as before 871. The donor is identified by J. M. Kemble as one Aelfred, a rich noble in Surrey in the early years of the reign of Alfred the Great, whose will is printed in his *Codex diplomaticus aevi Saxonici*, II, 120.

After the recall of Abbo from England to Fleury, there was sent to him from Canterbury a prose *Life of Dunstan*, with the request that he re-write it as a poem. And thereby hangs a tale of the remarkable adventures which a medieval book might experience. In 1004 Abbo was sent to Gascony to enforce the Cluny reform in the monastery of Squirs, and he carried the prose *Vita* with him. But the monks of Squirs were violently opposed to passing under Cluniac authority; and one day, when Abbo was engaged, stylus and wax tablets in hand, in the task of converting the prose into poetry, a tumult broke out in the courtyard of the abbey. Abbo went out to quiet the riot, and one of the monks wounded him with a lance, so that he died and was buried at Squirs. His poetical life of Dunstan was never finished, and the prose original was never returned to Canterbury but was preserved at Squirs until the monastery was sacked by the Huguenots in the sixteenth century. Finally it drifted into the hands of a Swiss book-collector named Bartholomew Schobinger, from whose estate it passed into the library of St. Gall.<sup>7</sup>

The *Gesta Stephani*, a major source for the history of the reign of King Stephen (1135-54) of England, was probably written by the chaplain of Bishop Henry of Winchester and was carried with him to France in 1148, when the bishop was summoned to Rome; and either his death or a merely accidental loss of luggage caused the book to become a derelict in France, where it finally drifted into the chapter

<sup>6</sup> *Codex Aureus, sive quatuor euangelia ante Hieronymum Latine translata*, ed. Belsham (Christiana, 1878).

<sup>7</sup> W. Stubbs, *Memorials of St. Dunstan* ("Rolls Series," No. 63), pp. xxviii-xxxix.

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library at Laon.<sup>8</sup> A Latin document concerning an English monastery was actually found in the Genizah at Cairo, no doubt brought by some Jewish refugee out of England in 1290, when Edward I exiled the Jews.<sup>9</sup>

Texts, no less than particular manuscripts, have wandered widely and strangely. The story of how Bishop Arculf's drawing of the ground plan of the church of the Holy Sepulcher, which he made upon a wax tablet about the year 680, reached the distant isle of Iona is full of vicissitude. Arculf was a Gallican bishop who went to Jerusalem in or about the year 678—he even visited Damascus also—and made his map on the spot. On returning home he set forth to cross the Channel to England but was driven out of his course by a tempest and wrecked, fortunately for him, on the shore of Iona, where he was given shelter by Abbot Adamnan, the successor and biographer of St. Columba, to whom he dictated an account of his adventures in the East. This manuscript was later given to King Aldfrith the Wise, the last of the great Northumbrian rulers, and was read by Bede, who made two summaries of it, the shorter in the *Historia ecclesiastica*, the longer forming a separate tract. During the Middle Ages over 100 transcripts of this tract were made, many of which also contain the ground plan. A manuscript which we know was written at Monte Cassino about 790 is now in the Bibliothèque nationale. On one page a scribe has copied, along with the Latin text, the German word "verbotan," which shows that the original from which this manuscript was transcribed was written in some monastery in Germany. Furthermore, errors in the text show that the original must have been written in Anglo-Saxon script.

Aside from peaceful modes of diffusion of books in the hands of traveling clerics, missionaries, students, etc., war and invasion frequently broke up and scattered collections. The constant warfare between the Germans and the Slavs, the Norse conquests of France and England in the ninth century, the forays of the Magyars in Germany and Italy in the tenth, the repeated invasions of France in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by the English, the crusaders in

<sup>8</sup> *Gesta Stephani regis Anglorum*, ed. R. Howlett ("Rolls Series," No. 82), p. xii.

<sup>9</sup> *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXVIII, 215.

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the near East, and the Mongol invasions in the thirteenth century were all frightfully destructive of books.

Ordericus Vitalis, the Norman historian who wrote in the twelfth century, bitterly deplored the losses of books in the time of the Danes. The *Chronicle of Nantes*, under the year 843, relates the destruction of "many precious books" by the Norsemen.<sup>10</sup> The historical chronicles of all the monasteries in the basin of the Seine in the ninth century have perished. Not a scrap survives from Jumièges, St. Germain-des-Prés, St. Germain-l'Auxerrois, Ste Geneviève, and nothing Carolingian even from St. Denis. During these invasions the abbey of St. Martin in Tournai (Belgium) sent its most precious manuscripts to Ferrières, near Sens, for safety. Nearly two hundred years later it happened that a monk of Courtrai, who had visited Ferrières, was one day at St. Martin and remarked to the abbot that he had seen some books pertaining to his monastery at Ferrières. But still more years elapsed before, at the council of Rheims in 1119, the abbot fell in with a clerk who informed him where Ferrières was situated and the long-lost books were restored to their original home. Notger of St. Gall relates in his dedicatory letter to Bishop Liutward of Vercelli (ca. 884) how his idea of sequences was derived from an antiphonary which a monk of Jumièges, flying from the Norsemen, brought with him to St. Gall.

A splendid Irish codex, the textus of *St. Ceadda*, was given at some unknown time to the church of Llandaff. Later it fell into the hands of Norse pirates, who apparently carried it to Spain; centuries afterward it turned up in Madrid; it is now in Stockholm.<sup>11</sup> Brian Boru, the famous Irish king who was slain at the Battle of Clontarf in 1014, sent Irish scholars abroad to collect books to replenish the libraries which the Norse in Ireland had destroyed.<sup>12</sup> A copy of Chalcidius' Latin translation of Plato's *Timaeus*, now in the library at Valenciennes, bears on the flyleaf the words: "Emptus Plato fuit major vendente pyrata."<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Chronicon Namnetense*, ed. R. Merlet (Paris, 1896), chap. vii, p. 21.

<sup>11</sup> W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter* (3d ed.; Leipzig, 1896), p. 545.

<sup>12</sup> H. Zimmer, *Neues Archiv für sächsische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, XIX, 440.

<sup>13</sup> Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, p. 546.

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If the history of the wanderings of medieval books could be fully known, the result would be a far larger understanding of the spread of ideas in the Middle Ages than we now possess. One can merely guess what adventures many medieval manuscripts had. The sole existing copy of Gerald of Wales's *Gemma ecclesiastica* is a finely executed copy which seems to have suffered from sea water. It may be the identical volume which Gerald took to Rome with him and which Innocent III kept by his bedside for a month.<sup>14</sup> Was the loss of a precious leaf in the *Book of Armagh* accidental or was the leaf intentionally removed?<sup>15</sup>

Doubtless the scholar should be grateful that so much medieval thought has been preserved for us. But no less he deplores the appalling losses.<sup>16</sup> St. Augustine, who lived on the threshold of the Middle Ages, knew Cicero's *Hortensius*, lost since the early fifth century. There were rare texts in Visigothic Spain which have disappeared.<sup>17</sup> Much of Bobbio's priceless collection has perished. A lost chronicle of France in the tenth century is quoted by a *trouvère* of the thirteenth century.<sup>18</sup> The intricate question of the origins of the House of Savoy might be cleared up if we had the lost *Chronique d'Hautecombe*, which was itself based on an older chronicle.<sup>19</sup>

The ancient relation between Milan and Chur explains the presence of North Italian codices in Switzerland.<sup>20</sup> The *Annales S. Benigni Divionenses* (Dijon) is based on the *Annals of Cologne* to 967, which already had been re-written at Toul, Metz, and Langres. It is original from 1112. The diffusion of St. Bernard's works is in itself a study in the migration of books. There is more than a superficial correspondence between Cassiodorus' *Variae* in the British

<sup>14</sup> F. M. Powicke, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 1928, p. 405.

<sup>15</sup> See *Quarterly Review*, CXIX, 487-88.

<sup>16</sup> No study of this subject has been made. The information here given is merely illustrative. One may read R. W. Chambers, "The Lost Literature of Medieval England," *Library*, 4th ser., V (1925), 293-321.

<sup>17</sup> *Cambridge Medieval History*, III, 494.

<sup>18</sup> F. Palgrave, *The History of Normandy and of England*, II, 468.

<sup>19</sup> *Mémoires de l'Académie de Savoie*, 3d ser., I (1875), 259-61.

<sup>20</sup> C. Burkitt, *Journal of Theological Studies*, V, 105-6, gives illustrations.

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Museum and the Leyden version, which was written in the twelfth century and was once in Fulda. If we knew for certain where the former was written, a new intellectual contact with Fulda, perhaps, might be discovered. The *Annales Mosellani*, of the Carolingian age, was found in St. Petersburg by Lappenberg in the first half of the last century. How did it get there?

Bishops Egino (d. 799) and Rothaldus (d. 840) of Verona had book relations with Reichenau,<sup>21</sup> and Archdeacon Pacificus of Verona was in touch with Corbie.<sup>22</sup> Wibald of Cambrai, in the reign of Otto I, came back with books from Italy.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, when Gregory V was made pope (d. 996), he was grateful for a gift of books by the Abbot of Reichenau.<sup>24</sup> In the tenth century the Duke of Naples sent to Byzantium Archpriest Leo, who came back with Greek romances. Subsequently, Henry II, on his expedition into the south of Italy in 1022, acquired this rich store at Naples and gave it to Bamberg cathedral library.<sup>25</sup> An example of Vegetius, *Epitome de re militare*, from Corvey, is written in Beneventan script and was evidently once in the hands of Landulfus Sagax, who flourished about 1000. This is evidence of book relations between Italy and Germany; it may have been brought across the Alps by the emperor Henry II. The Monte Cassino text of Widukind of Corvey's *Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum* is even earlier evidence of the same thing.<sup>26</sup> Late in the tenth century some monks from the Greek monastery on Mount Sinai, seeking funds, brought some oriental books with them to Germany.<sup>27</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis, about 1200, deplored the importation of Latin translations of Aristotle's works from Toledo on account of

<sup>21</sup> *Mélanges offerts à M. Emile Châtelain* (Paris, 1909), p. 643.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. C. G. Crump and E. F. Jacobs, *The Legacy of the Middle Ages*, pp. 213-14.

<sup>23</sup> *MGH, Scriptores*, VII, 438.

<sup>24</sup> Cardinal Deusdedit, *Collectio canonum e codice Vaticano* (Venice, 1869), III, No. 149, 321.

<sup>25</sup> M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I, 529-31; O. Hartwig, "Die Uebersetzungsliteratur Unteritaliens in der normannisch-staufischen Epoche," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, III (1886), 164 ff.; H. Fischer, "Die kgl. Bibliothek in Bamberg und ihre Handschriften," *ibid.*, XXIV (1907), 364 ff.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Preface to G. Waitz's edition (Hannover, 1882).

<sup>27</sup> A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* (3d ed.), III, 281.

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their heretical influence, which indicates that traffic in translation of Arabic manuscripts must have been considerable.

Archbishop Kilwardy of Canterbury, on being made a cardinal, resigned the primacy and carried off the *Registers* of the see to Rome. In the *Register* of Archbishop Peckham (d. 1292) there is a petition to the court of Rome praying the restitution of these records.<sup>28</sup> The papal registers have been fairly well preserved since the pontificate of Innocent III (1198-1216), although there are gaps. A lost section of Innocent's own *Register* was found in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, in the middle of the last century. It is supposed to have been acquired by Archbishop Ussher, a famous book-hunter; but from whom, and where, and how, there is no record. When Leo XIII opened the Vatican Archives to the scholars of the world in 1883, in recognition of his generosity, Trinity returned the lost volume to the Vatican.

A whim might have saved one work and a trivial accident or mere carelessness entailed the loss of another. Aristophanes apparently owes his preservation to the fact that St. John Chrysostom was fond of his comedies. Rather of Verona carried a precious copy of Catullus to Liège in the tenth century. Discovered and brought to Italy during the Renaissance, it is now lost. A now lost *Pervigilium Veneris* was shown by Aldus to Erasmus in 1508. The supposition is that Jacopo Sannazaro, the Italian poet, had found it in France and brought it to Venice. Aeneas Sylvius, when in England, in 1435 says that in the sacristy of St. Paul's he was shown a Latin translation of Thucydides which he thought dated from the ninth century.<sup>29</sup>

The extant parts of Livy's great history are due to several discoveries, made at different times. The Codex Moguntinus, of part of the fourth decade, was found in 1518 in the cathedral library at Mainz; this was supplemented by the Bamberg manuscript found in 1615; the Codex Laureshaimensis, of the sixth century, was found in 1531 by Grynaeus in Switzerland after its removal from Lorsch,

<sup>28</sup> Hardy, *op. cit.*, III, 236.

<sup>29</sup> *Ep. cxxvi*, cited by M. Creighton, *The Early Renaissance in England* (Cambridge, 1895), III, 53: "Apud Angliam in sacrario aedis S. Pauli Londoniensis vetus historia in manus venit, ante annos sexcentos, ut signatum erat conscripta . . . Auctor historiae Thucydidea Graecus annotatus erat, quem fama celebrem clarum novimus, translatoris nullum nomen inveni."

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near Worms; it contains Books xli-xlv. Finally, Bruns discovered the Vatican palimpsest of part of Book xci. Of these three parts, the codex of Lorsch is very interesting for the evidence it affords of the wandering of manuscripts. The colophon, partly obliterated, bears the words: "Sutberti epi de dorostat." This Suitbert was an Irish monk, then an English abbot, and went as a missionary to Frisia in 693. He labored at Durestadt, near Utrecht, an important market town in Frisia, until he was transferred by Pepin to Kaiserswerder. It has been conjectured that this precious Livian fragment was written in Ireland and that later it found its way to Lorsch, and thence to St. Gall.<sup>30</sup>

The oldest Propertius is Codex Guelpherbytanus, of the thirteenth century. The archetype was supposed to have been hidden under some casks in a winecellar in the time of Pontanus.<sup>31</sup> The *Ethiopics* of Heliodorus was published by Opsopaeus from a manuscript given him by a Hungarian soldier, who had picked it up in the pillage of Matthias Corvinus' library.<sup>32</sup>

Unfortunately, few manuscripts attest their parentage, their antiquity, or their provenance. The codex of Cicero's *Epistles ad familiares*, which was found by Petrarch in the capitular library at Verona, is now in Florence and probably is of the eleventh century. Whence did it come? And how did it reach Verona? Florence also possesses what is apparently the parent-manuscript of the first six books of Tacitus' *Annales*, of the ninth century, and probably the very one which Rodolph of Fulda then used. It was brought from Fulda to Rome in the time of Pope Leo X (1513) and was abstracted by fraud. Almost exactly a century before, Poggio found his copy of Quintilian in a decayed chest at St. Gall, "in teterrimo quodam et obscuro carcere, plenum situ et pulvere squalentem." The mutilated condition of the volume proves the truth of his statement. Politian described the manuscript of Statius' *Sylvae* which Poggio brought from France as "mendosus, depravatusque, et etiam dimidiatus." He said bitterly that the lacuna in Petrarch's archetype of Cicero's

<sup>30</sup> Cf. the Drakenborch-Twiss edition (Oxford, 1841), IV, 436.

<sup>31</sup> Preface to van Santen's edition (Amsterdam, 1780).

<sup>32</sup> R. E. P. Erle, *The Light Reading of Our Ancestors* (London, 1927), pp. 27-28.



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*Letters* was probably due to the fact that the lost pages had been cut up for bookbinding.

The same mutilated condition attaches to Greek manuscripts. The old Codex Caesarus of Dioscorides, brought from Constantinople, is described by its purchaser as "vetustatis injuria pessime habitus; ita extrinsecus a vermibus corrosus, ut in via repertum vix aliquis curret tollere."<sup>33</sup> So also the archetype of Tacitus' *Germania*, now lost, from which all existing copies, with the exception of one in the Vatican, were derived, seems to have once been at Fulda. The archetype of Tacitus' *Agricola*, found apparently soon after the *editio princeps* of his works in 1470 but since lost, is represented by four later copies. From identical lacunae in Cicero's *De natura deorum*, *De legibus*, and *De divinatione*, it is clear that only one copy survived in the Middle Ages and that it was the parent of all the others current during the Renaissance.

Even when we have established an early home of a codex, we may not be able to show where it was written. An example of this is the famous *Missal* given by the dean and chapter of Exeter to the newly founded Bodleian Library in 1602. It was not written at Exeter but was given to that church by Bishop Leofric in the reign of Edward the Confessor, and was written at the monastery of St. Vedast in Arras.

"War, intolerance and ignorance," an Austrian scholar has written, "were the worst enemies of books as well as of mankind, and religious fanaticism has destroyed more books than men."<sup>34</sup> There is a passage in Maitland's *Dark Ages* on this matter which is worth quoting:

If the reader has fairly considered the probable effects of wars and fires, aided by the more slow and silent, but incessant operations of Time, assisted by damp and all the auxiliaries which he has employed when the negligence of man has left manuscripts at his mercy; if he has reflected that more than six hundred years have elapsed since the close of that period of which we are now speaking, during all which time the work of destruction has been going on; if he has at all realized these facts,

<sup>33</sup> B. de Montfaucon, *Palaeographia Graeca*, III (Paris, 1708), 195.

<sup>34</sup> M. Landau, *The Bibliographer* (1903), p. 260. Cf. L. F. Brown, "On the Burning of Books," *Vassar Medieval Studies*, pp. 255-71.

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surely I might confidently appeal to him whether it is very far short of a miracle that any manuscripts of that or any earlier period should have survived to the present time.<sup>35</sup>

A few examples will illustrate this proposition. Gregory of Tours (*ca.* 600) had in his hands the original *Vita* of St. Remigius, from which the poet Fortunatus had made some extracts. In the plunder of Rheims in the time of Charles Martel "the original *Life* was destroyed by damp, vermin, or human hands except a few scattered leaves of the manuscript which were collected by Hincmar in the ninth century, and worked up with extracts from other old books and floating popular tradition."<sup>36</sup> The manuscript Paris, B.N. Lat. 9733, is a fragmentary copy of Gregory of Tours's *Liber miraculorum in gloriam martyrum*. Other sections are preserved at The Hague. Six leaves are in Tours. "The complete book, or what had been left of it by the rats," writes Professor Rand, "was seen in Tours by Brequigny"<sup>37</sup> in the eighteenth century but has now disappeared. In contrast to such records of neglect, it is a relief to find Peter the Venerable, the great abbot of Cluny in the middle of the twelfth century, deploring the destruction of a volume of St. Jerome's *Letters*, in one of the priories situated in the Jura, by a bear, which was tempted by the odor of the parchment.<sup>38</sup>

The Hungarian raids in South Germany and Lombardy in the first half of the tenth century were terribly destructive of monastery libraries.<sup>39</sup> The autograph copy of the Rule of St. Benedict at Monte Cassino was destroyed in the ninth century when the Saracens sacked the monastery.<sup>40</sup> In 1221, when Bologna and Piacenza were involved in a bitter war, the latter city was defeated and compelled to pay so large an indemnity that the churches and monasteries were not only stripped of their plate and vessels but the jewels of precious bindings

<sup>35</sup> S. R. Maitland, *The Dark Ages*, p. 276.

<sup>36</sup> S. Dill, *Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age* (London, 1926), p. 29.

<sup>37</sup> E. K. Rand, *op. cit.*, I, 179; cf. L. Delisle, *Manuscripts disparus*, p. 94.

<sup>38</sup> P. Lorain, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Cluny* (Paris, 1845), p. 328.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. L. A. Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae medii aevi*, Dissertation I; *Revue historique*, IX, 418.

<sup>40</sup> F. Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, III, 186.

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and the gold foil of illuminated manuscripts were also seized.<sup>42</sup> English historical scholarship deploras the loss of a *Life of the Empress Matilda*, daughter of Henry I and widow of the emperor Henry V, later wife of Count Geoffrey of Anjou and mother of King Henry II; a lost tripartite *History of England* by Richard Fitz-Nigel, the author of the *Dialogue of the Exchequer*; Laurence of Westminster's *Life of Edward the Confessor*, written for Henry II; and Langton's *Life of Richard I*.<sup>43</sup>

An irreparable loss to German historiography in the first quarter of the twelfth century is the chronicle of the reign of Henry V (1106–25) written by David, a Scottish or Irish monk of one of the Celtic houses in Germany, by special command of the emperor himself. Ekkehard of Aura says that this work was written “in the simple style of the gesta of the time, which differs in almost no respect from ordinary speech, having in mind, in this undertaking, the interest of lay readers and persons of moderate learning.”<sup>44</sup>

The historian of the Crusades deploras the loss of the *Commentaries* of Raoul of Tiberias, with the glosses of Gérard of Montréal, a juriconsult of the kingdom of Cyprus, and the *Livre de la conquête de Jérusalem*, written in the time of Jean d'Ibelin, who preferred it to William of Tyre's great history of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. The papal archives were fearfully damaged in the pillage of 1405.<sup>45</sup> The capture of Rome in 1527 by the troops of the Constable Bourbon was attended by an appalling destruction of books. In the sack the historian Paolo Giovio (1483–1552), if we may believe his own statement, had a thrilling experience: he had deposited the manuscript of his history, together with some silver coins, in a chest which he put in the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva for safety. The box was found by two Spanish soldiers; one took the money, and the other, whose name was Herrera, took the manuscript, in hope that the author would redeem it. Herrera, however, was so stupid as to

<sup>42</sup> *Registri dei cardinalo Ugolino d'Ostia e Ottaviano degli Ubaldini*, ed. G. Levi (Rome, 1890), Doc. xxxv.

<sup>43</sup> Hardy, *op. cit.*, II, 400, 535; III, 7, 73.

<sup>44</sup> MGH, *Scriptores*, VI, 243.

<sup>45</sup> Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, VI, Part II, 578; M. Creighton, *A History of the Papacy*, I, 191.

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throw away the sheets which he found written on paper, and kept only those inscribed on parchment. These he subsequently sold back to Paolo in exchange for a benefice at Cordova which Pope Clement VII granted to him. Six books of the *History* were thus lost, for the author never re-wrote them.

Worse than the ravages of war, perhaps, in the destruction of books in the Middle Ages, was fire. St. Martin's of Tours was burned in 905;<sup>45</sup> Canterbury library was burned in 1067. In the war of the burghers of Mainz against their archbishop in 1160, the library of St. Jacob's Cloister was destroyed by fire. It is within probability to say that nearly every monastic and cathedral library suffered from fire at one time or another.<sup>46</sup> But this form of destruction is not purely medieval. The burning of the library of Turin in January, 1904, entailed the destruction of nearly 25,000 books and about 4,500 manuscripts.<sup>47</sup>

Much of the library of Mont St. Michel was destroyed in 1300 when one of the two towers of the church was split by lightning and fell. Among the books which survive is William of Apulia's poetical *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi*, which still bears traces of having suffered in the crash.<sup>48</sup>

Lost books have a strange way of turning up sometimes centuries later. The loss of a page of the *Exeter Domesday* and its restoration has been related by Botfield:

In arranging the fasciculi of the Exon Domesday in their proper order, Mr. Barnes had the mortification of observing that at p. 233 a single leaf had been abstracted, when he recorded in 1810. Subsequent to this period Mr. Trevelyan called to see the Domesday, and upon the book being opened, produced from his pocket a leaf which exactly supplied the previous hiatus in the record. This leaf it appeared came

<sup>45</sup> E. K. Rand, *op. cit.*, I, 160.

<sup>46</sup> In France alone in the tenth and eleventh centuries, we find that Angers was burned in 1000 and again in 1032; Auxerre twice in 1025 and again in 1065; Beauvais in 1018; Cambrai in 923 and 1027; Châlons-sur-Marne in 931 and 963; Chartres in 962 and 1019; Commercy in 1024 and 1037; Corbeil in 1019; Le Mans in 1099; Orléans in 989; Paris in 1034 and 1059; Poitiers in 1018; Rouen in 1019; Saintes in 1026; Saumur in 1020; Strassbourg in 1002; Tours in 1027; and Verdun was burned three times between 1047 and 1088. Cf. J. Flach, *Les Origines de l'ancienne France*, II, 237-38.

<sup>47</sup> *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XXII (1905), 122-29; *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, LXV, 132-40, 681-85.

<sup>48</sup> *The Chronicle of Robert of Torigni*, ed. R. Howlett ("Rolls Series," No. 82), pp. iv, xv.

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into the possession of Mr. Trevelyan by descent from his ancestor, Dean Willoughby, who in the time of Henry VIII was the Dean of Exeter, and doubtless it was he who abstracted this identical leaf, either from curiosity or a less venial motive.<sup>49</sup>

But, for the most part, lost or stolen books in the Middle Ages, as today, failed to be recovered. The stolen books of Cambridge found in other collections have been pointed out by Mr. Prothero in his *Life of Henry Bradshaw*. The purloining of manuscripts was far from unknown in the Middle Ages, and failure to return a borrowed book was as common then as in modern times.<sup>50</sup>

But it ill becomes those who came later to cast stones at the Middle Ages. The destruction of precious books since 1500 by war, fire, flood, vermin, and wanton negligence has been appalling.<sup>51</sup> The dissolution of the English monasteries by Henry VIII in 1537-39, the Peasants' War in Germany (1525), and the Huguenot wars in France between 1561 and 1589 scattered and destroyed tens of thousands of medieval books—the accumulation of eight hundred years of intellectual life. Parts of what still survived in cathedral and monastic libraries have been dissipated or destroyed in each of the successive wars of modern European civilization. Alcuin's poem on the library of York Cathedral is now known only through a transcript made by Mabillon in the seventeenth century from the original at Rheims, which was destroyed in the French Revolution, together with many English manuscripts which had been surreptitiously transported abroad during the English Reformation.<sup>52</sup> Many valuable books were destroyed during the siege of Strassbourg in 1870, including almost all papers relating to Gutenberg's early career. The cathedral and monastic libraries of Italy suffered fearfully after 1871, when the States of the Church were abolished and the union of Italy achieved; for example,

<sup>49</sup> B. Botfield, *Notes on the Cathedral Libraries of England*, p. 139.

<sup>50</sup> A flagrant modern instance is found in the history of a manuscript of the *Encomium Emmae*, an important source for the reign of Edward the Confessor. The French scholar Peiresc in the seventeenth century borrowed it from Sir Robert Cotton and lent it to Duchesne, who printed the text. It was never returned. G. H. Pertz discovered it later in the library of the Duke of Hamilton, from which the edition in the *MGH, Scriptores*, was printed. Cf. Hardy, *op. cit.*, II, 1 f.

<sup>51</sup> For instances see Hardy, *op. cit.*, I, Part I, xlv f.

<sup>52</sup> A. F. Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England*, p. 56.

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the Pantheon in Rome, which was crammed with thousands of books and manuscripts taken from old libraries, was plundered. As late as 1877 there was discovered in a cheese shop in Florence a parcel of old books, the loot from some library, which contained a vellum codex of the fourth century, a Boccaccio manuscript, some English Elizabethan material, and a letter of Columbus. It is not impossible that comparable finds may still be made as a sequel of the World War; in this war, not only were many libraries destroyed in the military and revolutionary areas, but even greater numbers of governmental, ecclesiastical, and private collections were uprooted and scattered during the turmoil of the post-war period.



# Historical Index





# Historical Index

Purely bibliographical data are omitted from this index. Neither the authors of modern books cited in our footnotes nor the older writers whose works we mention as present in particular medieval libraries will be found here. The former can easily be located through the references to their subject matter; for the latter, every serious student must prefer to use the full text of the catalogues, for which we have supplied the necessary bibliographical information.

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# SUPPLEMENT

## REVIEW ARTICLE

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### THE MEDIEVAL LIBRARY<sup>\*</sup>

This volume is a remarkable storehouse of information which, by reason of its scope, should prove valuable to students of all phases of medieval study as well as to specialists in the field of library science.

It is a composite book; in the stupendous undertaking of writing a comprehensive survey of the history of books and libraries extending over fifteen centuries Professor Thompson has enlisted the aid of seven collaborators, including former students whose competence and interest in the subject are assured by their earlier association with him; but the major contribution—eleven out of twenty-one chapters and the introductions to the several parts—is Professor Thompson's own.

The book is divided into four parts of which the first three cover special periods of history while the fourth is devoted to technical information about books in the Middle Ages; chapters are numbered consecutively throughout. In Part I, "The early Middle Ages," are separate chapters on early church and monastic libraries, on libraries of the Carolingian Renaissance, and of the British Isles in the Anglo-Saxon period. Part II, "The high Middle Ages," treats of libraries of medieval Italy, Germany, and France, of Norman and Angevin England, of Byzantine, Greek (monastery), Jewish, and Muslim libraries. Part III, "The close of the Middle Ages and the Italian Renaissance," deals with English, French, and German libraries in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with Scandinavian libraries in the late Middle Ages, and with libraries of the Italian Renaissance. Part IV, "The making and care of books in the Middle Ages," which should intrigue the general reader, is an account of the scriptorium; of library administration and the care of books; of paper, the book trade, and book prices; and of the wanderings of manuscripts. The book concludes with a Historical Index (pp. 665-82).

It is inevitable that in presenting such vast and so diverse material there should appear some deficiencies, particularly in matters where highly specialized knowledge and a peculiar technique are required. To review thoroughly such a compendium as this would require a staff of experts in the various fields.

It will be observed in what follows that the reviewer's examination has proceeded almost entirely from the point of view of one interested in manu-

<sup>\*</sup> James Westfall Thompson, *The medieval library*. ("University of Chicago studies in library science.") Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Pp. viii+682.

scripts, the tradition of the Latin classics, and certain aspects of medieval learning. An attempt has been made not merely to point out what seem to be errors of fact and of method but also to suggest topics which might well have been considered in the present volume, against the day when a new edition of this useful work will be demanded.

The sole "mystery" attached to Fortunatus' thorough classical education "in the depth of the sixth century" (p. 27) is the author's failure to recognize the import of the fact that Fortunatus was educated in Ravenna. Here was located a school of rhetoric rivaling those of Milan and Rome. Here in the sixth century Rusticius Helpidius Domnulus edited, as proved by surviving editorial subscriptions, an ancient codex containing texts of Pomponius Mela, of Julius Paris (the *Epitome* of Valerius Maximus), and of Vibius Sequester, which are preserved in a single ninth-century copy belonging to the Vatican Library (Cod. Vat. Lat. 4929). Here the Christian poet Arator, protégé and pupil of Ennodius, Bishop of Pavia (513), read with Parthenius, nephew of Ennodius, the commentaries of Caesar. These were edited by a brother of Parthenius, Flavius Licerius Firminus Lupicinus, whose subscription is perpetuated in numerous manuscripts of Caesar. Cassiodorus, one of the outstanding figures of this century, resided a long time in Ravenna, foremost in the circle of culture which marked the court of Theodoric.

Isidore of Seville is inadequately treated. His encyclopedia is cited (p. 28) as "*Etymologiarum* or *Originum*" without the word *Libri* which should precede in either case. Further (p. 112), these alternative titles are represented as proper to separate works (!) designated as "*Etymologia*, and *Origines*." Reference to Manitius (I, 52-70) or cursory examination of Beeson's *Isidor-Studien*, cited in footnote 54 on page 28, would have prevented these errors and would have afforded a complete list of Isidore's works, both secular and theological. Isidore's "huge body of letters" (p. 28) is limited to an exchange with Braulio of Saragossa (seven in all) and to single epistles to six other individuals (of which four at least are of questioned authenticity); perhaps Isidore of Seville is here confused with Isidore of Pelusium whose collection of "nearly two thousand letters" is mentioned on page 32. As canonist and ecclesiast Isidore of Seville is slighted altogether, although chapter viii of his *Regula monachorum* is particularly pertinent. This, entitled "Concerning books," stipulates that the custodian of the sacristy shall have charge of all books, that these may be borrowed from him one at a time per individual at the first hour of the day, but that a later request is to be refused, and that each evening the books are to be returned—after having been carefully read or at least handled. It provides, in a second section, for exposition by the abbot *in collatione, aut post vesperam* of difficult passages encountered by any reader during the day. A third paragraph posts a warning about the choice of reading: books of the heathen or volumes of the heretics are to be avoided; it is better to remain in ignorance of their deadly teachings than by acquaintance with them to fall into any abyss of error.

Apropos of Isidore's citation of 154 pagan and Christian writers and his apparent omission of "only Cassiodorus' encyclopedia among contemporary writers" (p. 28), it is true that there is no trace of Book I of Cassiodorus in Isidore, but the latter did use Book II and also the *Orthographia* and *Historia tripartita*. His failure to mention Cassiodorus is consistent with his general practice. In fact, when Isidore does name an author there is a strong probability that this name as well as the citation is derived from a secondary source.

Documentation is lacking for the assertion that "in some cases a vellum was used . . . a fifth and a sixth time for re-writing" (p. 31). Yet instances of even triple writing, termed "double palimpsests," are rare: Chatelain in *Les palimpsests latin* (1904) adduces only two, viz., London B.M. Additional 17212 and St. Gall 908. In the former a tenth-century Syriac text stands above a Latin grammar written by a North Italian hand which in turn was superimposed on a fifth-century copy of the *Annales* of Licinianus. The second, which Lehmann termed "the King of palimpsests," contains among a variety of texts a *Vocabularius* copied in the ninth century over the *Epistles of St. Paul* written in the seventh century over an earlier *Martyrology*. Lowe, in *The Beneventan script* (1914), page 347, mentions Monte Cassino 271, in which the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great in the eleventh century replaced a *Missale plenum* of the tenth-eleventh on parchment containing a seventh-eighth century transcription of Augustine's *Commentary on the psalms* and a fragment of the Gregorian missal. Holder (*Die Reichenauer Handschriften*, III, Part II [1916], 114-16) gives details of St. Paul in Carinthia Cod. 25.2.36, which comprises the following three texts: a tract of Jerome transcribed in the eighth century on leaves formerly containing a fifth-century copy of the Elder Pliny's *Natural history*, beneath which is discernible script of the third century of indeterminate content.

To estimate the wide circulation of Boethius' *De consolazione philosophiae* the reader is referred (p. 36, n. 13) to Manitius, *Philologisches aus alten Bibliothekskatalogen* (1892), pages 130-35, where are listed 82 libraries which possessed this work. Reference should rather have been made to Manitius, *Handschriften antiker Autoren in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen* (1935), pages 276-300, with a longer list of approximately 170 libraries. Laistner (*Thought and letters in western Europe* [1931], p. 64) reckons the extant manuscripts containing the *De consolazione* at nearly four hundred.

The date of the founding of Vivarium as given on page 37, "sometime between 546 and 555," is based on the *terminus post quem* for the composition of the *Institutiones* which Traube in 1898 set as 546. It should be revised in consideration of the fact that Lehmann subsequently established in *Cassiodor-studien* III (1913) that the work was written between 551 and 562.

Dubrowsky was not "the Russian ambassador in France during the early years of the French Revolution" (p. 40, n. 27), but a minor attaché who became sometime after 1780 the secretary of the embassy. By unknown means

he came into possession of a choice collection of manuscripts, 1,065 items, among which were the majority of the manuscripts stolen from Saint-Germain-des-Prés in 1791. Presented, for a consideration, to St. Petersburg after Dubrowsky's return home in 1800, the collection was housed in the public library and in the Musée de l'Ermitage Impérial. The Saint-Germain manuscripts may be seen today in the public library of Leningrad, each bearing the signature of the donor "ex musaeo Petri Dubrowsky." This appears in seventeen of the one hundred facsimiles in Staerk's two volumes, *Les MSS latins du 6<sup>e</sup> au 11<sup>e</sup> siècle conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale de Saint-Petersbourg* (1910). The same folios frequently display also the older marks of previous ownership, e.g., Sangermanensis, S. Petri Corbeiensis, S. Remigii Remensis.

The Corbie codex of Jerome and Rufinus mentioned on page 65 figures among the Leningrad manuscripts, but of this fact the author is apparently unaware; his information, which is both incomplete and incorrect, is drawn from a source long out of date (1860; cf. p. 65, n. 49). His reference to the manuscript is as follows: "An idea of the extent to which Corbie was a center of learning is indicated by the fact that a codex containing *Hieronimi contra Iovinianum, libri II*, and an *Expositio symboli a Rufino edita liber I* ends with a long Greek inscription. The manuscript also includes a number of Greek words correctly copied." This codex, written at Corbie in the ninth century, passed, upon dispersion of that library in 1638, to Saint-Germain where it was cataloged first (1677) as No. 144 and afterward (1740) as No. 1276. Following the plundering of Saint-Germain in 1791, among the remnants of that library which accrued to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, this codex was discovered, mutilated; folios 102-35 were lacking. The surviving part, *Hieronymus in Iovinianum*, received the new press mark B.N. Lat. 13354, which it still retains. The missing portion, *Rufinus in symbolum*, subsequently reappeared in the collection of Dubrowsky (reported by Gillert, *Neues Archiv*, V [1880], 252) and is now in Leningrad, Codex Q.I. 19.

The "long Greek inscription" which was believed as late as 1874 to have disappeared completely (cf. Delisle, *Cabinet des MSS*, II, 112-13) and was known only from longhand notes on the Corbie Library written in the eighteenth century by Grenier, exists in the Leningrad folios. But it is neither long nor Greek:

ΑΔΑΧΑΡΔΟΪΣ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΪΣ ΙΩΚΧΤ ΦΗΕΡΗ ΥΟΛΟΪΜΕΝ ΗΓΤΟΪΤ  
ΤΩ ΘΩ ΗΙΚΑΡΗΤΙΑC. ΑΜΗΝ (Staerk I, p. 49)

This is a conventional form of subscription for which a copyist employs in scores of medieval manuscripts an individual or arbitrary code of lettering. It may involve a reversal of words, inverse order of letters or syllables, a variety of substitutions in Latin letters, Greek or runic characters, or the use of dots, lines, or numbers for either vowels or consonants. Here the scribe's

fancy led him to Greek letter forms: he proceeded to record thus these words, "Adalhardus monachus iussit fieri uolumen istud," then appended the (incorrect) Greek equivalent of *Deo gratias* and concluded with "Amen." So is perpetuated the name of the monk Adalhard (Delisle argued against identification with the first abbot of Corbie; Lindsay and Mme Rozdestvenskaia have accepted it) and "la prétention que ce religieux [or his scribe] avait de connaître le grec" (Delisle, *op. cit.*, p. 113). As for the "number of Greek words correctly copied" these are an integral part of the text of Jerome (i.e., the Paris manuscript) and, as Delisle (*ibid.*) pointed out, are "plus ou moins correctement écrits en caractères grecs."

The possibility that Ireland contributed to the seventh-century scholarship of Britain is disregarded in the statement (p. 54), "The stimulus toward learning in England had emanated from Rome"; and too little recognition is accorded "the tradition that the Irish had a knowledge of the classics and a classical curriculum in their early schools" (p. 103). Granted that the primary purpose was the training of priests (p. 104), grammar was, nevertheless, the foundation of the discipline and by it, apparently, was kept alive in the sixth century the flame of the classics (cf. p. 408 of this review, the case of Columbanus). And the renown of the Irish schools which attracted to them large numbers of students from Britain in Bede's time (*Hist. eccles.* III, xxvii) was no new growth—not a reflection of influence exerted on the Irish through Iona and Northumbria by Hadrian and Theodore at Canterbury (p. 104); the Irish script, cultivated by Columba (p. 106) and its influence on the development of the Anglo-Saxon hand point in the opposite direction. (Incidentally, no paleographer would think it proper to set the *Cathach of Columcille* on a par with the *Lindisfarne gospels* or the *Book of Durrow* as "testimonials to the perfection" of the art of copying in Iona and her dependent houses [p. 106].) It is, therefore, incorrect to say of the additions made by Hadrian and Theodore to the library of Canterbury, "The law books, the books on grammar and rhetoric . . . were all new, not only to Canterbury but also to the British Isles" (p. 115).

Whatever may be one's conviction with regard to the influence of Cassiodorus upon the preservation of classical learning, one must not accept at face value the assertion that "W. M. Lindsay has conclusively shown that the Vatican Probus reverts to him" (p. 40, n. 29). Lindsay's conclusion was based on an assumption which he did not unreservedly accept. It is phrased with engaging flippancy as follows: "If Beer's bold theory be correct (and it has been praised by be-praised men), R [the Vatican Probus] was, I suggest, a possession of the Cassiodore household and passed into the library, first of Vivarium, then of Luxeuil or Bobbio. *Aut Cassiodori erat aut diaboli.*"

The phrase "in territorio Cumano" (p. 42), taken from a subscription dated \*May 27, 559, in a manuscript of Augustine's *De trinitate* (Dijon 141), is significant only if taken in conjunction with other contemporary subscriptions emanating from the same region. Reifferscheid (*De Latinorum codicum*



*subscriptionibus commentariolum*, Breslau, 1872) was the first to call attention to the simultaneous activity of this anonymous editor, of Petrus Notarius (of Naples) who, at the request of Eugippius, first abbot of the Lucullan monastery near Naples, emended a codex of *Excerpts from Augustine* (B.N. Paris 11642) in 582; of Donatus "gratia Dei presbyter" whose edition of *Origen* was completed in 569 (Casinensis 150 olim 346) in the same monastery, and of Victor, Bishop of Capua, whose copy of the *Vulgate gospels* was written and corrected in 546 (Codex Bonifatianus I). Not far removed from these men in either time or place were also Boethius and Cassiodorus.

There is general agreement now as to the important dates of Columban's career (cf. pp. 45, 48). His missionary enterprise began in 590-91, not 585; he was, consequently, not "in Burgundy between 585 and 610." Bobbio was founded in 614, not 612; and Columban's death in 615 occurred not on November 21 but November 23, the ninth day before the Kalends of December.

The statement regarding the second abbot of Bobbio, that he "brought several boxes of books when he joined the new monastery" (p. 45), is scarcely confirmed by the quotation from the *Vita S. Columbani*: "Libros ligaminibus firmat" (n. 44). The assertion, "Accordingly, the script used at Bobbio was the Insular until, in the tenth century, it gave way to the Lombard writing" (p. 45) is wrong: Lindsay's view (stated in n. 45) corresponds more nearly to the facts. To the list of cities in which are now preserved manuscripts from Bobbio (p. 45, n. 46) should be added Nancy.

The definition of the librarian's function at Bobbio, cited from Muratori (p. 46, n. 50), is marred by a misprint, viz., "scriptorium" in place of the proper form "scriptorum." The same passage is cited, in a different connection, correctly from Cipolla: "Bibliothecarius omnium librorum curam habeat lectionum atque scriptorum" (p. 615, n. 8).

Too optimistic a view is expressed (pp. 46-47) regarding the possibility of recovering the older texts (underscript) of the Bobbio palimpsests. In many cases the writing was blotted out, more than a hundred years ago, beyond the hope of recovery by the use of reagents; in others the parchment was so thoroughly scraped in effacing the original text as to defy the camera and the fluoroscope.

Error and confusion mark the account of the Codices Bonifatiani, which are introduced on pages 51-52. Of these there are said to be four (!) still in the local library of Fulda. The first, Codex Fuldensis, is Bonifatianus 1 (mentioned earlier in this review by reason of its subscription). We are told: "It is practically certain that the volume came from Northumbria to Boniface at Fulda, after Benedict Biscop, or Ceolfrid, had brought it to England from Italy" (p. 51); but later (p. 647):

It must have gone to England, for, while the text is written in the sixth-century Italian script, there are marginal notes in Anglo-Saxon. Perhaps it reached Britain with St. Augustine in 596 or with one of his successors. If so, its preservation is extraordinary, for almost every one of the other books which Theodore and Hadrian brought with them to England has disappeared.

Moreover, whereas on page 51 the manuscript is dated 546, on page 647 it is assigned to 547. The second, Codex Ragyndrudis, is Bonifatianus 2. This (not Bonifatianus 3) is the book which tradition says Boniface used in an attempt to ward off the blows of his assassins. All of its leaves are split at the upper edge, generally only to the first or second line of script, but toward the end of the book there are two slashes at the lower edge. These are plainly visible in reproductions of folios 98v-99r in *Aus Fulda's Geistesleben* (1928), Plate V, or Zimmermann's *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen* (1916), Plate 68. The author is, therefore, twice wrong, first in speaking of a "Gospel book, which has been cut almost through by a sharp instrument" (p. 647), and second, in identifying the book with Bonifatianus 3 (pp. 51-52). No one who has examined the latter can doubt the correctness of Scherer in deciphering (*Die Codices Bonifatiani in der Landesbibliothek zu Fulda*, Fulda, 1905) the name on folio 64r as Cadmug (not Vidrug, as given on p. 52) or fail to see that, although it may have been Boniface's pocket copy of the Gospels, it cannot have figured in the incident related on page 52; it bears no disfiguring marks on binding or folios. Further, the *Vita Bonifatii* from which the legend is quoted, is, on page 52, "attributed to an unknown priest of Utrecht" but on page 647 ascribed to Ratbod.

The verses of Alcuin, from which a single line is quoted (p. 57) to indicate his policy at Tours, are comparable to the *Versus titulis bibliothecae* of Isidore which were composed as inscriptions for the walls of the cathedral library and might well have been cited in that connection (p. 28, n. 55). They are printed without a heading (Duemmler, *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, I, 320) but very properly might be entitled "In scriptorio" after the fashion of Alcuin's *In dormitorio* and *In latrinio*, p. 321).

As for the Irish at Tours, it is a mistake to refer (p. 57, n. 14) to that section of Rand's *A survey of the manuscripts of Tours*, which treats of an "Irish period," without calling attention to the counterarguments advanced by Lehmann in reviewing the volume (*Philologische Wochenschrift*, L [1930], 723-24).

It is unfortunate that Granger's fantastic theory of the source of the Harleian codex of Vitruvius (p. 57, n. 15) survives in a new publication fully two years later than that summary of arguments and incontrovertible evidence to the contrary which appeared in *Speculum*, XII (1937)—"More about the London Vitruvius" by Leslie Webber Jones.

Too much is made of material derived from the *Adversaria* (p. 58), considering the nature of that work, which is alleged to have come from Luitprand of Cremona but is, in reality, a forgery compiled about 1600. This is expressly stated in Lehmann's article cited (incorrectly) on this page, footnote 20, as of 1916 (instead of 1919) over the signature P. J. G. Lehmann.

At Fleury, it is said (p. 61), was developed a school of writing which became famous in the history of calligraphy; but the script of Fleury has, as yet, not been studied and described adequately enough to warrant such an assertion.

Traube, not Duemmler, edited Volume III of *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini* (p. 64, n. 47).

Authority for the statement (p. 66) of our debt to Sedulius Scottus, viz., parts of Cicero's orations missing in other copies and the oldest copy of Horace's *Odes*, is *Cambridge medieval history*. Why, rather, not quote (1) Klein, *Über eine HS des Nicolaus von Cues nebst ungedruckten Fragmenten Ciceronischen Reden* (Berlin, 1866); or (2) Traube, *O Roma nobilis* (1891), page 368; or (3) Hellmann, *Sedulius Scottus* (1906)?

In the bibliography relating to Fulda, particularly with reference to the catalogs of the library at Fulda, one looks in vain for Christ's *Die Bibliothek des Klosters Fulda im 16. Jahrhundert* (1933), which has displaced the earlier work of Falk and Scherer with amplified and corrected material. One of the items cited from Scherer (p. 71) among "the most interesting works of the classical period" might better have been quoted from Christ, viz., *Livius, de republica*. Even the complete entry, printed by Scherer from the Marburg Inventory of 1561, is vague, *Livius de Rep: et gestis Roman:*, but in the Vatican inventory published by Christ the same item is more accurately designated as *Titus Livius de republica ab urbe condita libri decem*, and the Incipit printed by Christ further identifies it as the first decade. Omitted from this list of Fulda classics are the *Letters of Cicero*. Yet these are far rarer than the other works of Cicero here mentioned. Listed in Scherer simply as *Epistolae Cic:*, this item is not, as has long been supposed, a manuscript of the *Letters to Atticus and to Brutus* (Book II), which was cited in the fifteenth-century *Commentarium Nicoli*, but rather, as the Incipit (Christ, p. 149) shows, a manuscript of the *Ad familiares*. The codex *De senectute et de anima* must be *De senectute et de amicitia*—the two are frequently bound together.

Two manuscripts are wrongly accredited to Fulda. Falk is named as authority in the first instance (p. 68, n. 71), but, except for the fact that the manuscript Rome Pal. Lat. 235 is written in Insular minuscule of the eighth century—and that not a type particularly characteristic of Fulda—there is no evidence on which conjecture of its provenience from Fulda may stand (cf. Christ, *op. cit.*, p. 202). In the second instance, without documentation the famous Eutropius, Gothanus I. 101, is numbered "among the Fulda MSS now in other libraries" (p. 71), but it came from Murbach in Alsace; the *Fuldensis* has long since disappeared. (Cf. Beeson, "The oldest MS of Paulus Diaconus," *Memorie storiche Forogiuliesi*, XXV [1929], 15.)

The origin of Pirminius, founder of Reichenau, is unknown; varying opinion is represented (p. 72) as limited to three theories—that Pirman was an Irishman, a Frank, or an Anglo-Saxon. But Traube long ago suggested a fourth: that Pirman was Spanish (*O Roma nobilis*, p. 248). The latest pronouncement on the question is that of Karl Jecker, "St. Pirmans Herkunft und Mission" (*Die Kultur der Abtei Reichenau*, ed. K. Beyerle, I [1925], 19-36), who, adopting the views of Traube and Dom Morin, argues from (1) the literary background of Pirman's work, (2) the Spanish influence seen in

the organization of his cloister, (3) the strong Spanish element in the Reichenau library, that Pirman was "Romane," from Spain or from one of the regions of southern France formerly ruled by the Visigoths. Jecker's third point is paralleled by a later observation of our author, "The library was rich in . . . many collections of canons of special interest because of their Spanish provenance" (p. 76).

For accurate information about the five catalogs of Reichenau (pp. 75-78), Becker (*Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* [1885]) is outmoded by Lehmann's *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, Vol. I (1918). Reference to the latter would have prevented the error (p. 77) of listing "notes from Pliny the Younger" alongside Bede and Isidore, and treatises on the determination of Easter among the contents of a certain Reichenau codex. Becker, page 20, list 10.3, reads as follows: "Deinde notarum Plinii Secundi lib. I et notarum Isidori ep. lib. I et notarum de naturis rerum Bedae presb. liber." Lehmann (*op. cit.*, I, 258, l. 32) printed the item correctly with "rotarum" in place of "notarum." The word "rotarum" apparently arose from the presence of circular illustrations in the *De rerum natura* of Isidore (cf. Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, 161) and signifies, therefore, in conjunction with the name Pliny, the *Natural history* of Pliny the Elder.

Curious blind spots are conspicuous in chapter iii—e.g., both Tours and Lorsch are omitted from among the centers which produced our oldest extant manuscripts of the Carolingian Renaissance (p. 60), and Lorsch is not named with the four monasteries, Fulda, Reichenau, St. Gall, and New Corvey, which "excelled as studious centers and seats of libraries" (p. 67), although a discussion of the catalogs of St. Nazarius at Lorsch is inserted (pp. 80-82) into the subsequent account of these places. The significance of Lorsch is estimated by Lehmann (*Zeitschrift für deutsche Geistesgeschichte*, I [1935], 72-73, 143) as follows:

Wohl keine frühmittelalterliche Stätte Deutschlands, mit der einzigen Ausnahme vielleicht von Lorsch, hat seit dem 8. und 9. Jahrhundert so viele antike Werke geboten wie Fulda. . . . Lorsch nun hat zumal im 9. Jahrhundert eine Bibliothek gesammelt, die wegen ihrer antiken Schätze und ihres Reichtums an Kirchenväterwerken in der ersten Reihe der alten Bücherhorte ganz Europas steht, während es immer sammelnd keine bedeutenden Schrifsteller hervorgebracht hat.

Cambrai is singled out (pp. 67 and 86) as the place where Irish influence persisted most strongly after it had vanished from the monasteries of Irish foundation in Frankish Gaul, while Laon is given no recognition and neither Martin nor Eriugena enter the pages.

Einhard fares little better; his appearance is purely incidental—if not accidental—e.g.:

• He [Baugulf] was very much interested in collecting books and in teaching, and it was in his time that Einhard and Rabanus studied at Fulda. A copy of the *De architectura* of Vitruvius must have been in the monastery in this period, for Einhard, after he

had left Fulda, wrote back to one of the students inquiring about some of the technical words in the book [p. 68].

Again, "He [Lupus] asks Einhard for the writings on rhetoric by Cicero, of which he had only a corrupt copy that had already been compared with a still more corrupt Fulda text" (p. 70). In the third instance, only the shadow of Einhard is detected, "Lupus speaks of the catalogue of Seligenstadt as if he had seen it at Fulda" (p. 95). This statement, moreover, is not apposite; Lupus had a list of Einhard's books, *brevis uoluminum uestrorum* (cf. p. 95, n. 168), from which he selected certain desiderata. These are the more remarkable as items from the earliest medieval catalog of a private library because of their rarity. The first is *Tulli de rhetorica liber* (not "the writings on rhetoric by Cicero" as is said above, but Cicero's *De inuentione*); Lupus' own copy of this text, for the correction of which he requested Einhard's copy, is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Lat. 7774 A), with two sets of corrections marked by differences of script and ink. The second manuscript is *Ciceronis de rhetorica*, by which title was designated Cicero's *De oratore*. Lupus' autograph copy of this work is found in the British Museum (MS Harleianus 2736). The third manuscript obtained from Einhard, "*Agelii noctium atticarum*," was on loan at Fulda a long time. Five or six years after Lupus' first letter he wrote to explain that he had not returned the work because Rabanus had kept it in order to have a copy made. Lupus' copy of the *Noctes Atticae*, Books IX–XX, is numbered among the Reginenses of the Vatican Library (No. 597). In the case of a fourth text mentioned in the company of these, *Liber ad Herennium*, Lehmann believes that there are evidences of Lupus' criticism in a ninth-century Würzburg codex (*op. cit.*, p. 142). Further, a manuscript of Florus, Bern 249, has been identified as a Seligenstadt possession. Books such as these are significant of Einhard's status as a man of letters, and of the unusual character of his library. Seligenstadt, says Lehmann, "liegt gerade in der Mitte zwischen Fulda und . . . Lorsch, und so mag der seit dem. 9. Jahrhundert bezeugte rege Bücherverkehr zwischen Fulda und Lorsch über Einhards Kloster gegangen sein" (*op. cit.*, p. 143).

The second of Strabo's secular poems is given (p. 78) the popular title *Hortulus*, for which there is, however, no manuscript authority. The real title, which the poet owes to Columella, is *De cultura hortorum* (found in the Incipit of two of the three principal manuscripts). Strabo's reminiscences of Ovid in this poem are commonly overemphasized; in reality, there are noted in the critical apparatus of Duemmler's edition twice as many borrowings from either the *Aeneid* or the *Georgics* of Vergil as there are from the *Metamorphoses*.

Few books have been so frequently mentioned, though so little known first hand, as the remarkable *Reichenau school book* (St. Paul in Carinthia Cod. 25.2.31b). The contents of its sixteen pages have been detailed (imperfectly)

many times, but seldom has so much misinformation appeared in a single account as here:

The volume contains a Vergil *Vita* with a commentary on the *Aeneid*, probably by Johannes Eriugena; some notes on natural history from Pliny; a grammar with parts of Horace's *Satires*, and a geography containing extracts from Cicero, *De natura deorum*. There are likewise some Greek words in Latin characters and with Latin translation; two glosses of the Latin grammarian Charisius; a treatise on classical meter, with a glossary; an astronomical treatise, probably from Pliny; a book on Logic by Rubin; and a number of Irish poems [p. 79].

The "Vergil *Vita* with a commentary on the *Aeneid*" is contained in thirty-seven lines on folio 1 and three lines on folio 1 verso—a total of forty lines; the *Vita* was printed by Petschenig (*Wiener Studien*, IV [1882], 168-69); the "commentary" which follows it consists of a single quotation from Augustine, *De civitate dei* i. 3. There are on folio 2 thirteen lines of *scholia* on *Aeneid* i. 28-39, but these have no connection with the *Vita* attributed to Eriugena. The three items, "some notes on natural history from Pliny; a grammar with parts of Horace's *Satires*; and a geography containing extracts from Cicero, *De natura deorum*" occupy sixteen lines on folio 1 verso. First printed by Stern (*Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, VI [1907-8], 546-55) with footnotes specifying reminiscences of Pliny the Elder, Cicero's *De natura deorum* and the *Epistles of Horace*, they have not previously, so far as I know, been identified. Preisendanz, whose description of the manuscript is cited (p. 79, n. 107), and Hartig (whose account is not cited, although it has obviously been consulted, viz., *Die Klosterschule und ihre Männer*, ed., K. Beyerle, *op. cit.*, II, 619-44/4) term them simply "Notizen zur Naturgeschichte, Grammatik, biblische Geographie." They are, in reality, excerpts of patristic authors; e.g.:

(1) The so-called "grammar with parts of Horace's *Satires*" consists of two grammatical phrases and two isolated sentences of Jerome's *Letter to Pope Damasus* (*Ep.* xvi, Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. XXII, cols. 358 and 359, respectively), in one of which occurs the line from Horace (*Ep.* i. 11. 27), "Caelum non animus mutat qui trans mare currit." But the citations from Jerome are not connected with the "grammar"; they follow the "geographical" item.

(2) The "geography containing extracts from Cicero, *De natura deorum*" comprises three incomplete sentences from Jerome's *Letter to Dardanus* (*Ep.* cxxix, *op. cit.*, cols. 1104-5). There is no classical allusion whatever.

(3) The "notes on natural history from Pliny" wherein Stern noted a rare word—whose use by Pliny and Cicero he, accordingly, cited—and a passage for which he recognized a parallel in Pliny, are, actually, two extracts taken verbatim from the *Hexaemeron of Ambrose*, *Lib.* V, xxiv and *Lib.* VI, iv (Migne, *op. cit.*, Vol. XIV, 254 B and 267 B-C, respectively).

Moreover, the excerpt on folio 5v-6r which is here called "an astronomical treatise probably by Pliny"—Preisendanz used the phrase "angeblich aus

Pli(nius)"—I have identified as a selection from Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, Lib. VIII, §§ 849–58. Several "ghosts" have been laid by Lehmann, viz., Agano, Hrabanus, and Gregorius, by identification of passages previously attributed to them (on the basis of marginal abbreviations, *ag*, *hr*, *gg*) as excerpts from Augustine, Hieronymus, and Rufinus—including a quotation by the latter of Gregory Thaumaturgus (*Bayerische Blätter für Gymnasialschulwesen*, LXI [1925], 29–34). But a new one has arisen here in the item "a book on Logic by Rubin." This derives not from Preisendanz or Stern but from Hartig's phrase "logische Ausführungen nach Rubin" (misprint for Rufin, i.e., Rufinus) in Beyerle (*op. cit.*, II, 644). A citation from Rufinus, identified by Lehmann, occupies the first thirteen lines of folio 4 verso.

Although it is not mentioned in this account, another (anonymous) item should be noticed, for it relates to Cassiodorus and to Isidore (cf. p. 398 of this review). Fifteen lines of folio 2v are devoted to a logical extract "*de modis sylogismorum*." Stern noted a similarity to Boethius, "*de syllogismo categorico*" (Migne, *op. cit.*, Vol. LXIV, col. 823); but R. P. McKeon, pointing out that these are rather to be sought in a discussion of hypothetical syllogisms, has shown me the real parallel, viz., Cassiodorus *Inst.* ii. 13 and Isidore *Etym.* ii. xxviii. Isidore borrowed from Cassiodorus, but there are some slight variations between the two versions. In the substitution of "conclusionem" for "coniunctionem" in line 2, the St. Paul fragment agrees with Isidore.

The designation of the Cuthbert Gospels as "the oldest manuscript in the Salzburg library" (p. 88) is misleading; since 1806 the codex has been in Vienna (MS Lat. 1224).

The *Annales Juuavenses maiores* (p. 88) are preserved in the same manuscript which contains the *minores*, viz., Würzburg Mp.th.f. 46. They cover, respectively, the years 550–835 (and 975) and 742–814. How summary a record this is may be judged from the fact that they fill only two and one-half printed pages (M.G.H., S.S. I, 87–89).

The library of Florus is praised by Wandalbertus Prumiensis in his prefatory epistle, not in the *Carmina* proper. Reference should have been made to the edition of Duemmler (*Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, II [1884], 569) rather than to the *Patrologia Latina*.

Freculf of Lisieux probably "repaired the lack of books" (p. 91) in his diocese by borrowing. From Rabanus he received a copy of the *Pentateuch* and likewise he may have received from him Florus' *Epitome of Livy* for use in the early parts of his history—Fulda is known to have possessed a copy—or he may have had this from Tours (Manitius I, 663).

The compilation of the *Leges barbarorum* which Lupus of Ferrières wrote for Eberhard of Friuli is spoken of (p. 93) as though it were extant; but this is not the case. A complete transcript of the year 991 exists in the cathedral library of Modena (MS I. 2); the exemplar is lost.

The introduction of "Count Eberhard of Friuli, a literary man with a large library" (p. 93) requires a cross-reference upon mention of "Eberhard, margrave of Friuli" (p. 101), whose intellectual interests are said to be indicated by his relations with Rabanus Maurus, Hincmar of Rheims, and Sedulius Scottus.

The several pages devoted to Lupus of Ferrières (93-99) call for criticism on a number of points. Neither here, nor previously (p. 69, n. 79), nor subsequently (p. 136, n. 1), has the author indicated the edition from which the letters of Lupus are cited. That it is the edition of Desdevises du Dezert, 1888, is proved by the Arabic numbers which stand after the Roman numerals in the majority of citations, e.g., "*Ep.* xlv. 114" is Epistle 45, page 114 of that edition. But twice (p. 93, n. 162, and p. 136, n. 1) "*Ep.* ciii" is used of a passage identical with one quoted from "*Ep.* cxi. 191" (p. 97, n. 172). The latter, in Duemmler's edition (M.G.H., *Epistolae*, VI [1902]), which keeps the order of the manuscript, is ciii. Five errors in the numbering of Desdevises are noted: lxxxv. 161 (p. 95, n. 169) for lxxxvi. 161; x. 66 (p. 95, n. 169) for vii. 66; lxxv. 148 (p. 97, n. 171) for lxxvi. 148; lxxxv. 160 (p. 97, n. 173) for lxxxvi. 160; x. 66 (p. 98, n. 174) for vii. 66.

The quotation from Lupus' letter to Gottschalk (p. 99) contains an error arising from a word in the text of Desdevises, *reperisti*, which has been corrected by both Duemmler and Levillain (ed. *Tom.*, I [1927], *Tom.*, II [1935]), to *repetisti*. The sentence should read: "The quaternion which you requested, someone had stolen from me."

Identification of his addressee in the letter quoted on page 94 as Reginbert of St. Gall, proposed by Baluze and Dom Bouquet, has long been abandoned; so too, in the most recent edition (Levillain, 1927 and 1935) a second theory advanced by Mabillon and a third by Marckwald and Duemmler. The individual's anonymity is insured by the fact that we do not even know that his name was Reginbert; in the manuscript it is "REGINB." only.

Lupus does *not* register the source of his corrections or variants (p. 95), although in the great majority of cases they were derived from another manuscript. This is frequently indicated by an "Aliter" accompanying the variant.

In chapter iv, which deals with the British Isles, it is said that the poems of Columbanus are the sole evidence of his classical education and, further, that they are of doubtful authenticity (p. 103). While it is true that not all of the poems connected with the name of Columbanus are authentic, at least the four epistles in verse, published by Gundlach (MGH. *Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini aevi*, I [1892], 189-90) are probably genuine. Moreover, in the six prose letters which are unquestioned (*op. cit.*, pp. 156-82) there appear the same classical reminiscences as are found in the verses (cf. Kenney, *The sources for the early history of Ireland*, I [1929], 190-91). That Horace is represented equally with Vergil in these is the more significant, as an index of Irish culture, in view of the fact that in western Europe Horace was not known from the sixth century to the Caroline period.



In suggesting that "the contents of Anglo-Saxon libraries must largely be restored by internal evidence" (p. 107), the author failed to observe that Ogilvy has attempted to do just that in his *Books known to Anglo-Latin writers from Aldhelm to Alcuin* ("The Mediaeval Academy of America studies and documents," No. 2 [1936]). This publication should be substituted for the inadequate reference (p. 117, n. 59), *Harvard summaries of theses* (1933).

It is not necessary, therefore, to depend on "circumstantial evidence" (p. 108) to prove that the *Benedictine rule* and Gregory's *Pastoral care* were among the books in England in the Anglo-Saxon period. Ogilvy has pointed out that the *Regula* of St. Benedict was known to Aldhelm, Bede, Boniface, and Alcuin (*op. cit.*, p. 21) and that the *Cura pastoralis* was known to Bede, Boniface, and Alcuin (*ibid.*, p. 40). Further, in an unpublished doctoral dissertation, Miss Susan Cobbs has shown ("Prolegomena to the *Ars grammatica* Tatuini," University of Chicago [1937], p. 104) that Tatuin also was acquainted with Gregory's work.

That Bede used Pliny the Younger for his *Ecclesiastical history* (p. 111) is extremely improbable. There is no evidence that the Younger Pliny was known in England, though Plummer (ed., Vol. II, p. 46) "was reminded" by the Responsa of Pope Gregory in Book I, chapter xxvii, of the imperial rescripts such as the answer of Trajan to Pliny the Younger. But naturally there is a certain similarity in the language of imperial and papal responses. Plummer's statement (Vol. I, p. lii), "Of classical writers he [Bede] draws largely from the Younger Pliny in his scientific works, though with a sort of apology for doing so," is obviously a *lapsus pennae*. Pliny's *Letters* could contribute nothing to the scientific works of Bede, and Plummer's own notes show that it was the *Natural history* of Pliny the Elder which Bede used freely in these and in the *Historia ecclesiastica*.

The palimpsest manuscript of Pliny's *Natural history* which came via Reichenau and St. Blasien to St. Paul in Carinthia, Codex 25.2.36 (cf. p. 398 of review), is mentioned in various connections—and inconsistently—in both chapters iii and v. It is first presented (p. 74) as "a thrice-written palimpsest with a fourth-century first text of the *Lex Langobardorum*, from Lombardy"; but the *Leges Langobardorum* were promulgated in 643 and the script of the text in question, i.e., the original writing, dates from the third century! Subsequently (p. 80) the complete contents are listed correctly, with this same item labeled as "a third text, unknown, of the third century." Too positive a statement is made regarding the locale of the manuscript previous to its sojourn in Reichenau: "This is known to have come from Verona" (p. 150). But a few pages later (p. 155), this certainty is qualified in the reference to "a supply of books, presumably written at Verona, among them perhaps the palimpsest now in Carinthia."

Among the grammatical treatises contained in the Cassinese manuscript Paris 7530 (p. 170) Varro's *De lingua Latina* is named. That this is a mistake

the author had no reason to suspect; Lowe (cited on p. 171, n. 130, in *The Beneventan script* [1914], p. 16) says: "Varro's *De lingua latina* exists only in two Beneventan MSS, Flor. Laurent. 51.10 . . . and Paris lat. 7530. . . both written in Monte Cassino." Actually, however, there is no text of Varro in the latter but only on folios 271v-272r, a citation of Varro in Priscian's text, *De figuris numerorum* (cf. Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, III [1859], 410.9-411.9, or Goetz and Schoell, M. Terenti Varronis *De lingua Latina* [Teubner, 1910], pp. 52.2-53.7).

The German gloss on the word "interdictum" (in Bede's *De orthographia*) which the scribe of Paris 7530 copied from his exemplar, is not "verboten," as reported on page 650, but "forboten" (cf. Lindsay, *Palaeographia Latina*, III [1924], 9).

The unique manuscripts of the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* and Hilary's *Tractatus de mysteriis* (p. 174, n. 138) are found in one and the same codex at Arezzo, viz., Fraternità di S. Maria VI. 3.

In chapter vi one notes again the omission of recent important bibliographical items. As has been demonstrated (see p. 403 of review), Christ's account of the library at Fulda is indispensable; it should be given prominence where the older literature on Fulda is cited, e.g., page 193, note 16; similarly in chapter xv, page 455, footnote 7. The ninth-century library catalog mentioned on page 195, footnote 23, has, in spite of Blass, been declared to be that of Reichenau, by the two latest editors, Lehmann, *Bibliothekskataloge*, I, 262, and Holder, *Die reichenauer Handschriften*, III, Part I, 97-103. Holder identifies a large number of the entries with surviving Reichenau codices. He declares that the Donaueschingen codex, No. 191, from which Lassberg made his copy of the catalog, is a Reichenau manuscript which came into the possession of the chapter library of the Cathedral of Constance in the fourteenth century. It never belonged to St. Gall.

Lucian (p. 196) is apparently a misprint for Lucan, but in the absence of documentation this supposition cannot be verified.

In the discussion of the library of St. Gall (p. 196), most of the remarks deal with the Vulgate codex No. 1395. But the concluding passage, taken from Turner (*op. cit.*, p. 196, n. 29), which describes the rearrangement of these once scattered leaves in their original order is followed immediately by the statement, "Even so, the precious Vergil is only a fragment. Traube found two leaves in Carinthia, where they remain; and possibly others may be discovered elsewhere in books of St. Gall scattered after the rebinding." But the Vergil fragment is in codex 1394, not 1395, while the two leaves discovered by Traube belong to codex 1395, not 1394. Further, in conjecturing that "possibly others may be discovered elsewhere" the author has overlooked both Turner's report of other leaves of codex 1395 extant in the Vadiana library of St. Gall and in Zurich, and Lehmann's later discovery of some twenty-seven

additional fragments of the same in other St. Gall manuscripts (*Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, L [1933], 50-79).

In view of some observations made by Traube in "Bamberger Fragmente der IV. Dekade des Livius" (*Palaeographische Forschungen*, IV [1904], 9-10), the declaration that "none of his [Gerbert's] books has been identified in modern times" (p. 234) should be modified. Traube pointed out the probable connection of certain Rheims manuscripts now in Bamberg with Gerbert. He directed attention to a manuscript of Cicero's *De oratore*, Erlangen 848, wherein is found the following subscription (first printed in Irmischer's catalog of 1852): "Venerando Abbate Gerberto Philosophante Suus Placens Ayrardus Scripsit." This he interpreted as meaning that the codex was written for Gerbert by Ayrardus, his pupil, on whom, in his letters, Gerbert enjoined the copying of other manuscripts.

The *Registrum visitationum* of Odo Rigaud (ed. Bonnin, 1852), by reason of its human interest as well as its importance from historical and philological points of view, deserves mention alongside the secondary source cited on page 245, footnote 86.

The items, "Frontinus on geometry, and Flaccus' *De agris*" (p. 245) are indicated by Becker to have formed one codex in the Corbie library. They were probably excerpts from the *Agrimensores*, and the first of the two items a treatise by Balbus which is often in the corrupt manuscripts attributed to Frontinus.

Pliny the Younger is wrongly credited to the library of St. Riquier (p. 246) on the basis of an entry in the ninth-century catalog (cf. p. 64, n. 46) which reads: *Plinus secundus de moribus et vita imperatorum*. Even Manitius misunderstood this item. He suggests (*Handschriften antiker Autoren in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen*, p. 121, n. 1) that a period should be placed after "Secundus" or that "Suetonius" be substituted for "Plinius." The reference is, however, to an anonymous work, *De viris illustribus urbis Romae*, which in the manuscripts is generally attributed to C. Plinius Secundus or to Plinius Orator Veronensis and in the older editions is ascribed to Pliny the Younger, Cornelius Nepos, or Suetonius.

When the author wrote "It might be possible to reconstitute, at least in part, St. Amand's library by examining the Valenciennes manuscripts for pressmarks of that library" (p. 248), he overlooked the fact that Delisle in 1874 and Desilve in 1890 had identified numerous manuscripts in Valenciennes and Paris as formerly belonging to St. Amand. For the Valenciennes manuscripts this information is attached to the individual description in the Valenciennes catalog (*Cat. gén. des manuscrits*, tome XXV—not XX, as is given in n. 98 on p. 248). Further, in the Preface of the catalog, page 190, the editor states that of the 280 items listed as possessions of St. Amand in the *Inventaire* of Sanderus (1641) "40 à peine manquent aujourd'hui."

The tractate on the meters of Boethius which is reported from Valenciennes 411 (p. 248, n. 98) requires no speculation. The attribution to Lupus of Ferrières cited from Metz 377 exists also in another Valenciennes copy of the work, MS 298; that it is correct, no one has questioned since 1871, when Peiper published the brief work in the Preface of his edition of the *Consolatio* of Boethius (pp. xxv-xxviii).

One of the most interesting collections in Germany for the period under discussion in chapter xv—the Amploniana of Erfurt—is not named. Lehmann treats it and three other libraries of Erfurt in *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, II (1928), 1-603, a volume to which reference should have been made following mention of the University Library (p. 472, n. 97).

To the bibliography on Skandinavian libraries (p. 477, n. 4) should be added Paul Lehmann, "Skandinavische Reisefrüchte," *Nordisk Tidskrift for Bok-och Biblioteksäsen*, XXI (1934), XXII (1935).

To supplement the statement of the present location of Bobbio manuscripts (p. 523), there should be reference to an article by Emidio Martini, "Sui codici Napoletani restituiti dall'Austria," *Atti della Reale Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e belli arti*, n.s., IX (1926), 157-82. This contains an extensive list of manuscripts removed early in the eighteenth century from Neapolitan libraries (among them many Bobbio codices) to Vienna, which were returned to Italy by Austria in 1919 and deposited in Naples in 1925.

The Cesena manuscript of Isidore's *Etymologies*, "which is said to date from the eighth century" (p. 560) is dated ninth century by Beeson (*Isidor-Studien*, p. 9).

In bookmaking it is said that the distinguishing mark of a quaternion "was usually in the right-hand lower corner of the last page of the gathering" (p. 608). In early manuscripts the signature was so placed, but by the ninth century the common practice was to set it in the center of the lower margin.

No more conspicuous instance of a regrettable tendency, noticed elsewhere in the book, to use secondary sources appears than on page 648 where the author cites three manuscripts of the Cluny catalog from an article published by A. C. Clark in 1914, which, as stated in footnote 5, is based on Manitius' first study of ancient catalogs (1892). But Manitius obtained the information from Delisle (*Cab. des MSS*, II [1874], 478), from which source the article should have been cited here. Moreover, in his citation the author has made two mistakes, printing "Avita" for "Avito" and "Catalinam" (a popular modern misspelling) for "Catillinam" (given by both Manitius and Delisle).

The circumstances under which the Gallican bishop Arculf is said to have reached Iona are a misrepresentation of Bede's account. In both the *Liber de locis sanctis* (ed. Geyer, *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*, XXXIX [1898], 323) and the *Historia ecclesiastica* (ed. Plummer, Vol. I, 316), \*Bede relates that the ship in which Arculf was returning home from the Holy Land was storm-driven off its course and borne to Britain and that the

bishop finally after many perils came to Adamnan, not that (as paraphrased on p. 650) "on returning home he set forth to cross the Channel to England but was driven out of his course by a tempest and wrecked, fortunately for him, on the shore of Iona."

To the query, how did the *Annales Mosellani* reach Leningrad (p. 653), the answer is—Dubrowsky (cf. pp. 398–99 of this review).

Infelicitous phrasing and error characterize the brief account of the manuscript tradition of Livy (pp. 654–55). Codex Moguntinus, which is said (p. 654) to have been found in 1518 in the cathedral at Mainz, was used as early as 1516 by two humanists of Mainz for the Mainz edition of 1519. For the Bale edition of 1535 it was again collated, but thereafter disappeared without trace. The Lorsch codex, containing the fifth decade, was discovered by Simon Grynaeus in 1527 at Lorsch, not "in 1531 . . . in Switzerland after its removal from Lorsch." No competent paleographer would suggest an Irish origin, as is here reported, for this manuscript, and there is not the slightest evidence that it was ever at St. Gall. Instead of the Drakenborch-Twiss edition of 1841 (p. 655, n. 30), Wessely's Preface to the facsimile edition of the manuscript (Leyden, 1907) should have been consulted. The Lorsch manuscript originated in Italy. The means by which it reached Bishop Theutbertus of Dorostat is conjectured to have been through Liudger, missionary to the Frisians who had visited Italy, or via England through colleagues of Augustine who transported quantities of books from Italy to Northumbria (cf. the wanderings of Codex Bonifatianus 1). From Utrecht, when and how it is not known, it came to Lorsch. After its discovery there by Grynaeus it passed to Ambras in the Tyrol and thence in 1655 to Vienna where it rests today, Codex 15.

The Codex of Cicero's *Epistulae familiares* now in Florence (Laurentianus 49.7) is not an eleventh-century manuscript which Petrarch found in the capitular library of Verona, as is incorrectly stated (p. 655). It is a ninth-century manuscript, which, as earlier statements in the book make clear, was discovered "by Pasquino Cappelli and, perhaps, Antonio Loschi" at Vercelli (p. 510) and removed about 1390 from the cathedral of Vercelli to the library of the Visconti-Sforza family at Pavia (p. 552). The circumstances and date of its entry into the Laurentian library are not known. The manuscript of Cicero's *Letters* which Petrarch discovered at Verona contained (as correctly reported, p. 510) the *Epistulae ad Atticum*. Following its removal from the chapter library of Verona by the same Giangaleazzo Visconti who despoiled Vercelli (p. 552), it, unlike the Vercelli codex, disappeared.

There is some inconsistency and ambiguity in statements relating to the *Silvae* of Statius. First (p. 79), the presence of this rare work in the library of Reichenau—according to a ninth-century catalog—is noted. Later (p. 195, n. 23) the connections of this same catalog are questioned (cf. p. 410 of this review); apparently the writer adopts the view of Blass that the catalog does

not relate to Reichenau, yet he sees in it features which "connect it with the neighborhood of St. Gall and Constance," and adds, "The real importance of the catalogue is that it shows that Statius' *Silvae* was known in the ninth century in the region where Poggio in the fifteenth century recovered this author." Finally (p. 655), contradiction of these previous remarks is seen in the reference to "the manuscript of Statius' *Silvae* which Poggio brought from France." Elsewhere the discovery of this text is differently represented by two of the collaborators as follows: (1) "When the book-hungry humanists came to Constance in 1414, they soon discovered Reichenau and found there rare classical texts, including the *Silvae* of Statius and the *Punica* of Silius Italicus," (p. 454); (2) "Poggio's fourth excursion, in the same year [1417], extended into Germany and France and resulted in the discovery of eight orations of Cicero, hitherto unknown. Probably, also, the introduction into Italy of the *Silvae* of Statius belongs to this period" (p. 511).

Considerable variation exists in references (by three of the writers) to the minor works of Tacitus. Poggio is said (p. 457) to have negotiated with the monks at Hersfeld "for the works of Tacitus, *Agricola* [sic!], *Frontinus*, *Suetonius*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Livy*, and *Cicero*." But Poggio's interest was not confined to the *Agricola* of Tacitus; it extended to the *Germania* and the *Dialogus* also. Elsewhere (p. 514) Enoch of Ascoli is featured: "With his name will always be associated the discovery of a manuscript which is important because it alone has preserved for us the *Agricola* and *Germania* of Tacitus, and another containing the fragmentary *De grammatica et rhetorica* of Suetonius. Both these manuscripts were found in the monastery of Hersfeld." Further "the archetype of Tacitus' *Germania*, now lost, from which all existing copies, with the exception of one in the Vatican, were derived, seems to have once been at Fulda. The archetype of Tacitus' *Agricola*, found apparently soon after the *editio princeps* of his works in 1470 but since lost, is represented by four later copies" (p. 656). It is wrong to speak of the archetype of the *Germania* and *Agricola* as if they were separate manuscripts; these texts were preserved in a single ninth-century manuscript. Robinson, *The Germania of Tacitus: a critical edition* (1935), page 1, considers that the grammatical fragment of Suetonius was included with them in this codex which was brought from Hersfeld to Italy between 1429 and 1455, but is now lost save for a portion of the *Agricola* (Iesi MS). He has presented arguments against the commonly accepted view that Enoch was responsible for its transfer to Rome (*op. cit.*, pp. 351-56). He lists the extant manuscripts of both the *Agricola* and the *Germania*. Of the former there are the codex *Aesinas*, which belongs to the fifteenth century except for the eight folios of the original *Hersfeldensis*, one fifteenth-century copy of the *Aesinas*, and two copies of a lost fifteenth-century apograph of the *Hersfeldensis*; of the *Germania* there are known to be thirty-one descendants.

• Proper names have suffered at the hand of the author or the printer. The

corrector of the famous Dioscorides in Paris and the Vergil in Florence, Turcius Rufius Apronianus Asterius, cos. 494, is incorrectly designated on page 23 as Rufinus and on page 37, footnote 16, as Rufus. Other corrections should be made on the following pages:

- |                            |   |
|----------------------------|---|
| 33, n. 4                   | velitris to Velitris  |
| 49                         | Cassiodorus to Cassiodorus                                    |
| 65                         | Sestis to Sestio  |
| 71, n. 85                  | Sherer to Scherer   |
| 81                         | Iordansis to Iordanis   |
| 82                         | Consentius Pompeius to Consentius, Pompeius (two individuals) |
| 82                         | Eutyчис to Eutyches, Palaemonis to Palaemon                   |
| 84, n. 123; and 196, n. 25 | T to I (i.e., Ildefons)                                       |
| 96                         | Alsigus to Altsigus   |
| 112                        | Africanus Julius to Julius Africanus                          |
| 169, n. 127                | Casiensia to Casinensia                                       |
| <i>ibid.</i> ,             | Casiensi to Casinensi   |
| <i>ibid.</i> , and 170,    |   |
| n. 128                     | Casiensis to Casinensis                                       |
| 244                        | Fretulf to Freculf  |

## REFERENCES

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|------------|-------------------------------|
| 86, n. 132 | M. tr. to Mp. th.             |
| 114, n. 42 | IV to XV                      |
| 200, n. 49 | LXVI to XLVI                  |
| 201, n. 55 | 23 to 28                      |
| 522, n. 22 | insert the numeral I (volume) |

On page 620, footnote 31, *foliorum* is incorrectly translated "pages."

BLANCHE B. BOYER

*University of Chicago*

